

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2022 with funding from  
Kahle/Austin Foundation









**ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE:**

**IN**

**THREE PARTS:**



**VOL. II.**

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCULPTURE

THREE PARTS

VOL. II.



ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF THE  
**HOLY SCRIPTURES;**  
IN THREE PARTS.

- I. FROM THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE EAST.
- II. FROM THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE EAST.
- III. FROM THE CUSTOMS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN NATIONS.

---

BY THE REV. GEORGE PAXTON,  
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY UNDER THE GENERAL ASSOCIATE SYNOD, EDINBURGH.

---

WITH NOTES,  
BY THE REV. IRA CHASE, A. M.  
PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND OF THE LEARNED LANGUAGES IN THE  
COLUMBIAN COLLEGE, NEAR THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

---

TO THE WORK IS ADDED,  
*Carpenter's Introduction*  
TO THE  
GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT,  
WITH SEVERAL MAPS.

---

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

---

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY DAVID HOGAN, NO. 255, MARKET STREET.

Griggs & Dickinson, Printers.

1822.



*Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit:*


BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-fourth day of June, in the forty-sixth year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1822, JAMES E. MOORE, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures; in three parts. I. From the Geography of the East. II. From the Natural History of the East. III. From the Customs of Ancient and Modern Nations. By the Rev. George Paxton, Professor of Theology under the General Associate Synod, Edinburgh. With Notes, by the Rev. Ira Chase, A. M. Professor of Biblical Literature and of the Learned Languages in the Columbian College, near the city of Washington. To the work is added, Carpenter's Introduction to the Geography of the New Testament, with several Maps. In two volumes."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.



# CONTENTS

## OF VOLUME SECOND.

### PART II.

#### NATURAL HISTORY CONTINUED.

Page  
7

#### CHAP. X.

<i>Birds of Prey</i> - - - - -	9
<i>The Eagle—The Ostrich—The Owl—The Pelican—The Stork—The Raven—The Hawk.</i>	

#### CHAP. XI.

<i>Harmless Birds</i> - - - - -	58
<i>The Dove—The Turtle—The Swallow—The Crane—The Partridge.</i>	

#### CHAP. XII.

<i>Same Subject continued</i> - - - - -	89
<i>The Quail—The Cock—The Peacock—The Sparrow.</i>	

### PART III.

#### CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN NATIONS.

123

#### CHAP. I.

<i>Illustrations of Scripture from the Pastoral Life of the Orientals</i> - - - - -	125
---	-----

#### CHAP. II.

<i>From the State of Agriculture in the East</i> -	182
--	-----

#### CHAP. III.

<i>From the Houses, Cities, Walls, and Towers of the East</i> - - - - -	233
---	-----

#### CHAP. IV.

<i>From the Dress of the Orientals</i> - - -	272
--	-----

#### CHAP. V.

<i>From the Meals and Public Entertainments of the East</i> - - - - -	305
---	-----

#### CHAP. VI.

<i>From the Marriage Ceremonies of the East</i>	360
---	-----

## CONTENTS.

## CHAP. VII.

<i>Illustrations of Scripture from the Contracts and Covenants of Eastern Nations</i>	- - - -	391
---	---------	-----

## CHAP. VIII.

<i>From the various modes in which the Orientals expressed their Respect for one another</i>	-	403
--	---	-----

## CHAP. IX.

<i>From the Honours showed to the Dead</i>	- -	441
--	-----	-----

## CHAP. X.

<i>From the Administration of Justice in Palestine and the East</i>	- - - - -	476
---	-----------	-----

## CHAP. XI.

<i>From the Public Games in Greece</i>	- - -	499
--	-------	-----

## CHAP. XII.

<i>From the Military affairs of the Ancients</i>	-	513
--	---	-----

## CHAP. XIII.

<i>Same Subject continued</i>	- - - -	560
-------------------------------	---------	-----

---

<i>Index of Texts of Scripture illustrated</i>	- -	609
--	-----	-----

---

<i>Carpenter's Introduction to the Geography of the New Testament</i>	- - - -	(close of the volume)
---	---------	-----------------------

## ERRATA.

Page 27.	4th line from bottom,	for ענת read ענה
28.	18th do. do.	for ענת read ענה
43.	7th do. from top,	for נהל read נהל
47.	5th do. from bottom,	for ישוב read ישוב



**PART II.**

*(CONTINUED.)*

---

**OF THE  
NATURAL HISTORY OF THE EAST.**



ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF THE  
HOLY SCRIPTURES :  
IN THREE PARTS.

---

Part Second continued.

---

CHAP. X.

BIRDS OF PREY.



*The Eagle.*

THE eagle is the strongest, the fiercest, and the most rapacious of the feathered race. He dwells alone in the desert, and on the summits of the highest mountains ; and suffers no bird to come with impunity within the range of his flight. His eye is dark and piercing, his beak and talons are hooked and formidable, and his cry is the terror of every wing. His figure answers to his nature ; independently of his arms, he has a robust and compact body, and very powerful limbs and wings ; his bones are hard, his flesh is firm, his feathers are coarse, his attitude is fierce and erect, his motions are lively, and his flight is extremely rapid. Such is the golden eagle, as described by the most accurate observers of nature. To this noble bird the prophet Ezekiel evidently refers, in his parable to the house of Israel : “ A great eagle, with great wings, long winged, full of feathers which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar.”\* In this parable, a strict regard to physical truth is discovered, in another respect ; for the eagle is known to have a predilection for cedars, which

\* Ezek. xvii. 3.

are the loftiest trees in the forest, and therefore more suited to his daring temper than any other. La Roque found a number of large eagles' feathers, scattered on the ground beneath the lofty cedars which still crown the summits of Lebanon, on the highest branches of which, that fierce destroyer occasionally perches.

The extraordinary length of his wings, and the manner in which he stretches them as he flies, have been celebrated by many ancient writers. Hesiod calls him the bird with extended wings; Pindar asserts, that in the length and extension of his wings, he surpasses all the birds of heaven;\* and Homer, with his usual force and beauty, compares the wings of the eagle to the doors of a splendid apartment, closely shut, and skilfully made.

Οσσὴ δὲ ὑψοφοοιο θύρα θαλαμοιο τετυκται.

*Il. b. 24. l. 317.*

On these great and expanded wings, the eagle darts with amazing swiftness and impetuosity through the voids of heaven, especially when in pursuit of his prey. He rushes, says Apuleius, upon the devoted victim, like a flash of lightning; and Cicero avers, that no bird flies with greater vehemence. The Greeks gave him the appropriate name of *αετός*, from a verb which signifies to rush with great impetuosity. This remarkable trait in his character, did not escape the keen observation of Homer: he compares the rapid and furious onset of Achilles, to the violent pursuit of that bird, which he characterizes the strongest and swiftest of the winged tribes.

Αετὴ οἰματ' ἔχων μελανός, τὸ ἐρηκτῆρος

ὅς θ' ἄμα καρτίσος τε καὶ ὠκίσος πετεηνῶν.

*Il. b. 21. l. 253.*

He describes, in nearly the same terms, the career of the amiable and ill-fated Hector:

Οἰμῆσεν δὲ ἄλεις ὥς τ' αἰτὸς ὑψιπετής.

*Il. b. 22. l. 308.*

“Turning, he rushed upon him like a high soaring eagle, which descends into the plain through the obscure clouds, to seize the tender lamb or trembling hare.” Equally striking and beautiful are the allusions in the sacred oracles: “The Lord shall bring a nation against thee.” said Moses to his people. “from the end of the

\* *Hes. Theog. b. 523. Pindar. Pyth. 5*



earth, as swift as the eagle flieth.”\* In the affecting lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan, their impetuous and rapid career is celebrated in more forcible terms, than the great master of Grecian song presumed to use: “They were swifter than eagles; they were stronger than lions.”† “Behold,” cried Jeremiah, when he beheld in vision the march of Nebuchadnezzar, “he shall come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as a whirlwind; his horses are swifter than eagles. Wo unto us, for we are spoiled.”‡ To the wide expanded wings of the eagle, and the rapidity of his flight, the same prophet beautifully alludes in a subsequent chapter, where he describes the subversion of Moab, by the same ruthless conqueror: “For thus saith the Lord, Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab.”§ In the same manner, he describes the sudden desolations of Ammon in the next chapter; but when he turns his eye to the ruins of his own country, he exclaims in still more energetic language, “Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heavens.”||

Under the same comparison, the patriarch Job describes the rapid flight of time: “My days are passed away, as the eagle that hasteth to the prey;”¶ no part of them remains, and no trace of them can be discovered. The surprising rapidity, with which the blessings of common providence sometimes vanish from the grasp of the possessor, is thus described by Solomon: “Riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle towards heaven.”\*\*

Supported by his powerful wings, the eagle pursues his flight for a long time, without becoming weary or fatigued; and when circumstances require it, by one continued effort, penetrates into the remotest regions. In allusion to this fact, the fabulous poets of antiquity say, that two eagles were sent down from Jove, one from the rising, and the other from the setting sun, which continued their journey till they met at Delphi,

\* Deut. xxviii. 49.

† 2 Sam. i. 23.

‡ Jer. iv. 13.

§ Chap. xlviii. 40.

|| Lam. iv. 19.

¶ Job ix. 26.

\*\* Prov. xxx. 19.

or in the neighbourhood of Parnassus. The same allusion is involved in those Scriptures, which provide them with eagles' wings, that are to be removed to a great distance. Thus, the church of Christ, under the emblem of a woman, was furnished with "two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness into her place, from the face of the serpent."\* Her safety required a very far and rapid flight, which only the wings of a golden eagle can sustain; they are therefore selected by the prophet with admirable propriety, to waft the object of divine love and care to her appointed refuge.

The flight of this bird is as sublime, as it is rapid and impetuous. None of the feathered race soar so high; in his daring excursions, he is said to leave the clouds of heaven, and the regions of thunder, and lightning, and tempest, far beneath his feet, and to approach the very limits of æther.† Hence, the prince of Grecian poets so frequently calls him the high-soaring eagle; and the ancient heathens, when they saw him cleaving the clouds with his expanded pinions, in his descent to the lower regions of the air, considered him as the special messenger of the Supreme, that reposed in his bosom, and assisted his thunder. Corresponding to this, is the celebrated oracle concerning the Athenians: *Αετός εν νεφέλαις γενήσεται*, "Thou shalt become an eagle in the clouds." Still more beautiful and sublime are the words of Obadiah, concerning the pride and humiliation of Moab: "Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord."‡ The prophet Jeremiah pronounces the doom of Edom in similar terms: "O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill; though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord."§ To these may be added that remarkable passage in Job, where Jehovah thus addresses the afflicted patriarch: "Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and

\* Rev. xii. 14. † Apuleius, as quoted by Bochart. ‡ Obad. v. 4. § Jer. xlix. 16.

make her nest on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong place. From thence, she seeketh the prey, and her eyes behold afar off.”\* She builds her nest in the most frightful precipices, from whence she darts a keen and piercing eye over the surrounding scene, and marks her prey at a great distance. These and other facts in her history, are expressed in that sublime address, with a truth and energy becoming the Creator of all things. “Doth the eagle,” says Jehovah, “mount up at thy command?” Attempts have been often made to subdue the fierce spirit of the young eagle, and train him to the chace; but with little success. He cannot be rendered so tame, gentle, and steady, that his master has not to dread his caprice, or the sudden movements of his angry passions. Man did not impart to him the desire to soar among the clouds, nor can the wisest, or the most powerful of the human race, direct his flight; for, with a rapidity peculiar to himself, he ascends into regions far beyond the reach of the human eye, and the range of human control. Nor did he learn from man, to choose the inaccessible precipice for his abode. His vigorous frame, his daring temper, and all his instincts, are the contrivance and the work of God. The design of his Creator, in directing him to build his nest on the brow of the precipice, is obvious; there, the spoiler of the heavens, and the terror of the smaller quadrupeds, dwells alone and secure, and rears his young, almost beyond the reach and the fear of danger. The highest peak of the mountain or the cliff, is also a convenient station, from whence he marks his prey, and takes his flight; for although he has a most powerful wing, he has so little suppleness in his limbs, that he finds some difficulty in rising from the ground.

The piercing sight of this noble bird, is recorded by the philosophers, and celebrated by the poets of every age. In Homer, he has the sharpest sight among the birds of heaven.

—‘ὡς τ’ αἶτος ἐν ῥα τε φασὶν  
Ὀξύτατον δερκευθῆαι υπερβάντων πέτεσθων.

*Il. b. 17. l. 675.*

\* Job xxxix. 30.

The same fact is recorded by Horace in his Third Satire •

———“tum cernis acutum,  
Quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius.”

So keen is the sight of the eagle, says Isidore, that, when floating with immovable wing above the deeps of the sea, far beyond the reach of the human eye, he can discern a little fish swimming below. Damir, a renowned Arabian writer quoted by Bochart, avers, that the eagle can discover a carcase at the distance of four hundred parasangs.

The ancients supposed, that he is superior to thirst, and never drinks water.\* If the words of Jehovah in this passage, “her young ones suck up blood,” do not support the opinion, they certainly do not contradict it; for he does not say they drink water, but only, they suck up blood. But the sacred text actually seems to insinuate what Ælian, and many writers of antiquity believed, that the blood of the animals upon which they prey, suffices to quench their thirst, without the aid of water. It is added, “Where the slain is, there is she.” On this clause, our Lord seems to have had his eye, when he said to his disciples, “Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.” Natural historians, both ancient and modern, agree in the opinion, that neither the golden nor the common eagle, feeds upon carrion, but the vulture only, which is an eagle of the third species. But the words of Scripture are express: “Where the slain are, there is she.” It should also be recollected, that our Lord, in the passage quoted from the evangelist, alludes to the ensigns of the Roman armies: now we know, that these figures represented, not the vulture, but the golden eagle. We must therefore conclude, that this ravenous bird does not refuse to feed upon the carcases of the slain. We are confirmed in this opinion by one of the preverbs of Solomon, which is couched in these terms: “The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it.”

\* See Boch. b. 2. 175.



The eye, it is well known, is a favourite morsel with the birds of prey, and by consequence, the first part of the body upon which they fasten; now, if Solomon is so correct in one part of his description, we have good reason to think he is equally so in the other. In this, as in other particulars, the Arabian historians, who were well acquainted with the eagle, support the credit of the sacred writers. Damir says, the eagle discovers his prey at the distance of four hundred parasangs; and when he lights upon a carcase, of which the ossifrage has eaten, he retires, and refuses to eat what the other has left. Again, when he finds a carcase, and has gorged himself with the flesh, he is unable to fly, till, bounding for some time along the surface of the ground, he raises himself by degrees into the air. Thus, the general rule of the natural historian, that the golden and common eagle never feed upon carrion, certainly admits of exception; and indeed, seems to have no real foundation.

Like every bird of prey, the eagle sheds his feathers in the beginning of spring; a circumstance to which the prophet refers in the following charge to his people: "Enlarge thy baldness as the eagle."\* Baldness is a defect properly ascribed to the human species: but we find it is also imputed by some ancient writers to the feathered race. Pliny remarks, that some animals are naturally bald, as the ostrich and the aquatic raven, which among the Greeks received its name *εὐρυμυγας* from that circumstance. Thus it appears, that both the Greeks and Hebrews ascribed baldness to the feathered race, but with this difference, that the former confined it to the head, while the latter extended it to the whole body; among the former, it was a permanent feature,—among the latter, an annual defect.

When the moulting season is over, and the eagle appears with renovated plumage, vigour, and activity, he is said, in the language of ancient prophecy, to be "full of feathers." In allusion to this annual restoration, the Psalmist sings in the beautiful address to his soul, with which he begins the hundred third Psalm.

\* Micah i. 6

“ Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things, so that thy youth is renewed like the eagles.” The prophet Isaiah has the same allusion, in describing the perseverance of genuine saints : “ But they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles ; they shall run and not weary, they shall walk and not faint.”\* As the eagle, when his feathers are renewed, looks younger and more beautiful, and is stronger and livelier than before ; so, the people of God, restored by the communication of divine favour, feel every grace invigorated, and every exercise of religion easy and pleasant.

The tender affection which the female cherishes for her young, is described by Moses in these memorable terms : “ As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings ; so, the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him.”† It is indeed pretended by some writers, that when the eagles are somewhat grown, the mother kills the weakest or the most voracious of them : but were the fact admitted, it is no satisfactory proof that she is without natural affection. It is well known that several animals of the mildest dispositions forsake their young, when they find it impossible to provide for their subsistence. The parent eagles, says Buffon, not having sufficient for themselves, seek to reduce their family ; and as soon as the young ones are strong enough to fly and provide for themselves, they chase them from the nest, and never permit them to return. The account of this celebrated naturalist so far agrees with the statement of the sacred writers ; according to whom, the eagle stirreth up her nest, that is, rouses her young from their sloth and inactivity, and provokes them to try their wings by fluttering about her nest. When she sees them indifferent to her admonitions, or afraid to follow her example, “ she spreadeth abroad her wings ; taketh them, and beareth them upon her wings.” The remarkable circumstance of bearing them upon her wings, is alluded to in another

\* Isa. xl. 31.

† Deut. xxxii. 11.

part of Scripture : “Ye have seen,” said Jehovah to Israel, “what I did unto Egypt, and how I bare you on eagles’ wings, and brought you unto myself.”\* Many passages in the writings of ancient authors countenance the idea, that the eagle actually takes up her timid young ones, and bears them on her wings till they venture to fly. *Ælian* says, that when *Tilgamus*, a Babylonian boy, fell from the top of a tower, before he reached the ground, an eagle received and bore him up on her back. A similar story is recorded in the writings of *Pausanias*, who tells us, that an eagle flew under *Aristimenes*, who was cast by the *Lacedemonians* from the top of a tower, and carried him on her wings till he reached the ground in safety. These stories, although the mere creatures of imagination, show that the idea of the eagle bearing a considerable weight on her wings, was familiar to the ancients. It is not to be supposed, that she wafts her unfledged young through the voids of heaven, or to distant places ; the meaning probably is, that she aids with her wings their feeble and imperfect attempts to fly, till, emboldened by her example, and their own success, they fearlessly commit themselves to the air.

So did Jehovah for his chosen people : When they were slumbering in *Goshen*, or groaning in despair of recovering their freedom, he sent his servant *Moses* to rouse them from their inglorious sloth, to assert their liberty, and to break their chains upon the heads of their oppressors. He carried them out of Egypt, and led them through the wilderness into their promised inheritance. He taught them to know their strength ; he instructed them in the art of war ; he led them to battle, and by his almighty arm routed their enemies.

So admirable are the qualities of the eagle, that whatever is sublime in heaven, or excellent on the earth, is likened by the sacred writers to that bird. The Most High does not consider it unbecoming his dignity to compare, in more instances than one, his providential vigilance, his support and protection, to the wings of an eagle, and to the various methods she

\* Exod. xix. 4.

employs to supply the wants of her young, and to instruct them how to provide for themselves. Under the same comparison, the prophet Ezekiel endeavours to give his people some faint idea of the powerful intelligence, the unwearied activity, and amazing swiftness of holy angels: "The four living creatures had each the face of an eagle; and their wings were stretched upward; two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies."\* In the tenth chapter, the prophet was favoured with the same vision; and in his description, he expressly calls the four living creatures the cherubim, one of the names by which the angels are distinguished; in the fourteenth verse, he repeats the remark: "every one had the face of an eagle;" and observes in the twentieth verse, "This is the living creature that I saw under the God of Israel, by the river of Chebar; and I knew that they were the cherubim."

In another part of the prophecy, the eagle, with admirable propriety, symbolizes the kings and princes of the earth, by whose murderous expeditions the fairest regions are depopulated. The king of Babylon, the greatest potentate of those times, is fitly represented in the parable of the two eagles and the vine, by "a great eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers which had divers colours, which came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar."† The meaning of this parable is explained by the prophet himself, in the twelfth verse: "Say, now, to the rebellious house, Know ye not what these things mean? Tell them, Behold, the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and has taken the king thereof, and the princes thereof, and led them with him to Babylon." The second eagle is the king of Egypt, as we learn by comparing the seventh and fifteenth verses: "There was also another great eagle, with great wings and many feathers; and, behold, this vine did bend her roots towards him, and shot forth her branches toward him, that he might water it by the furrows of her plantation." This allegory he explains in the fif-

\* Ezek. i. 10, 11.

† Ch. xvii. 8.



teenth verse: "But he rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people." The reason of the figure must be obvious to every reader: the strength, the activity, the erect and majestic mein of the eagle, point him out as the intended sovereign of the feathered race; he is, therefore, the fit emblem of superior excellence, and of regal majesty and power. Xenophon, and other ancient historians, inform us, that the golden eagle with extended wings, was the ensign of the Persian monarchs, long before it was adopted by the Romans; and it is very probable that the Persians borrowed the symbol from the ancient Assyrians, in whose banners it waved, till imperial Babylon bowed her head to the yoke of Cyrus. If this conjecture be well founded, it discovers the reason why the sacred writers, in describing the victorious march of the Assyrian armies, allude so frequently to the expanded eagle. Referring still to the Babylonian monarch, the prophet Hosea proclaimed in the ears of Israel, the measure of whose iniquities was nearly full: "He shall come as an eagle against the house of the Lord."\* Jeremiah predicted a similar calamity to the posterity of Lot: "For thus saith the Lord, Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab:"† and the same figure is employed to denote the sudden destruction which overtook the house of Esau: "Behold, he shall come up and fly as the eagle, and spread his wings over Bozrah."‡ The words of these inspired prophets were not suffered to fall to the ground; they received a full accomplishment in the irresistible impetuosity and complete success with which the Babylonian monarchs, and particularly Nebuchadnezzar, pursued their plans of conquest. Ezekiel denominates him, with striking propriety, "a great eagle with great wings;" because he was the most powerful monarch of his time, and led into the field, more numerous and better appointed armies (which the prophet calls by a beautiful figure, his wings) than perhaps the world had ever seen. The prophet Isaiah, referring to the

\* Hos. viii. 1.

† Jer. xlviii. 40.

‡ Ch. xlix. 22.

same monarch. predicted the subjugation of Judea in these terms: "He shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over: he shall reach even to the neck, and the stretching out of his wings (the array of his army,) shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel."\* The king of Egypt is also styled by Ezekiel, "a great eagle with great wings and many feathers;" but he manifestly gives the preference to the king of Babylon, by adding, "that he had long wings, full of feathers which had divers colours:" that is, greater wealth, and a more numerous army. Although the king of Egypt was in those days very powerful, and supported his claims by a numerous and well appointed army, his resources were neither so great, nor his subjects so numerous, as those of his rival; and by consequence, he was unable to yield the assistance to Judah, which the necessity of her affairs required. By her treachery in breaking the covenant which she had solemnly made and ratified with Nebuchadnezzar, she had forfeited the divine favour, and provoked the Most High to send up against her the king of Babylon with all his forces; therefore the king of Egypt failed in his attempt to support her falling state, and involved himself and his people in irretrievable ruin.

Believers in Christ are supposed, by several writers of great name, to be symbolized by the eagles, in that passage of the gospel where our Lord foretels the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman army: "For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together."† Innumerable converts will flock to a crucified Saviour, with the alacrity and speed of eagles that are greedy of their prey. "Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west," irradiating every part of the world; so shall the Saviour openly and suddenly appear, and every eye shall behold his glory. With surprising power shall he level the lofty and polluted city of Jerusalem with the ground, and sweep with the besom of destruction every part of his ancient

\* Isa. viii. 8.

† Matt. xxiv. 28

heritage; while he shall spread his gospel with irresistible light and efficacy, far and wide through the habitable globe. And, as the eagles, with wonderful sagacity, gather instantaneously about the dead carcase; so shall a willing people, in the day of divine power, by a sudden and irresistible influence, believe in the name of Christ, and live upon his atoning sacrifice. Nor are believers unfitly compared to eagles; for no person is united to him, and honoured with the special favour of God, who does not "eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood"\* The saints are called eagles, observes Chrysostom in one of his homilies, to show, that he ought to soar high who approaches the body of Christ: he ought to have no communion with the earth, nor be dragged down to inferior objects, nor grovel in the dust; but always mount upwards, and gaze with eager eyes upon the Sun of Righteousness.

### *The Ostrich.*

The ostrich is by far the largest among the winged tribes, and seems to be the connecting link between the quadruped and the fowl. She is not to be classed with the former, because she is furnished with a kind of wings, which, if they cannot raise her from the ground, greatly accelerate her flight: nor with the latter, for "the feathers which grow out of her small wings, are all unwoven and decomposed, and their beards consist of long hairs detached from one another, and do not form a compact body, to strike the air with advantage; which is the principal office for which the feathers of the wing are intended." Those of the tail have also

---

\* The fanciful mode of interpreting to which our author, in this paragraph, may be thought by some to give countenance, must be deprecated by every sober friend of the Scriptures. But the thing which is represented as symbolized by the text, it may be said, is a truth. This we admit; but let it rest on the passages which relate to the subject, and not on those which were intended to express something else. The passage may be more properly referred to the Roman armies under their standards, in the divine judgments executed by them upon the Jewish nation.

the same structure, and, by consequence, cannot oppose to the air a suitable resistance. They can neither expand nor close, as circumstances require, nor take different inclinations; and what is not a little remarkable, all the feathers which cover the body exhibit the same conformation. The ostrich has not, like the greater part of other birds, feathers of various kinds, some soft and downy, which are next the skin; and others of a more firm and compact consistence, which cover the former; and others still longer and of greater strength, on which the movements of the animal depend. All her feathers are of one kind, all of them bearded with detached hairs or filaments, without consistence and reciprocal adherence; in one word, they are of no utility in flying, or in directing the flight. Besides the peculiar structure of her wings, she is pressed down to the earth by her enormous size. Buffon calculates the weight of a living ostrich in middling condition, at no less than sixty-five or eighty pounds: which would require an immense power in the wings and motive muscles of these members, to raise and support in the air so ponderous a mass. Thus, by her excessive weight, and the loose texture of her feathers, she is condemned, like a quadruped, laboriously to run upon the surface of the earth, without being ever able to mount up into the air.

But although incapable of raising herself from the ground, she is admirably fitted for running. The greater part of her body is covered with hair, rather than feathers; her head and her sides have little or no hair; and her legs, which are very thick and muscular, and in which her principal force resides, are in like manner almost naked; her large sinewy and plump feet, which have only two toes, resemble considerably the feet of a camel; her wings armed with two spikes, like those of a porcupine, are rather a kind of arms than wings, which are given her for defence.

These characteristic features throw great light on a part of the description, which Jehovah himself has condescended to give of this animal in the book of Job. It begins with this interrogation: "Gavest thou wings



and feathers unto the ostrich?" Dr. Shaw translates it: "The wing of the ostrich is expanded; the very feathers and plumage of the stork." According to Buffon, the ostrich is covered with feathers alternately white and black, and sometimes grey by the mixtures of these two colours. They are shortest, says that author, on the lower part of the neck, the rest of which is entirely naked; they become longer on the back and the belly; and are longest at the extremity of the tail and the wings: but he denies that any of them have been found with red, green, blue, or yellow plumes. This assertion, however, is not quite correct; for, if credit is due to Dr. Shaw, when the ostrich is full grown, the neck, particularly of the male, which before was almost naked, is now very beautifully covered with red feathers. The plumage, likewise, upon the shoulders, the back, and some parts of the wings, from being hitherto of a dark greyish colour, becomes now as black as jet, whilst some of the feathers retain an exquisite whiteness. They are, as described in the thirteenth verse, the very feathers and plumage of the stork; that is, they consist of such black and white feathers as the stork, called from thence *πελαργος*, is known to have. But the belly, the thighs, and the breast, do not partake of this covering, being usually naked: and when touched, are of the same warmth as the flesh of quadrupeds.

The ostrich, although she inhabits the sandy deserts, where she is exposed to few interruptions, is extremely vigilant and shy. She betakes herself to flight on the first alarm, and traverses the waste with so great agility and swiftness, that the Arab is never able to overtake her, even when he is mounted upon his horse of Family.\* The fact is thus stated by Jehovah: "What time she lifteth up herself on high, she scorneth the horse and his rider."† She affords him only an opportunity of admiring at a distance the extraordinary agility and stateliness of her motions, the richness of her plumage, and the great propriety of ascribing to her "an expanded quivering wing."‡ Nothing cer-

\* Shaw's Trav.

† Job xxxix. 18.

‡ Ch. v. 15.

tainly can be more beautiful and entertaining than such a sight; the wings, by their continual though unwearied vibrations, serving her at once for sails and oars, whilst her feet, no less assisting in conveying her out of sight, are equally insensible of fatigue.\* Her surprising swiftness is confirmed by the writer of a voyage to Senegal, who says, "She sets off at a hand gallop; but after being excited a little, she expands her wings, as if to catch the wind, and abandons herself to a speed so great that she seems not to touch the ground" "I am persuaded," continues that writer, "she would leave far behind the swiftest English courser." Buffon also admits that the ostrich runs faster than the horse. These unexceptionable testimonies completely vindicate the assertion of the inspired writer. But as it is on horseback the Arab pursues and takes her, it is necessary to explain how he accomplishes his purpose, and show its consistency with the sacred writings. "When the Arab rouses an ostrich," says Buffon, "he follows her at a distance, without pressing her too hard, but sufficiently to prevent her from taking food, yet not to determine her to escape by a prompt flight" Here the celebrated naturalist fairly admits she has it in her power to escape if she were sufficiently alarmed. "It is the more easy," continues our author, "to follow her in this manner, because she does not proceed in a straight line, and because she describes almost always in her course a circle more or less extended." The Arabs, then, have it in their power to direct their pursuit in a concentric interior circle, and by consequence straiter; and to follow her always at a just distance, by passing over much less ground than she. When they have thus fatigued and starved her for a day or two, they take their opportunity, rush in upon her at full speed, leading her always as much as possible against the wind, and kill her with their clubs, to prevent her blood from spoiling the beautiful whiteness of her feathers. In this account of Buffon, the highest modern authority in matters of this kind, nothing occurs to contradict the assertion of the inspired writer:

---

\* Shaw's Trav.

while he distinctly admits that she runs faster than the fleetest horses, and could not be taken but by artful management.

From the most accurate accounts which Dr Shaw could obtain from his conductors, as well as from Arabs of different places, it appears, that the ostrich lays from thirty to fifty eggs. *Ælian* mentions more than eighty; but Shaw never heard of so great a number. The first egg is deposited in the centre; the rest are placed as conveniently as possible round about it. In this manner, she is said to lay, deposite, or trust "her eggs in the earth, and to warm them in the sand, and forgetteth (as they are not placed like those of some other birds upon trees, or in the clefts of rocks, &c.) that the foot (of the traveller) may crush them, or that the wild beast may break them."\*

She seems, in a great measure, insensible to the tender feelings which so powerfully operate in the greater part of other animals. This assertion indeed, *Buffon* seems inclined to contravert: "As soon," says that writer, "as the young ostriches are hatched, they are in a condition to walk, and even to run and seek their food; so that, in the torrid zone, where they find the degree of heat which they require, and the food which is proper to them, they are emancipated at their birth, and abandoned by their mother, or whose care they have no need. But in countries less warm, for example, at the Cape of Good Hope, the mother watches over her young, so long as her assistance is necessary; and on all occasions, her cares are proportioned to their wants."

This account, *Buffon* takes from *Leo Africanus* and *Kolbè*, to whom he refers; in which it is admitted, that the mother abandons her offspring as soon as they are hatched, although it is alleged, not for want of affection, but because her cares are not necessary. But this is to suppose, that they are not like other young creatures, all of which, require more or less attention from their parents for some time after their birth; an

\* Job xxxix. 14.

anomaly, which cannot be admitted but on the most convincing evidence.

Let us now hear the account of Dr. Shaw, who travelled in the native country of the ostrich, and borrowed his information from the Arabs, who were well acquainted with all her habits and dispositions. "Upon the least distant noise, or trivial occasion, she forsakes her eggs or her young ones, to which, perhaps she never returns ; or, if she does, it may be too late, either to restore life to the one, or to preserve the lives of the other." Agreeably to this account, the Arabs meet sometimes with whole nests of these eggs undisturbed ; some of which are sweet and good ; others are adle and corrupted ; others again, have their young ones of different growths, according to the time, it may be presumed, they have been forsaken by the dam. They oftener meet a few of the little ones, no bigger than well grown pullets, half starved, straggling and moaning about, like so many distressed orphans, for their mother. And in this manner, the ostrich may be said, as in verse sixteenth, "to be hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers ; her labour (in hatching and attending them so far) being in vain without fear," or the least concern of what becomes of them afterwards. This want of affection, is also recorded by Jeremiah in his lamentations : "The daughter of my people is cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness."\*

In her private capacity, she is not less inconsiderate and foolish, particularly in the choice of food, which is often highly detrimental and pernicious to her ; for she swallows every thing greedily and indiscriminately, whether it be pieces of rags, leather, wood, stone, or iron. When Dr. Shaw was at Gran, he saw one of these birds swallow, without any seeming uneasiness or inconveniency, several leaden bullets, as they were thrown upon the floor, scorching hot from the mould ; the inward coats of the œsophagus and stomach being, in his opinion, probably better stocked with glands

\* Lam. iv. 3.



and juices, than in other animals with shorter necks. They are particularly fond of their own excrement, which they greedily eat up as soon as it is voided ; no less fond are they of the dung of hens and other poultry. It seems as if their optic, as well as their olfactory nerves, were less adequate and conducive to their safety and preservation, than in other creatures. The divine Providence in this, no less than in other respects, “ having deprived them of wisdom, neither hath it imparted to them understanding.”\* This part of her character is fully admitted by Buffon, who describes it in nearly the same terms.

The ostrich was aptly called by the ancients, a lover of the deserts. Shy and timorous in no common degree, she retires from the cultivated field, where she is disturbed by the Arabian shepherds and husbandmen, into the deepest recesses of the Sahara. In those dreary wastes, she is reduced to subsist on a few tufts of coarse grass, which here and there languish on their surface, or a few other solitary plants equally destitute of nourishment, and in the Psalmist’s phrase, even “ withered before they are grown up.” To this dry and parched food, may perhaps be added, the great variety of land snails, which occasionally cover the leaves and stalks of these herbs, and which may afford her some refreshment. Nor is it improbable, that she sometimes regales herself on lizards and serpents, together with insects and reptiles of various kinds. Still, however, considering the voracity and size of this camel bird, it is wonderful how the little ones should be nourished and brought up ; and especially, how those of fuller growth, and much better qualified to look out for themselves, are able to subsist.

The attachment of this bird to the barren solitudes of the Sahara, is frequently alluded to in the holy Scriptures ; particularly in the prophecies of Isaiah, where the word *yaanah*, in our translation the owl, ought to be rendered the ostrich. In the splendid palaces of Babylon, so long the scenes of joy and revelry, the prophet foretold, that the shy and timorous ostrich

\* Job xxxix. 17. See Shaw’s Trav.

should fix her abode; than which a greater and more affecting contrast can scarcely be presented to the mind: "And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and ostriches shall dwell there.—And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be an habitation of dragons, and a court for ostriches."\*

When the ostrich is provoked, she sometimes makes a fierce, angry, and hissing noise, with her throat inflated, and her mouth open; when she meets with a timorous adversary that opposes but a faint resistance to her assault, she chuckles or cackles like a hen, seeming to rejoice in the prospect of an easy conquest. But in the silent hours of night, she assumes a quite different tone, and makes a very doleful and hideous noise, which sometimes resembles the roaring of a lion; at other times, it bears a nearer resemblance to the hoarser voices of other quadrupeds, particularly the bull and the ox. She frequently groans, as if she were in the greatest agonies; an action to which the prophet beautifully alludes: "I will make a mourning like the yannah or ostrich." The Hebrew term is derived from the verb *anah*, to exclaim or cry with a loud voice; and may therefore be attributed with sufficient propriety to the ostrich, whose voice is loud and sonorous; especially, as the word does not seem to denote any certain or determined mode of voice or sound peculiar to any one particular species of animals, but one that may be applicable to them all.†

Dr. Brown confirms this account in every particular; he says, the cry of the ostrich resembles the voice of a hoarse child, and is even more dismal. It cannot then but appear mournful, and even terrible to those travellers, who plunge with no little anxiety into those immense deserts, to whom every living creature, man not excepted, is an object of fear, and a cause of danger.

Not more disagreeable, and even alarming, is the hoarse moaning voice of the ostrich to the lonely traveller in the desert, than were the speeches of Job's friends to that afflicted man. Of their harsh and

\* Isa. xiii. 21. and xxxiv. 13, &c.

† See Dr. Shaw's Trav. vol. 2. p. 349.

groundless censures, which were continually grating his ears, he feelingly complains : “ I am a brother to dragons, and a companion to (ostriches) owls.” Like these melancholy creatures that love the solitary place, and the dark retirement, the bereaved and mourning patriarch loved to dwell alone, that he might be free from the teasing impertinences of his associates, and pour out his sorrows without restraint. But he made a wailing also like the dragons, and a mourning like the ostriches ; his condition was as destitute, and his lamentations as loud and incessant as theirs. Or, he compares to those birds his unfeeling friends, who, instead of pouring the balm of consolation into his smarting wounds, added to the poignancy of his grief, by their inhuman conduct. The ostrich, even in a domestic state, is a rude and fierce animal ; and is said to point her hostility, with particular virulence, against the poor and destitute stranger that happens to come in her way. Not satisfied with endeavouring to push him down, by running furiously upon him, she will not cease to peck at him violently with her bill, and to strike at him with her feet, and will sometimes inflict a very serious wound.\* The dispositions and behaviour of Job’s friends and domestics, were equally vexatious and afflicting ; and how much reason he had to complain, will appear from the following statement : “ They that dwell in mine house, and my maidens, count me for a stranger : I am an alien in their sight. I called my servant, and he gave me no answer ; my breath is strange to my wife, though I entreated for the children’s sake of mine own body ; yea, young children despised me, all my inward friends abhorred me. Upon my right hand rise the youth ; they push away my feet, and they raise up against me the ways of their destruction. They mar my path, they set forward my calamity, they have no helper. They come upon me as a wide breaking in of waters ; in the desolation they rolled themselves upon me.”†

### *The Owl.*

The bird of night, which, like the ostrich, delights

\* Shaw’s Trav. vol. 2. p. 348.

† Job xxx. 12.

in the desert and solitary place, is distinguished by several names in the sacred writings. In the book of Psalms, it is mentioned under the name kous, which is evidently derived from the verb kasah, to hide; because the owl constantly hides herself, in the day time, and comes abroad in the evening. The Seventy, Theodotion, Aquila, and other interpreters, render it *νυκτιχοραξ*, in English, the horned owl. The learned Bochart suspected that kous might denote the onocrotalus, thus named from its monstrous cap or bag under the lower chap. It must be admitted, that kous might properly enough be given as a name to that bird, from this extraordinary circumstance in its form; but after the most diligent inquiry, the writer has not been able to discover any difference between the pelican of the ancients, and the onocrotalus; and as kaath is mentioned in the same contexts with kous, and rendered in the ancient versions either the pelican or onocrotalus, kous, in his opinion, must have a different meaning. This idea receives no little confirmation from a passage in the hundred second Psalm, where kous is followed in construction by haraboth, and signifies kous, not of the desert as we render it, but of the desolate or ruined buildings; which exactly corresponds with the habits of the owl, but does not seem so applicable to the onocrotalus, or pelican.

Buffon calls the horned owl the eagle of the night, and the sovereign of that tribe of birds which shun the light of day, and never fly but in the evening, or after it is dark. But, as a description of it is connected with the illustration of no passage of Scripture, it falls not within the design of this work. The voice of the horned owl is said to be frightful, and is often heard resounding in the silence of night; which is the season of his activity, when he flies abroad in search of his prey. He inhabits the lonely rocks or deserted towers on the sides of the mountains; he seldom descends into the plain, and never willingly perches upon trees. The dreary and frightful note of the owl sounding along the desert, and alarming or terrifying the birds that are reposing in their nests, represents



in a very striking manner, the deep and lonely afflictions of the royal Psalmist, and the affecting complaints which his distresses wrung from his bosom.

Yansuph is another term which our translators render the owl; it occurs only three times in the sacred volume, and is derived from the verb *nashaph* to blow, or from *nesheph* the twilight or the dawn. It is supposed to denote a species of owl which flies about in the twilight; and is the same as the twilight bird. But of this interpretation Parkhurst disapproves, contending, that since the *yansuph* is clearly mentioned by Moses among the water fowls,\* and the Seventy have in two passages rendered it by *ibis*,† it should seem to mean some kind of water fowl, resembling the bird of that name; and, from its derivation, remarkable for its blowing. And of such birds, he says, the most eminent seems to be the bittern, which, in the north of England, is called the mire drum, from the noise it makes, which may be heard a long way off. But the opinion of Bochart, that it denotes the owl, is more probable; because the owl delights in the silent desert, where little or no water is to be found; while the ibis is an aquatic bird, whose instincts lead it to the lake, or running stream. In the thirty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, the *yansuph* is mentioned as frequenting the desolated land of Edom, which, according to Dr. Shaw, is remarkably destitute of water, and by consequence, quite improper for the abode of a water fowl, which feeds on fish. It is admitted, that the *kaath* or pelican, another water fowl, is mentioned in the same text with *yansuph*; that all the larger water fowls are extremely shy; that they sometimes build their nests in retired places, a long way from the water where they seek their food; and that even the common heron will come at least twelve or fourteen miles, and perhaps much farther from her usual residence, to the lakes and streams which abound with fish. But no argument can be founded on the arrangements of Scripture, in matters of this kind; because the inspired writers do not always observe a

\* Deut. xi. 17.

† Deut. xiv. 16. Isa. xxxiv. 11

strict order, or scientific classification. It ought also to be remembered, that in the passage quoted from Isaiah, the yansuph is connected with the raven; which is not an aquatic bird. The owl and the raven are associated with greater propriety in scenes of desolation, to which they have been assigned by the common suffrage of the human race, and accordingly regarded as inauspicious birds, and objects of fear and aversion.

“Foeda que fit volucris venturi nuntia luctus  
Ignavus bubo dirum mortalibus omen.”

*Ovid.*

The presence of the owl and the raven, two hateful birds, in company with the cormorant and the bittern, greatly heighten the general effect of the picture delineated by the prophet: “But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness.”

### *The Pelican.*

The pelican is another bird of the desert, to which the sacred writers sometimes allude. Its Hebrew name is kaath, literally the vomiter, from the Hebrew word kaah, to vomit. The reason assigned for this name by the ancients is, that it discharges the shells it had swallowed, after they have been opened by the heat of its belly, in order to pick out the fish, which form its principal food. This fact, says Bochart, is so generally attested by the writers of antiquity, that it cannot be called in question: and then cites a great number of authorities in its support. But with all deference to this learned writer, it may be justly doubted, if this bird really takes the shell fish on which it feeds, into its stomach, in the first instance; it is more probable that it deposits them in the bag or pouch under its lower chap, which serves not only as a net to catch, but also as a repository for its food. In feeding its young ones, (whether this bag is loaded with water or more solid food,) the pelican squeezes the contents of it into their mouths, by strongly compressing it upon its breast with its bill; an action which may well justify the propriety of the name

which it received from the ancient Hebrews. To the same habit, it is probable, may be traced the traditional report, that the pelican in feeding her young, pierces her own breast, and nourishes them with her blood.

Shaw contends, that kaath cannot mean the pelican, because the royal Psalmist describes it as a bird of the wilderness, where that fowl must necessarily starve, because its large webbed feet, and capacious pouch, with the manner of catching its food, which can only be in the water, show it to be entirely a water fowl. But this objection proceeds on the supposition, that the deserts which it frequents contain no water, which is a mistake; for Ptolemy places three lakes in the interior parts of Marmorica, which is extremely desolate; and Moses informs us, that the people of Israel met with the waters of Marah, and the fountains of Elim, in the barren sands of Arabia. Besides, it is well known, that a water fowl often retires to a great distance from her favourite haunts; and this is confirmed by a fact, which Parkhurst states from the writings of Isidore, that the pelican inhabits the solitudes of the Nile. This far famed river, as we know from the travels of Mr. Bruce, rolls its flood through an immense and frightful desert, where water fowls of different kinds undoubtedly find a secure retreat. Mr. Bruce himself, sprang a duck in the burning wilderness, at a considerable distance from its banks, which immediately winged her flight towards it; a clear proof of her being familiarly acquainted with its course. From this circumstance we may infer, that the pelican is no stranger to the most desert and inhospitable borders of the Nile. It also appears from Damir, the Arabian naturalist, quoted by the learned Bochart, that the pelican, like the duck which Bruce found in the desert of Senaar, does not always remain in the water, but sometimes retires from it to a great distance; and indeed its monstrous pouch, which, according to Edwards, in his natural history of birds, is capable of receiving twice the size of a man's head, seems to be given it for this very reason, that it might not want

food for itself and its young ones, when at a distance from the water.

Bochart is of opinion, that kaath, in some passages of Scripture, is intended to express the bittern, which differs from the pelican, by his own admission, only in the form of the bill. Thus, the holy Psalmist complains, "I am like a pelican (bittern) of the wilderness; I am like an owl of the desert."\* The clear and consistent exposition of this passage, he contends, requires the word kaath to be rendered bittern; because the sacred writer compares himself to the bittern and the owl, or more properly the ostrich, on account of his groaning. It is therefore natural to conclude, that both these animals have a mournful cry. Many reasons have been advanced, to prove that the chos, rendered in our translation the owl, is in reality the female ostrich; of which this is one, that it has a most hideous voice, resembling, in a very remarkable manner, the lamentations of a human being in deep affliction. That the Psalmist may be consistent with himself, the same thing must be asserted of the kaath, which it would be difficult to admit, if that term signified only the pelican; for natural historians observe a profound silence in relation to the voice of that bird. But if the name kaath is common to the bittern and the pelican, the difficulty vanishes, for the former has a clear voice. All the ancient natural historians agree, that the bittern, by inserting its bill in the mud of the marsh, or plunging it under water, utters a most disagreeable cry, like the roaring of a bull, or the sound of distant thunder.

But the opinion of that celebrated writer, in this instance, rests upon a false, or at least an uncertain foundation. The afflicted Psalmist seems to refer, not so much to the plaintive voice of these birds, as to their lonely situation in the wilderness. One of the first and most common effects of pungent grief, is the desire of solitude; and on this occasion, the royal Psalmist, oppressed with grief, seems to have become weary of society, and like the pelican, or the female ostrich, to

\* Psal. cii. 6.



have contracted a relish for deep retirement. Besides, as our author allows that the pelican and the bittern differ only in the form of the bill, the translation for which he contends is of no real importance; and it is certainly a good rule to admit of no change, in a received translation, unless it can be shown, that the new term or phrase expresses the meaning of the original with greater justness, propriety, or elegance.

### *The Stork.*

This bird has long been celebrated for her amiable and pious dispositions, in which she has no rival among the feathered race. Her Hebrew name is *hasida*, which signifies pious or benign; to the honour of which, her character and habits, as described by the pen of antiquity, prove her to be fully entitled. She is thus celebrated by an ancient poet:

“Ciconia etiam grata, peregrina, hospita  
Pietati-cultrix.”

*Petronius.*

Her kind and benevolent temper she discovers in feeding her parents in the time of incubation, when they have not leisure to seek their food, or when they have become old, and unable to provide for themselves. This attention of the stork to her parents, is confirmed by the united voice of antiquity; and we find nothing in the Scriptures to invalidate the testimony.

She was classed by the Jewish lawgiver among the unclean birds, probably because she feeds on serpents and other venomous animals, and rears her young by means of the same species of food. This fact is attested by Juvenal in these lines:

———“serpente ciconia pullos  
Nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta.”

In the challenge which the Almighty addressed to Job, the wings and feathers of the ostrich are compared with those of the stork: “Gavest thou the goodly wings unto the peacocks, or wings and feathers unto the ostrich;” or, as it is rendered by the learned Bochart, and after him by Shaw: “the plumage of the stork.” Natural historians inform us, that the wings are tipped with black, and a part of the head and thighs are

adorned with feathers of the same colour; the rest of the body is white. Albert says, the stork has black wings, the tail, and other parts white; while Turner asserts, that the wings are white, spotted with black. From these different accounts, it is evident that the feathers of the stork are black and white, and not always disposed in the same manner.

She constructs her nest with admirable skill, of dry twigs from the forest, and coarse grass from the marsh; but, wisely yielding to circumstances, she does not confine herself to one situation. At one time she selects for her dwelling the pinnacle of a deserted tower, or the canal of an ancient aqueduct; at another, the roof of a church or dwelling house. She frequently retires from the noise and bustle of the town, into the circumjacent fields; but she never builds her nest on the ground. She chooses the highest tree of the forest for her dwelling; but always prefers the fir, when it is equally suitable to her purpose. This fact is clearly stated by the Psalmist, in his meditation on the power of God: "As for the stork, the fir trees are her house."\* In another passage, the Psalmist calls the nest of the sparrow her house: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young."† In the use of this beautiful figure, the inspired bard is supported by one of the highest human authorities:

"Antiquas que domos avium cum stirpibus imis  
Eruit."

*Geor. b. 2.*

But the term house is not used in these passages, merely by a figure of speech; if the description of ancient writers be true, it is in every respect the most proper and expressive that can be selected. The stork chooses the site of her dwelling with much care and intelligence; she combines her materials with great art, and prosecutes her plan with surprising exactness. After the structure is finished, she examines it on all sides, tries its firmness and solidity, supplies any defect she may discover, and with admirable industry, reduces with her bill an unsightly projection, or ill-adjusted

\* *Psa. civ. 17.*

† *Psa. lxxxiv. 3.*

twig, till it perfectly correspond with her instinctive conception of safety, neatness, and comfort.

The inspired writer alludes to this bird, with an air of constant and intimate acquaintance: "As for the stork, the fir tree is her house" We learn from the narrative of Doubdan, that the fields between Cana and Nazareth are covered with numerous flocks of them, each flock containing, according to his computation, more than a thousand. In some parts, the ground is entirely whitened by them; and on the wing, they darken the air, like a congeries of clouds. At the approach of evening, they retire to roost on the trees. The inhabitants carefully abstain from hurting them, on account of their important services in clearing the country of venomous animals.

The annual migration of this bird, did not escape the notice of the prophet Jeremiah, who employs it with powerful effect for the purpose of exposing the stupidity of God's ancient people: "Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed time, and the turtle, the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord"\* They know, with unerring precision, the time when it is necessary for them to remove from one place to another, and the region whither they are to bend their flight; but the people of God, that received many special revelations from heaven, and enjoyed the continual instructions of his prophets, had become so depraved, that they neither understood the meaning of mercies nor judgments,—they knew not how to accommodate themselves to either, nor to answer the design of heaven in such dispensations,—they knew not the signs of their times, nor what they ought to do. The stork, that had neither instructor to guide her, nor reason to reflect, and judgment to determine, what was proper to be done, found no difficulty in discerning the precise time of her departure and return

Some interpreters imagine, that by the phrase, "the stork in the heaven," the prophet means to distinguish between the manner of her departure, and that of other

\* Jer. viii. 7.

migrating birds. The storks collect in immense numbers, and darken the air with their wide extended squadrons, as they wing their flight to other climes; while many other birds of passage come and go in a more private and concealed manner. But, if this was the prophet's design, he ought not to have introduced the crane, or our translators should have found another sense for the term which he uses; for the crane is seen pursuing her annual journey through the heavens equally as the stork, and in numbers sufficient to engage the public attention. When Dr. Chandler was in Asia, about the end of August, he saw cranes flying in vast caravans, passing, high in the air, from Thrace, as he supposed, on their way to Egypt. But, in the end of March, he saw them in the Lesser Asia, busily engaged in picking up reptiles, or building their nests. Some of them, he assures us, built their nests in the ruins of an old fortress; and that the return of the crane, and the beginning of the bees to work, are considered there as a sure sign that the winter is past.

The first clause of that verse, then, equally suits the stork and the crane; and by consequence, the conjecture of these interpreters is unfounded. It is more natural to suppose, that the prophet alludes to the impression of the atmosphere upon these birds, and the hint which instinct immediately suggests, that the time of their migration is come. As soon as they feel the cold season approaching, or tepid airs beginning to soften the rigours of winter, in the open firmament of heaven, where they love to range, they perceive the necessity of making preparations for their departure, or their return. The state of the weather is the only monitor they need to prepare for their journey,—their own feelings, the only guide to direct their long and adventurous wanderings.

From the union of the stork and the crane in the same passage, from the similarity of their form and habits of life, Harmer thinks it by no means improbable, that the Hebrew word *hasida* signifies both these, and in one word, the whole class of birds that come



under the prophet's description. But that respectable writer has no foundation for his opinion; the stork and the crane, although they resemble each other in several particulars, belong to different families, and are distinguished in Hebrew by different names.

The return of these birds to the south, marked the approach of winter, and the time for the mariner to lay up his frail bark; for the ancients never ventured to sea during that stormy season. Stillingfleet has given a quotation from Aristophanes, which is quite appropriate. The crane points out the time for sowing, when she flies with her warning notes to Egypt; she bids the sailor hang up his rudder and take his rest, and every prudent man provide himself with winter garments. On the other hand, the flight of these birds towards the north, proclaimed the approach of spring. The prophet accordingly mentions the times appointed for the stork in the plural number, which is probably used to express both the time of her coming and of her departure.

No doubt is entertained about the meaning of the second term; it is universally allowed to denote the turtle; and as the voice of the turtle and the song of the nightingale are coincident, it seems to be the prophet's intention to mark out the coming of a bird later in the spring than the *hasida*; for, according to Chardin, the nightingale begins to be heard some days later than the appearance of the stork, and marks out the beginning of spring, as the stork indicates the termination of winter.

The only other passage of Scripture which alludes to the stork, occurs in the fifth chapter of Zechariah: "Then lift I up mine eyes and looked, and behold there came out two women, and the wind was in their wings (for they had wings like the wings of a stork,) and they lift up the ephah between the earth and the heaven."\* In the vision of which these words are a part, the prophet beheld in fearful perspective, the future calamities of his nation. The ephah represented the measure of iniquity which the Jews were fast fill-

\* Zech. v. 9.

ing up, by their increasing enormities. The woman whom he saw sitting in the midst of the ephah, signified the Jewish nation in their degenerate state: this woman the angel calls wickedness, the abstract being put for the concrete, the wicked people of the Jews, to whom God was about to render according to their works. Into the ephah the woman is thrust down, and a talent of lead cast upon the mouth of it, to keep her a close prisoner; denoting that the condemned sinner, who has filled up the measure of his iniquity, can neither escape from the curse of God, nor endure the misery which it inflicts. The ephah containing this mystical woman, he now sees carried away into a far country; that is, the nation of the Jews overthrown, their civil and religious polity extinguished, their temple burned, their priests slain, and the poor remains of their people scattered over the face of all the earth. This great and terrible destruction is accomplished by the Roman emperors, Vespasian and Titus, symbolized by "two women who had wings like a stork," which are sufficiently powerful to waft that bird to a very distant country. These symbolical women lifted up the ephah between the earth and the heaven; which was fulfilled when the Roman armies, with a rapidity resembling the flight of a bird of passage, came up against the Jews, now ripe for destruction, and swept them from the land of their fathers, into regions far remote, from which they were not, as in the first captivity, to return after seventy years, but to remain in a state of depression and suffering for many generations. Under the curse of incensed heaven they still remain, and must do so, till the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and then all Israel shall be saved.

### *The Raven.*

This bird is distinguished from all the feathered race, by his sable plumage, and his harsh, lugubrious note. But although black is the colour in which he generally appears, it is not equally intense on every part of his body. "In fact," says Buffon, "the black colour which prevails in this bird, seems to be mixed with vi

olet on the upper part of the body, with ash colour on the throat, and green on the belly, under the feathers of the tail and the large pinions of the wings, and those at the greatest distance from the back." But the sable colour is sufficiently prominent to justify the allusions made to it in the Scriptures. It appears both from sacred and profane writers, that black was a colour held in great estimation among the ancients: it was, in their opinion, emblematical of the inscrutable nature of Deity;\* which was probably the reason that many of their idols were painted of this colour. In Homer, black eyes are celebrated as a distinguishing lineament in female loveliness. They entered also into his idea of masculine beauty, and of course obtained a conspicuous place in his description of the Grecian warriors.†

Nor was black hair regarded with less admiration in the oriental regions, and in some of the adjacent countries. Apuleius praises the locks which are dark as the feathers of the raven. So greatly were they valued in Italy, that some of the more showy and fashionable Romans dyed their hair black, when the God of nature had refused them the honour; a fact which Martial attests in these lines:

"Mentiris juvenem tinctis Lentine capillis,  
Tam subito corvus qui modo Cygnus eras."

*Æpig.* 43.

It was no vulgar praise, then, which the spouse intended, when she uttered these words: "His locks are bushy and black as a raven;"‡ or more literally, his pendulous locks are black as a raven. The raven lock, intensely black and glossy, was reckoned in those regions a mark of youthful prime, and necessary to complete the beauty of the human figure. But when our Lord appeared in vision to John the beloved disciple, "his head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow."§ The contradiction, however, is only apparent; for while the raven locks are meant to express the unlimited and unchangeable power of the Redeemer, the snow white hair with which he appeared to John, was an appropriate emblem of his infinite wis-

\* Maurice's Hist. of India, vol. 2. p. 481.

† Song v. 11.

‡ Il. b. 1. l. 99, & 389.

§ Dan. vii. 9. Rev. i. 14.

dom and prudence. They are both figurative representations of distinct attributes in the character of Jesus Christ, and by consequence are perfectly consistent with each other.

The raven, it is well known, delights in solitude; he frequents the ruined tower or the deserted habitation. Hence, to send a person to the ravens, was, among the ancient Greeks, the same as to imprecate that one might be sent away from the comforts of civil society, to encounter the wants and sufferings of solitary exile; to suffer an ignominious death; to be deprived of burial, and become a banquet to the birds of prey. The sable plumage and harsh discordant voice of that bird, serve to aggravate the horrors of desolation. In the prophecies of Isaiah, it is accordingly foretold, that the raven, with other birds of similar dispositions, should fix his abode in the desolate houses of Edom: "The cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness."\* The prophet Zephaniah, in like manner, makes the raven croak over the perpetual desolations of Nineveh: "Both the cormorant and the bittern," in the Septuagint and other versions, the cormorant and the raven, "shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolations shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work."† In those splendid palaces, where the voice of joy and gladness was heard, and every sound which could ravish the ear and subdue the heart—hence was, for the wickedness of their inhabitants, to hold her reign for ever, interrupted only by the scream of the cormorant and the croaking of the raven.

Solomon appears to give a distinct character to some of the ravens in Palestine, when he says, "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it."‡ The wise man, in this passage, may allude to a species of raven which

\* Isa. xxxiv. 11.

† Zeph. ii. 14.

‡ Prov. xxx. 17.



prefers the valley for her habitation to the clefts of the rock ; or he may perhaps refer to some sequestered valley in the land of Promise, much frequented by these birds, which derived its name from that circumstance : or, as the rocky precipice where the raven loves to build her nest, often overhangs the torrent, (which the original word נַחַל, *nahal*, also signifies) and the lofty tree, which is equally acceptable, rises on its banks, the royal preacher might, by that phrase, merely intend the ravens which prefer such situations. Bochart conjectures, that the valley alluded to, was Tophet, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which the prophet Jeremiah calls the valley of the dead bodies ; because the dead bodies of criminals were cast into it, where they remained without burial, till they were devoured by flocks of ravens, which collected for that purpose, from the circumjacent country. If this conjecture be right, the meaning of Solomon will be this : He who is guilty of so great a crime, shall be subjected to an infamous punishment ; and shall be cast into the valley of dead bodies, and shall find no grave, but the devouring maw of the impure and voracious raven. It was a common punishment in the east, (and one which the orientals dreaded above all others,) to expose in the open fields, the bodies of evil-doers that had suffered by the laws of their offended country, to be devoured by the beasts of the field, and the fowls of heaven. Hence, in Aristophanes, an old man deprecates the punishment of being exposed to the ridicule of women, or given as a banquet to the ravens ; and Horace, in his sixteenth epistle to Quintius, represents it as the last degree of degradation, to be devoured by these hateful birds :

— “ non pascas in cruce corvos.”

The wise man insinuates, that the raven makes his first and keenest attack on the eye ; which perfectly corresponds with his habits, for he always begins his banquet with that part of the body. Isidore says of him, “ primo in cadaveribus oculum petit :” and Epicetetus, Ὅι μὲν κοράκες τῶν τετελευτηκότων τῆς ὀφθαλμοῦ λυμαίνονται : the ravens devour the eyes of the dead. Many other

testimonies might be adduced ; but these are sufficient to justify the allusion in the proverb.

Impure and hateful as the raven has been accounted from the remotest ages, by all the nations of the earth, he had the honour of giving his name to a prince of Midian, who invaded the land of Israel, at the head of an immense army, in the days of Gideon ; for the word *Oreb* signifies a raven. It seems to have been a very common, and a very ancient custom in the east, even among persons of high rank, to give their children the names of particular animals ; and they do not appear to have been very nice in their choice. The father of Shechem, a Canaanitish prince, was called *Hamor*, which signifies an ass ; perhaps on account of the patience and tranquillity which marked his character, for he does not appear, from his conduct, in the different negotiations about *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob*, to have been a dull or stupid person. The raven might, with some reason, seem to the Midianites, a very appropriate name for a stern and sanguinary warrior ; or the prince himself, sympathizing with the general sentiments of his nation, might assume it, in order to strike his enemies with greater terror. Another prince, who shared his honours and his misfortunes, took the no less appropriate name of *Zeeb*, or the wolf, probably for the same reason. The skilful and intrepid hunter, admiring the indefatigable perseverance and activity which the raven displays in pursuing his prey, might for a similar reason, assume his name ; for *Corax*, or the raven, is the name of a hunter, in *Homer*, who lost his life by falling from the top of a rock, while too eagerly urging the chase.

Πας Κορακος πέληε επί τε κρηνη Αρεθουση.

*Odyss. b. 13.*

The singular custom is still practised among the savage tribes of North America, to whom it has been transmitted through the lapse of many generations from their progenitors, that first emigrated into the western continent from the shores of Asia.

Every species of food is acceptable to the raven ; but he prefers the flesh of animals. A vile and disgusting bird, he hovers near the field of battle, in ex-

pectation of gorging himself with the slain ; he attends at the place of execution, to feed upon the bodies of malefactors ; he watches the habitations of disease and infection, to riot upon the putrid carcase ; and when these resources fail, he marks the lamb and other weak defenceless animals, and preys on living flesh. It is pretended, that he will even attack larger animals with success ; and supplying what is deficient in strength by cunning and activity, will fasten upon the backs of wild cattle, and eat them alive and in detail, after having picked out their eyes. What renders his ferocity more odious, is, that it is not in him as in some other animals, the effect of necessity, but a desire of carnage ; as he can subsist on fruits and seeds of every kind, on insects of every name, and even, it is said, on poisonous matters, so that no animal so well deserves the name of omnivorous. If to these base and truculent dispositions, we add his lugubrious plumage, his harsh and mournful note, his ignoble mein, his ferocious look, infection exhaling from his whole body,—we shall not be surprised, that in every age of the world, and among every people, he has been regarded as an object of aversion ; that he was pronounced an unclean bird by the Jewish lawgiver, and the use of his flesh prohibited among the holy people.

To some it may appear surprising, that so vile and abject a creature should be so frequently recognized in Scripture, as an object of care to the Maker and Preserver of all things. When the Most High challenged Job out of the whirlwind, he demanded : “ Who provideth for the raven his food ? When his young ones cry unto God, they wander for lack of meat.”\* In the songs of the temple, it is stated as an argument for praising God, that “ he giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry.”† Our Lord, in the New Testament, directing his disciples to trust in God for their daily subsistence, bids them “ consider the ravens, for they neither sow nor reap, which neither have store-house nor barn ; and God feedeth them ” The ravens do not abandon their young, as some au-

\* Job xxxix. 3.

† Ps. cxlvii. 9.

cient authors pretend ; but cherish them with as much care and attention as other birds generally do, till they are able to provide in some degree for themselves. They are sometimes, however, driven rather prematurely from the nest, before they have attained sufficient vigour and skill to subsist by their own industry ; in this case, pinched with hunger, and abandoned by their parents, they fill the air with their querulous clamours, as it were, complaining to God concerning their destitute and helpless condition. In these straits, Divine Providence condescends to relieve their sufferings, not as the Rabinical and Arabian writers pretend, by creating on the spot innumerable swarms of gnats and flies, more than sufficient to suffice their craving appetites ; but by exciting their instinctive sagacity, to greater and more skilful exertions to procure the necessary supplies. The young lions have often to encounter the same difficulties ; they “ lack and suffer hunger,” in consequence of which, “ they roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.”\* Nor do they cry in vain ; the almighty Benefactor opens his hand, “ they are filled with good,” every want is supplied, every desire satisfied. But the care of Providence is not confined to the young ; it extends also to the parents, that, like their brood, “ neither sow nor reap, have neither store-house nor barn ;” and supplies them with food from his inexhaustible stores. Whatever may be their character and habits, they are the work of infinite wisdom and power ; and if it be not unbecoming the almighty Creator to make such creatures, it cannot be unbecoming to provide for their support. They too have their sphere of action, and their qualities and instincts are usefully employed both for themselves and the other parts of the terrestrial creation ; even the meanness of their character is of no small advantage to the considerate mind, in allaying his fears, and in exciting and establishing his confidence in the wise and bountiful arrangements of Providence. The argument of our Lord is exceedingly strong and pointed. If the Almighty hear not in vain the croaking of a

\* Psa. xxxiv. 11. and civ. 21.



young raven, he surely will not turn a deaf ear to the supplications of his own people.

The raven was the first messenger which Noah sent out, to see if the waters of the flood were abated. The Jewish writers say, that he did not venture far from the ark, but kept flying about it, and soon sought a resting place either within it, among his former associates, or upon the covering. But the Greek writers uniformly maintain, that he left the ark and never returned; and the most eminent Latin fathers adopt the same opinion. Some have endeavoured to reconcile these contradictory assertions, by saying, that the raven returned to the ark, but did not resume his former place in the division allotted to the feathered tribes. But the attempt is vain; for the Hebrew writers expressly say, the raven returned to the ark; and the Greek writers, in terms equally precise, that he returned no more. The sentiment of the Hebrew writers is undoubtedly countenanced by the text, which does not indeed say, that the raven returned to the ark, although it is plainly understood: He “went forth, going and returning until the waters were dried up from the earth;” that is, he often went and returned. Now, if the raven often went out of the ark, he must have often returned to it, as the sacred writer seems to intimate. The Chaldee paraphrasts, Jonathan and Onkelos, and the Samaritan interpreter, all view the text in the same light, and render it, He “went forth going and returning.” The Arabic version, edited at Paris, gives the same sense; “He went forth and returned:” and Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, affirms expressly that the raven returned to Noah.

The celebrated Bochart inclines to the opinion of the Grecian writers, that the raven returned no more; and he supposes they read the text with the negative, which has been omitted by the carelessness of some transcriber, *וְלֹא שָׁב*, and he returned not again. The future is used for the preterite, which is quite common in the Scriptures; and of which twenty examples at least may be found in the hundred seventh Psalm. Nor do the phrases *וְלֹא שָׁב* and *וְשָׁב וְלֹא שָׁב* differ much in the

writing; for the letters *vau* and *yod*, in ancient manuscripts are so similar, as to be very often exchanged; and the *lamed* differs very little from the *tsade*, except in the horn, which in the latter descends from the right side, while in the former it rises above the line on the left side; and this Bochart is inclined to believe is the real origin of the different reading and interpretation of these words.

But this solution evidently proceeds upon a mere gratuitous assumption, that some transcriber has made not fewer than three blunders in writing two succeeding words, which is not very probable; and still less probable that the corrupted text should escape the notice of the Chaldee paraphrasts, and other learned writers. We ought so to venerate the Hebrew text as never to depart from it without the most obvious necessity; for if it may be altered for the sake of an ingenious conjecture, (as Bochart candidly admits his emendation to be,) or a more perspicuous reading, the authority of the sacred Scriptures, as the supreme rule of faith and manners, will soon be destroyed. It is better, therefore, to abide by the text in its present state, till the existence of corruption be established by satisfactory proof. Bochart objects to the obscurity of the received text: "Which went forth to and fro;" or going and returning; but the sense which is commonly given by many critics and expositors, is sufficiently clear and precise. It embraces two things; the departure of the raven from the ark, expressed by the verb in the future tense; and his conduct afterwards, expressed by the infinitive absolute, going and returning, sometimes making an excursion to the tops of the mountains, which began to rise above the surface of the waters, and at other times returning to rest upon the ark, or to resume his place within. We may not be able to assign the reason why Noah suffered the raven to go and return, and to wander about fifty days without success, after he had learned from the dove all he wanted to know; yet the fact may be certain. Many events have actually taken place, for which, owing to the remoteness of the age in which they happened, and our

ignorance of circumstances, no satisfactory reason can be assigned. But the true reason seems to be this, the raven did not return into the ark, but only rested upon it. This solution, which, after all Bochart has said to the contrary, seems neither inconsistent with the words of Moses, nor the nature of things, entirely removes the difficulty.

The natural habits of this bird, and the state of the world, are both favourable to the idea that he did not return into the ark. It is well known, that he delights to wade in the mire, and to feed on carrion; and by consequence, he could be at no loss for a resting place, and for subsistence, after the waters began to subside. The dove which Noah sent out, perhaps at the same time, or a few days afterwards, on the same errand, found herself in very different circumstances. She could not rest on the slimy tops of the mountains, nor feed on the carcasses of men and animals, which were floating on the surface of the deep. To avoid being drowned in the waters, or dying of hunger on the covering of the ark, she was compelled to return, and take shelter under the protection of Noah. This is stated in the clearest terms by the sacred historian: "But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark." But the raven not being under the same necessity, declined the services of the benevolent patriarch, roving on the summits of Ararat, or perching on the roof of his former abode, till the waters retired from the face of the ground, and the imprisoned animals were dismissed, to resume, upon the earth or in the air, their former habits.

It is a singular circumstance, that the raven, an unclean bird, and one too of very gross and impure dispositions, was chosen by Jehovah to provide for his servant Elijah, when he concealed himself, by the divine command, from the fury of Ahab.\* So improbable is the story in the ear of reason, that morose and vo-

\* 1 Kings xvii. 4.

racious ravens should become caterers for the prophet, that some interpreters have maintained that the original word denotes merchants or Arabians, or the inhabitants of the city Arbo: according to this interpretation, the promise would run; I have commanded the Arabs or the Orebim to nourish thee. But it is easy to show that these opinions have no foundation in Scripture and reason. The prophet Ezekiel indeed describes the merchants of Tyre by the phrase (עֲרֵבֵי מַעְרֹכָה) arbi mearobeha, "thy merchants who transact thy business:" but the word orebim (עֲרֵבִים) by itself, never signifies merchants. Nor had God said in general, I have commanded the merchants, but I have commanded the merchants of this or that place, to nourish thee. The situation of the place in which the miracle happened, refutes the other opinions; for in the neighbourhood of Jordan, where Elias concealed himself, there were no Arabs, no Orebim, and no city which bore the name of Arbo. Besides, the Arabs are not called in Hebrew (עֲרֵבִים) orebim, but (עֲרָבִים) arvim, and the inhabitants of Arbo, if any city of that name existed, according to the genius of the Hebrew language, must have been called (עֲרַבְיִים) arabojim, not orebim. Add to this, Elias was commanded to hide himself there; but how could he hide himself, if the inhabitants of the city or encampment knew of his retreat, as they must have done, if his daily subsistence depended upon their bounty. The place of his retreat must have been discovered in a very short time to Ahab, who sought him with great industry in every direction. The solemn declaration of Obadiah to the prophet, when he went by the divine command to show himself to the king, proves how impossible it was for him to remain concealed in the inhabited part of the country: "As the Lord thy God liveth, there is no nation or kingdom whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee; and when they said, he is not there, he took an oath of the kingdom and nation, that they found thee not"\* Hence, these haorebim were not merchants, nor human beings of any station or employment, but true ravens; and so the term has

\* 1 Kings xviii, 10



been rendered by the whole Christian church, and by many Jewish writers, particularly by their celebrated historian Josephus.

These voracious and impure animals received a commandment from their Maker to provide for his prophet by the brook Cherith, near its confluence with the Jordan. The record is couched in these terms: "Get thee hence and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan: and it shall be that thou shall drink of the brook; and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there."\* In the history of Providence, such commands are by no means uncommon; the locust, the serpent, and the fishes of the sea, have all in their turn received a charge to do the will of their Almighty Creator. Thus he promised to Solomon at the dedication of the temple: "If I command the locusts to devour the land—if my people which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wickedness; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land."† The marine serpent that lurks in the deepest caverns of the ocean, in like manner hears his voice, and submits to his authority: for Jehovah directed the prophet to address his guilty countrymen in these memorable terms: "Though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them."‡ Nor was the great fish which he prepared to swallow up the refractory prophet, less prompt in its obedience: "And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land."§ His providence extends its powerful influence even to inanimate objects: "I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their hosts have I commanded."|| And David, in the spirit, complained of his ancestors, that "they believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation; though he had commanded the clouds from above, and opened the doors of heaven."¶ Even the furious billows of the sea dare not pass the

\* 1 Kings xvii. 3.  
§ Jon. ii. 10.

† 2 Chron. vii. 14.  
|| Isa. xlv. 12.

‡ Amos ix. 3.  
¶ Psa. lxxviii. 23.

line which his finger has traced, without his permission: "I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swaddling band for it, and brake up for it my decreed place, and set bars and doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."\* The inanimate and irrational parts of creation, properly speaking, cannot receive and execute the commands of the Almighty; they are only passive instruments employed by him in his providential dispensations, to produce certain effects. To command the ravens, then, is to make use of them in providing for the necessities of his servant; to impart for a time an instinctive care to supply him with food, to which they were by nature entire strangers, and which they ceased to feel when the end was accomplished. A command to sustain the destitute seer, after the brook of which he drank was dried up, was addressed in a very different manner to the widow of Zarephath. It was couched in words addressed to her understanding and heart, while the secret power of Jehovah inclined her to yield a prompt and efficacious obedience.

On this occasion, a number of ravens were employed, because the service of one was not sufficient to supply the prophet with daily food. But the circumstance entirely accords with the native instincts of that bird; for the ravens go in quest of their prey in troops, and share in common the spoils of the chase. Following, therefore, the instincts of their nature, which received for a time a peculiar direction, by the miraculous interposition of Jehovah, a number of ravens associated together, in order to supply the wants of Elijah, whom his country had abandoned to the rage of an impious and cruel monarch; "And they brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening, and he drank of the brook." The Septuagint, in many copies read the passage; "They brought bread in the morning, and flesh in the evening;" but the common reading is entitled to the preference. It gives a striking display of divine goodness, that when the

\* Job xxxviii. 12.

whole resources of Israel were exhausted by a long and severe famine, the prophet of the Lord was miraculously and abundantly supplied with nutritious food twice every day. The ravens brought it in the evening and in the morning, which were the stated hours of repast among the Jews and other oriental nations.

The Hebrew writers eagerly inquire, where the ravens found the provisions to supply the wants of Elijah; and, as may be supposed, very different are the opinions they advance: but on this question, which is of little importance, no certainty can be obtained. The Scriptures are silent on the subject, and we have no other means of information. It was enough for the prophet, that his winged providers regularly supplied his necessities; and it is sufficient to excite our admiration of the power and goodness of God, and our confidence in his providential care, without attempting to discover what the divine wisdom has seen meet to conceal. On another occasion, an angel was sent from heaven to supply the exhausted prophet with bread and water in the desert; which, in the eye of reason, may seem to be a more becoming messenger of the king of glory, than a raven. But “the ways of God are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts;” he did not think it beneath his dignity at this time, to employ the ravens in the same office; and he perhaps intended to teach us, that all creatures are equally subject to his authority, and fit for his purpose. When he gives the commandment, a raven is as successful in his service, according to the range of its faculties, as an angel; and we must not presume to refuse or slight his aid, how mean soever the agent he condescends to employ. The Jewish legislator placed the raven in the list of unclean birds, which imparted pollution to every thing they touched; but the same God who gave the law, had a right to repeal or suspend it; and that he did suspend it for a time, in favour of his persecuted servant, cannot be reasonably denied. Nor was this a singular instance of divine clemency; for the observance of ceremonial institutions often yielded to urgent necessity. The Jews were forbidden to touch a dead

carcase ; but Samson was allowed, for a special purpose, to eat of the honey which he found in the dead lion. The priests only were permitted by the law to eat the shew bread ; yet David, and his men, were justified by our Lord himself in using the consecrated loaves, when no other could be procured.

Many are the reasons assigned by different writers, for the employment of ravens on this occasion ; but they are so trifling, or so fanciful, that it is unnecessary to state them ; the true reason, perhaps, was to convince the dejected prophet, that although his nation had forsaken him, the God whom he served, continued to watch over him with unceasing care ; and that he would employ the most unpromising means, and counteract the most powerful instincts, rather than suffer him to want the necessaries of life. And when he saw those voracious birds, the cravings of whose appetite are seldom entirely satisfied, part, of their own accord, with their favourite provision, morning and evening, for many days, and bring it themselves to the place of his retreat ; he could not mistake or disregard the secret influence under which they acted.

The brook Cherith, on whose border the miracle was wrought, is supposed to be the same as the river Kana, mentioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Joshua, which watered the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin. This brook derived its name Kana, from the reeds, which, in great abundance, clothed its banks ; among which the prophet found a secure retreat from the persecution of his enemies. Its other name, Cherith, may be traced to the verb Charah, which the Greek interpreters render to feed ; because on its margin the prophet was fed by the ravens. Were this conjecture true, the name must have been given by anticipation ; for which no satisfactory reason can be assigned. It is more natural to suppose, that, as the verb commonly signifies to dig, and sometimes to rush on with violence, the name Cherith alludes to the violent rapidity of the stream at certain seasons of the year, or to the deep pits, which, like many other torrents in those regions, it excavates in its furious course.



The particular situation of this brook is more distinctly marked by the sacred historian, who says, it “is before Jordan.” This phrase seems to mean, that it flowed into the Jordan; and from the second clause of the verse we may infer, that its course lay on the west side of the river, because it is said by God to Elijah, “Get thee hence, and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan;” for Elijah must have been on the west side of Jordan, when he was commanded to go eastward to a stream that flowed into the Jordan on that side.

### *The Hawk.*

This bird is distinguished by the swiftness of her flight, and the rapid motion of her wings in flying. But as it is the first of these which naturally fixes the attention of an observer, the Hebrews, according to their invariable custom, selected it as the reason of the name by which she is known in their language; they call her (נץ) nets, from the verb natsa, to fly. She was reckoned, by many of the ancients, the swiftest of the feathered race. In Homer, the descent of Apollo from heaven, is compared to her flight:

——— ἰζηκε εοικως

Ωκει φαστοφονω, ος' ακισος πετηνων.

*Il. b. 15. l. 237.*

“From the mountains of Ida he descended like a swift hawk, the destroyer of pigeons, that is the swiftest of birds.”

In the thirteenth book, Ajax tells Hector, the day should come when he would wish to have horses swifter than hawks, to carry him back to the city.

Θασσοντας ἰζηκων εμεναι καλλιγριχας ιππους.

*l. 819.*

Among the Egyptians, the hawk was the symbol of the winds; a sure proof that they contemplated with great admiration, the rapidity of her motions. For the same reason, according to some writers, she was consecrated to the sun, which she resembles in the surprising swiftness of her career, and the facility with which she moves through the boundless regions of the sky. This custom of consecrating the hawk to Apollo, the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians, among whom

no animal was so sacred as the ibis and the hawk. So great was their veneration for these animals, that if any person killed one of them, with or without design, he was punished with death; while for the destruction of any other animal, he was only subjected to an arbitrary fine.

This bird, so highly venerated among the heathen, was pronounced unclean by the Jewish lawgiver; it was to be an abomination to the people of Israel; its flesh was not to be eaten, nor its carcase touched with impunity. The reason of this law may probably be found in her dispositions and qualities; she is a bird of prey, and, by consequence, cruel in her temper, and gross in her manners. Her mode of living too, may probably impart a disagreeable taste and flavour to the flesh, and render it, particularly in a warm climate, improper for the table. Nor do we know that it was ever relished by any people, although the pressure of necessitous circumstances may have occasionally reconciled individuals to use it for food. Her daring spirit, her thirst of blood, the surprising rapidity of her flight, and her perseverance in the chase, soon pointed her out to the hunter as a valuable assistant; but even he willingly resigns her carcase to be meat to the beasts of the field.

Of this bird Jehovah demands, "Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom, and stretch her wings towards the south?" Jerome and several other interpreters render the words, By thy prudence doth the hawk renew her plumage, having expanded her wings towards the south: because the verb (אָבַר) *abar*, in the future of the Hiphil, seems to be formed from the noun (אֵבֶר) *Alber*, or (אֵבְרָה) *Albrah*, which signifies a feather. This law, by which the eagle, the hawk, and other birds, annually shed their feathers, was not contrived by the wisdom of man: although it appears he is able, by certain managements, to accelerate the moulting season, as well as the renovation of the plumage. But, as means and remedies derive all their efficacy from God, and depend for success only upon his co-operation, it may still be demanded, Doth the hawk renew her plumage by thy

wisdom, expanding her wings towards the south? It is said, by an ancient writer on this passage, that humid and warm places are favourable to this change, and are therefore diligently sought for by hawkers, with the view of promoting the moulting of their falcons. When the south wind blows, the wild hawks, instructed by their instinctive sagacity, expand their wings, till their limbs become heated; and by this means, the old plumage is relaxed, and the moulting facilitated. But when the south wind refuses its aid, they expand their wings to the rays of the sun, and, shaking them violently, produce a tepid gale for themselves; and thus their bodies being heated, and their pores opened, the old feathers more easily fall off, and new ones grow up in their place.

According to others, these words refer, not to the annual renovation of the plumage, but to the long and persevering flight of the hawk towards the south, on the approach of winter. Her migration is not conducted by the wisdom and prudence of man; but by the superintending and upholding providence of the only wise God. The words of Jehovah cannot be understood as referring to the falconer's art; for we have no evidence that the hawk was employed in hunting, till many ages after the times in which the patriarchs flourished. Besides, if the divine challenge referred to that amusement, the direction of her flight could not be confined to the south; for she pursues the game to every quarter of heaven.

The renowned Chrysostom on this passage inquires, why Jehovah has made no mention of sheep and oxen, and other animals of the same kind, but only of useless creatures, which seem to have been formed for no beneficial or important purpose. But is it to be supposed, that God, who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working, has made any part of his works in vain? We may not be able to discover, after the most careful investigation, the end which the Almighty had in view, when he created some of his works; but shall we presume, on this account, to pronounce them useless or insignificant? So far from being a useless bird, the



hawk, in some cases, brings the most important and effectual assistance to the hunter. It has already been observed, that the antelope, which seems rather to fly than to run, leaves the swiftest dog far behind; and could never be overtaken without the help of the falcon. The hawk, then, is not the useless and insignificant creature which the Greek father represents her; on the contrary, she has conferred benefits on mankind of no inconsiderable value.

---

## CHAP. XI.

### HARMLESS BIRDS.

#### *The Dove.*

**THE** allusions in the sacred volume to this bird, are both numerous and important. She was known to the ancient Hebrews by the name (יֹנָה) yona, perhaps, says the learned Bochart, to intimate, that she is a native of Greece; for the Greeks were anciently called (Ἴωνες) Iones, as has been already proved; and in Hebrew (יוֹנִים) yonim, or Javanim, that is the sons of Javan, the father of the colony which settled in those parts. One thing is certain, if any conclusion may be drawn from the fabulous history of Greece, that the dove has resided in that country from the remotest antiquity. Herodotus mentions a very ancient tradition among the Greeks, that the Dodonæan dove, taking her place on a spreading beech, pronounced with human voice, That it was in the decree of the fates, that an oracle of Jupiter should be established there; which was by far the most ancient of all the oracles in Greece. Another is recorded by Plutarch, which was evidently transmitted from the mountains of Ararat; and proves that Deucalion was no other than the patriarch Noah, the second father of our species: That a dove sent from the ark by the former, was a sign of tempest when



she returned, and of serenity when she departed. The Greeks have another tradition, that, in the island of Crete, doves nourished Jupiter with ambrosia, brought from the streams of the ocean; a story which may be traced with ease to this line of their great poet:

*Ἀμβροσίην Διὶ πατρὶ φερέσιν.*

*Odys.*

“They bring ambrosia to father Jove.”

When the Argonauts were about to attempt a passage among the rocky isles of the Thracian Bosphorus, they were advised by the prophet Phineas, to send out a dove; which, if she passed them in safety, they might follow. In the second book of the Iliad, several cities in Bœotia, and the Peloponnesus, are celebrated for their innumerable flocks of doves; and a cluster of islands near Smyrna, were for the same reason called Peristerides, or the pigeon island. From this statement, it may be inferred, that the dove came into Greece and the surrounding countries, very soon after the flood.

It is evident from the Scriptures, that Syria, from the earliest postdiluvian times, abounded with doves. When Abraham was received into covenant with God, not many generations after the flood, he offered in sacrifice, by the divine command, a turtle dove, and a young pigeon.\* And, in the law of Moses, the sacrifice of turtle doves, and young pigeons, is every where prescribed. It is alleged from Ctesias, by Diodorus, and R. Azarias, a Jewish writer, that Semiramis, the far-famed queen of Babylon, derived her name from the note of the turtle; for it may be traced to (צִמְרִי) zemir, the song of birds, and particularly of the dove. Thus in the Song, “The time (צִמְרִי) of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.”† The dove was long regarded by the orientals, and particularly by the Assyrians, probably on account of her services to Noah and his family, with great veneration. A golden dove adorned the head of the Syrian goddess, and shared in the honours of that pretended deity. From the time of Semiramis, who, in the fabulous history of Assyria, was in a wonderful

\* Gen. xv. 9.

† Song ii. 12.

manner nourished and preserved by an immense flock of doves, that beautiful bird was actually worshipped as a goddess. This fact, which Otesias records, is attested by Xenophon, who declares, that the inhabitants of Syria would not suffer them to be molested. The infatuated people looked upon them as the most sacred of the feathered race: and thought it unlawful even to touch them. The use of these birds was by law prohibited to the Syrians, from the earliest times; and, while they made no scruple to eat other fowls, they carefully abstained from the dove; because she was not only sacred to their principal goddess, but was herself elevated to the rank of a divinity, and numbered among the gods. A figure of the same bird, surrounded with the rainbow, in allusion to the flood, waved in the banners of the Assyrian monarchs.\* To that symbol, the prophet Jeremiah undoubtedly refers in these words: "Their land is desolate, because of the fierceness of the oppressor;" strictly the fierceness of the dove, "and because of his fierce anger." And in another part of the prophecy: "Arise, and let us go again to our own people, and to the land of our nativity, from the oppressing sword;" (חֶרֶב הַדּוֹבָה.) from the sword of the dove.—"For fear of the oppressing sword, (the sword of the dove,) they shall turn every one to his people, and they shall flee every one to his own land."† Another allusion to the symbol which was blazoned

---

\* In the *first* place, this assertion is not proved; and our author acknowledges that it is disputed by Bochart. See page 62. In the *second* place, the word דּוֹבָה which it is here recommended to render *dove*, is a regular participle feminine, from the verb דָּבָה to oppress; and in three of the instances adduced, it has its feminine substantives expressed; (Jer. xli. 16, and l. 16. חֶרֶב הַדּוֹבָה, the oppressing sword, and Zeph. iii. 1. הָעִיר הַדּוֹבָה the oppressing city;) and in the other instance (Jer. xxv. 38) its substantive חֶרֶב, is understood according to the common reading. but in some copies, it is expressed instead of דּוֹבָה before the participle. In the *third* place, the literal meaning in each of these instances is perfectly consonant with the connexion: and it requires some evidence, which we have not yet seen, to convince us that the figurative allusions, for which the author contends, are not far-fetched and incongruous. I. C.

† Jer. xxv. 38; and xli. 16. and l. 16.

on the standard of the Assyrian monarchs, occurs in the prophecies of Zephaniah, where Jerusalem is called the dove; because in her conduct she resembled Babylon, the capital of their empire: "Woe to her that is filthy and polluted, to the city (that resembles) the dove."\*

The conclusion to which these statements lead, is obvious and incontrovertible, that in Syria, as in Greece, the dove had fixed her dwelling in every age. Bochart indeed admits, that the era of her appearance in Syria and the neighbouring countries, is involved in obscurity. Although it is quite clear from the laws of Moses respecting sacrifice, that she was common in those parts in his time; yet it may be questioned whether Abraham, when he entered into covenant with Jehovah, did offer in sacrifice a young pigeon; because the original term (גוזל) gozal, signifies the young of the dove, properly so called, of the turtle, of the wood-pigeon, and other varieties of that species. But, since the turtle is uniformly joined with the pigeon, and in the Mosaic laws respecting sacrifice, which were dictated by Jehovah himself, the God of Abraham and his posterity, it can scarcely be doubted, that the gozal, which the patriarch offered by the divine command on that memorable occasion, was in reality a young pigeon. It is there joined with the turtle; its blood is shed in order to ratify the covenant on which the whole Mosaic dispensation rested, to which all succeeding sacrifices, under the law, had a reference; it was therefore, strictly, the young of a dove. And, besides, if Syria did not lie directly in the road from the mountain on which the ark rested, to Greece, it was certainly not far distant. It is therefore to be expected, that the dove would appear in Syria, and in Greece, nearly about the same time.

The doves of Semiramis, our learned author considers as involved in equal uncertainty. The later Syrians worshipped (דור) youim, or domestic doves, in honour of Semiramis; but it was the wood-pigeons, as may be gathered from Ctesias, that guarded the infancy

\* See Bochart.



of that potent queen; for the places which they frequented, says that writer, were desert and stony. Hence, the name of Semiramis, which was borrowed from that circumstance, is explained by Hesychius, the mountain dove. Nor can it be determined, from the history of that sovereign, in what age the dove began to frequent the plains of Syria and Palestine, because the time when she flourished is very uncertain. According to Ctesias, a very fabulous writer, she was the wife of Ninus, who reigned at Babylon, in the days of Abraham. But others make her the daughter of Beloch, who flourished more than five hundred years later than Ninus. Herodotus brings her down within two hundred years of the elder Cyrus, who swayed the sceptre more than fifteen hundred years after the death of Ninus, the supposed husband of Semiramis. This powerful and victorious queen, who subjected so many nations to her dominion, and shook the earth with the terror of her name, did not govern at Babylon in the time of Abraham, but Amraphel, a petty prince, and one of the confederate kings who invaded the vale of Sodom, whom Abraham surprised on their retreat, and completely defeated.

Bochart also doubts the truth of the story told by some writers, respecting the figure of a dove blazoned on the banners of the Assyrian kings, because no ancient author can be cited in whose works it is recorded. And it is most probable, that Cyrus, after the conquest of Babylon, retained the same military ensigns under which his ancestors, the Medes and Assyrians, had been accustomed to combat. It appears from Xenophon, that their ensign was a golden eagle raised upon a long spear, which was adopted by all the kings of Persia; and he contends that the texts quoted from the prophecies of Jeremiah, allude not to the dove, as many writers have supposed, but to the severe oppression which his people had to suffer from the Assyrian arms. It cannot, however, be doubted, that the dove was long a favourite emblem among the Assyrians; was held in great veneration, and even worshipped as a goddess in Syria: though it may be



difficult to ascertain at what precise time the idolatrous custom was introduced.

The dove is universally admitted to be one of the most beautiful objects in nature. The brilliancy of her plumage, the splendour of her eye, the innocence of her look, the excellence of her dispositions, and the purity of her manners, have been the theme of admiration and praise in every age. To the snowy whiteness of her wings, and the rich golden hues which adorn her neck, the inspired Psalmist alludes in these elegant strains: “Though ye have lien among the pots, yet ye shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.”\* These bold figures do not seldom occur in the classical poets of antiquity. Virgil celebrates the *argenteus anser*, the silver coloured goose; Ovid, the crow which once rivalled the dove in whiteness;† Lucretius, the changeful hues of her neck, which she turns to the sun beam, as if conscious of its unrivalled beauty.‡

Mr. Harmer is of opinion, that the holy Psalmist alludes, not to an animal adorned merely by the hand of nature, but to the doves that were consecrated to the Syrian deities, and ornamented with trinkets of gold; and agreeably to this view, he interprets the passage, “Israel is to me as a consecrated dove; and though your circumstances have made you rather appear like a poor dove, blackened by taking up its abode in a smoky hole of the rock; yet shall ye become beautiful and glorious as a Syrian silver coloured pigeon, on whom some ornament of gold is put.”

But this view makes the Holy Ghost speak with some approbation, or at least without censure, of a heathenish rite, and even to borrow from it a figure to illustrate the effects of divine favour among his chosen people. No other instance of this kind occurs in the sacred Scriptures, and therefore it cannot be admitted here without much stronger evidence than that respectable writer has produced. It is much more natural to suppose, that the Psalmist alludes to particoloured doves, with white wings, and the rest of their feathers-

\* Psa. lxxviii. 13.    † Met. b. 2. Fable 7.    ‡ Book 2. verse 800

of a bright brown. Buffon mentions a species of turtle dove in the bay of Campeachy, which is entirely brown, while others are of a snowy white. To these varieties, the sacred writer might refer; and the more effectually to represent the blissful effects of divine favour, might combine the beauties of each into one picture.

The surprising brightness of her eye, and the simplicity and chastity of her look, which is directed only to her mate, are selected by the Spirit of God to express the purity and fidelity of a genuine believer: "Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold thou art fair; thou hast doves' eyes."\* A faithful index of the holiness which reigns within, they neither court the notice nor meet the glance of a strange lord; they are lifted up to heaven, and steadfastly fixed on the glorious realities of a better world. Sensible of the sin and danger of casting a wishful eye on forbidden objects, the true Christian earnestly prays, "Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity; and quicken thou me in thy way;"† and, like Job, he makes a covenant with his eyes, that his mind may not be polluted with an unholy thought. He looks "not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."

The same beautiful figure is employed to represent the peerless excellencies of the Redeemer, and particularly his infinite wisdom and knowledge, which are ever exercised for the good of his people: which are pure and holy, and in the estimation of every saint, as in their own nature, ineffably precious and lovely: "His eyes are as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters, washed with milk and fitly set."‡ The eyes of a dove, always brilliant and lovely, kindle with peculiar delight by the side of a crystal brook, for this is her favourite haunt: Here she loves to wash and to quench her thirst. But the inspired writer seems to intimate that, not satisfied with a single rivulet, she delights especially in those places which are watered

\* Song i. 15.      † Psal. cxix. 37.      ‡ Song v. 12.

with numerous streams, whose full flowing tide approaches the height of the banks, and offers her an easy and abundant supply. They seem as if they were washed with milk, from their shining whiteness: and fitly, rather fully set, like a gem set in gold, neither too prominent nor too depressed, but so formed as with nice adaptation to fill up the socket. So precious and admirably fitted to the work of mediating between God and man, are the excellencies of Jesus Christ. God and man in one person. he is at once invested with all the attributes of Deity, and all the perfections of which our nature is capable. As the eternal Son of God, he is wisdom and prudence itself; and as the Son of man, he is holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners: "He is white and ruddy, the chief among ten thousand: yea, he is altogether lovely."

The voice of the dove is peculiarly tender and plaintive, and bears a striking resemblance to the groan of a person in distress. This circumstance is admirably described by the elegant muse of Virgil:

"Nec tamen interea raucae tua cura palumbes  
Nec gemere aerea cessabit turtur ab ulmo."

The inspired bard, as may well be supposed, is not less true to nature. Hezekiah, alluding to the sickness from which he had just recovered, pours out his gratitude to Jehovah in these emphatical terms: "Like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter; I did mourn as a dove;" and the men of Judah thus deplore the bitter consequences of their sin: "We mourn sore like doves; we look for judgment, but there is none; for salvation, but it is far off from us:"\* in Hebrew, we groan with the groaning of the dove; that is, with a heavy and continual groaning. The prophet Ezekiel, describing the grievous lamentations of his people in the day of their destruction, employs the same figure: "But they that escape of them shall escape, and shall be on the mountains like doves of the valleys, all of them mourning every one for his iniquity."† The hoarse and mournful cooing of the dove, gives a vivid idea of the

\* Isa. xxxviii. 14. and lix. 14.

† Ezek. vii. 16



low and murmuring complaints uttered by the dejected captives, dragged by the pitiless conqueror from the land of their fathers, to a far distant and unfriendly region. To this circumstance, Nahum alludes, when he predicts the desolations of Nineveh: "Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts."\*

The sacred writers more than once allude to the flight of this bird, which they praise for its swiftness and ease. "Who are these," said Isaiah, "that fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows."† In this passage, he beheld in vision, the captive Israelites liberated by the decree, and encouraged by the invitation of Cyrus, returning with the greatest alacrity to the land of their fathers; and exulting at the sight, he cries out with surprise and pleasure, "Who are these that fly as doves to their windows?" The prophet apparently supposes, that in his time, buildings for the reception of doves were very common. And this is by no means improbable; for, when Maundrell visited Palestine, dove cotes were numerous in some parts of the country. The dove flies more swiftly when she returns to the windows of these cotes, than when she leaves them; because, she hastens to revisit her young, which she had left, and to distribute among them the food which she had collected. A similar passage occurs in Hosea: "They shall tremble as a dove out of Egypt; and as a dove out of the land of Assyria; and I will place them in their houses, saith the Lord"‡ They shall fly with trepidation; or, like a dove trembling for its young, or alarmed for its own safety, which puts forth its utmost speed. Phrases of this kind, are not uncommon in the sacred writings; thus, when Samuel came to Bethlehem, the elders of the town trembled at his coming; that is, they ran out with trepidation to meet him.§ A similar phrase occurs in the third chapter of Hosea: "They shall fear to the Lord and his goodness;" that is, they shall run with trepidation to the Lord and his goodness in the latter days. These

\* Nahum ii. 7. † Isa. lx. 8. ‡ Hos. xi. 11. § יִתְרַדּוּ לִקְרֹאָתוֹ, 1 Sam. xvi. 4.



verbs, (חָרַד) harad and (פָּחַד) pahad, which are nearly synonymous, according to some Jewish writers, mean only to return with haste. Thus, Aben Ezra, on the last quotation from the prophecies of Hosea: "They shall return with haste to the Lord and his goodness." Instances of the same mode of speech, are not wanting in classical authors. Thus, in the ninth book of the *Æneid*:

"Ne trepidate meas, Teucrici, defendere naves."

Of which, the meaning, according to Servius and other commentators, is, *ne festinate*; Do not make haste to defend my ships. And Livy furnishes another example, "Quisque—trepidat ad prima signa;" Every one trembles, that is, hastens to the first standards. When the prophet therefore says, "They shall tremble as a dove out of Egypt;" he means, they shall fly with the utmost speed out of Egypt, and out of the land of Assyria.

In allusion to her extraordinary swiftness, the Psalmist prays: "Oh, that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest. Lo, then I would wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest."\* The classical bards of Greece and Rome, make frequent allusions to her surprising rapidity, and adorn their lines with many beautiful figures from the manner in which she flies. Sophocles compares the speed with which she cleaves the ætherial clouds, to the impetuous rapidity of the whirlwind:† and Euripides, the furious impetuosity of the Bacchanals rushing upon Pentheus, to the celerity of her motions. Her wonderful rapidity is celebrated by Virgil, with his usual felicity, in these lines:

"Fertur in arva volans atque aere lapsa quieto

Radit iter liquidum celeris neque commovet alas." *Æn.* 5.

While other birds, says Kimchi, become weary with flying, and alight upon a rock or a tree to recruit their strength, and are taken; the dove, when she is fatigued, alternately rests one wing and flies with the other; and by this means, escapes from the swiftest pursuer.

\* Psa. lv. 7.

† Soph. Œd. Col.

The orientals knew well how to avail themselves of her impetuous wing on various occasions. It is a curious fact, that she was long employed in those countries as a courier, to carry tidings of importance between distant cities. *Allian* asserts, that *Taurosthenes* communicated to his father at *Ægina*, by a carrier pigeon, the news of his success in the Olympic games, on the very same day in which he obtained the prize. The Romans, it appears from *Pliny*, often employed doves in the same service; for *Brutus*, during the siege of *Mutina*, sent letters tied to their feet, into the camp of the consuls. This remarkable custom has descended to modern times; *Volney* informs us, that the use of carrier pigeons has been laid aside, only for the last thirty or forty years, because the *Curd* robbers killed the birds, and carried off their despatches.

The manner of sending advice by them, was this: They took doves which had a very young and unfledged brood, and carried them on horseback, to the place from whence they wished them to return, taking care to let them have a full view. When any advices were received, the correspondent tied a billet to the pigeon's foot, or under the wing, and let her loose. The bird, impatient to see her young, flew off with the utmost impetuosity, and soon arrived at the place of her destination. These pigeons have been known to travel from *Alexandretta* to *Aleppo*, a distance of seventy miles, in six hours, and in two days from *Bagdad*. The poets of Greece and Rome, often allude to these winged couriers, and their surprising industry. *Anacreon's* dove, which he celebrates in his ninth ode, was employed to carry her master's letters; and her fidelity and despatch, are eulogized in these lines:

*Eγω δὲ Ἀνακρεωντι, Ὀΐ.*

"In such things, I minister to *Anacreon*; and now see what letters I bring him."\*

It is more than probable, that to this singular custom, *Solomon* alludes in the following passage: "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought; and curse not the

\* See an amusing account of these aerial posts among the *Turks*, in *Volney's Travels*.

rich in thy bed-chamber; for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and they which have wings, shall tell the matter ”\* The remote antiquity of the age in which the wise man flourished, is no valid objection; for the customs and usages of orientals, are almost as permanent as the soil on which they tread. Averse to change, and content for the most part with what their fathers have taught them, they transmit the lessons they have received, and the customs they have learned, with little alteration, from one generation to another. The pigeon was employed in carrying messages, and bearing intelligence, long before the coming of Christ, as we know from the odes of Anacreon and other classics; and the custom seems to have been very general, and quite familiar. When, therefore, the character of those nations, and the stability of their customs, are duly considered, it will not be reckoned extravagant to say, that Solomon in this text, must have had his eye on the carrier pigeon.

Her native and original dwelling, is in the cave or holes of the rock. A beautiful allusion to this fact, occurs in the prophecies of Jeremiah, where he describes the flight of the Moabites to the rocky mountains from the sword of their enemies: “O ye that dwell in Moab, leave the cities, and dwell in the rock, and be like the dove, that maketh her nest in the sides of the hole’s mouth ”† Our Lord addresses the church in the Song of Solomon, in similar terms: “O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely.”‡ The phrase which we render the secret places of the stairs, may, with more propriety, be translated, the secret crevices of precipitous rocks; for the original term signifies a place so high and steep, that it cannot be approached but by ladders. So closely pursued were the people of Israel, and so unable to resist the assault of their enemies, that, like the timid dove, they fled to the fastnesses of the mountains, and the

\* Eccl. x. 20.      † Jer. xlviii. 28.      ‡ Song ii. 14.

holes of the rocks. Homer has availed himself of the same circumstance :

Δακρυέστα δὲ πείτα θεὰ φύγεν ὥς πελεῖα

Ἥρα θυπ' ἱερὸς κοίλῃ εἰσεπτάτο πέτρῃ. *Il. b. 21. l. 493.*

“ But then the goddess fled weeping, like a dove which flies in terror from the hawk into a hollow rock.” The miserable remains of the Jews, that survived the destruction of their country by the arms of Nebuchadnezzar, are represented by the prophet as tame doves, violently driven from the valleys which they had been accustomed to haunt, to wander, lonely and mournful, upon the mountains, the proper abode of the wild pigeon : “ But they that escape, shall escape, and shall be on the mountains like doves of the valleys, all of them mourning, every one for his iniquity.”\* The truth and propriety of these allusions, are confirmed by the writings of several modern travellers. In Asia Minor, according to Chandler, the dove lodges in the holes of the rock ; and Dr. Shaw mentions a city in Africa, which derives its name from the great number of wild pigeons which breed in the adjoining cliffs. It is not uncommon for shepherds and fishermen, to seek for shelter in the spacious caverns of that country, from the severity of the weather, and to kindle fires in them, to warm their shivering limbs, and dress their victuals : in consequence of which, the doves which happen to build their nests on their shelves, must be frequently smutted, and their plumage soiled. Some have conjectured, that the royal Psalmist may allude to this scene, in which he had perhaps acted a part, while he tended his father’s flocks, in that singular promise, “ Though ye have lien among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold ”† The people of Israel, who had long bent their necks to the galling yoke of Egypt, and groaned under the most cruel oppression, may not unfitly be compared to a dove in the fissure of a rock, which had been terrified by the intrusion of strangers, and polluted by the smoke of their fires,

\* Ezek. vii. 16.

† Psa. lxxviii. 13.



which ascended to the roof of the cavern, and penetrated into the most remote and secret corner; or by the smut of the pots, which they had set over these fires for culinary purposes, among which she fluttered in her haste to escape.

The dove issues from the cave of the shepherds, black and dirty, her heart dejected, and her feathers in disorder; but, having washed herself in the running stream, and trimmed her plumage, she gradually recovers the serenity of her disposition, the purity of her colour, and the elegance of her appearance. So did the people of Israel more than once escape, by the favour of Jehovah, from a low and despised condition, and gradually rise to great prosperity and splendour. In Egypt, they laboured in the brick kilns, and in all the services of the field—a poor, enslaved, and oppressed people; and after their settlement in the land of promise, they were often reduced to a state of extreme distress; but in their misery they cried to the Lord, and he heard and delivered them from all their calamities; he subdued the surrounding nations to their sway; he poured the accumulated riches of ancient kings into their treasury; he made them the terror or the admiration of the east. But the holy Psalmist may have a prospective reference to the deliverance which the Gentile nations were to obtain, from the basest and most despicable condition, the worshipping of wood and stone, the gratifying of the vilest lusts, and their advancement to the service of Christ, and the practice of universal holiness and virtue. His words are not less applicable to the deliverance of the church, from the distresses in which she may be at any time involved, and the restoration of individual believers from a state of spiritual decline. On these joyous occasions, the people of God shake off their fears and their sorrows, and resume their wonted serenity, peace, and joy; they worship God in the beauty of holiness; they press forward with renovated vigour to the promised inheritance; they are as a dove, the most beautiful of the species, whose wings rival the silver in whiteness.

and the feathers of her neck, the yellow radiance of gold.\*

The spreading tree is often her chosen haunt, where she builds her nest, and rears her young. Anacreon's pigeon demands,

*Ti γὰρ μέδεις περὶ δαί, &c.*

“For why should I fly to the mountains and over the fields, and perch upon trees, eating any wild thing I can find?” Horace records the same fact. In the sixth book of the *Æneid*, Virgil sends the doves, which Venus had despatched to her son, to roost on the trees :

“*Sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt.*”

To this circumstance, the Psalmist seems to allude, in the title of the fifty-sixth Psalm : (על יונת אלם רחוקים,) *Gnal yonath elem rehokim* ; which Selomo applies to David, and renders, Concerning the silent dove of those that are afar off. Bochart has offered the most natural, and in every respect, the best exposition of this obscure title. In the opinion of Aben Ezra, it is the first line of a song, after the measure of which, the royal Psalmist composed this sacred ode ; but he left it unexplained. This idea Bochart adopts, and proceeds to inquire into the meaning of the words. As they stand in our pointed copies of the Old Testament, no consistent sense can be extracted from them. He, therefore, proposes to change a single point in אלם, by which it may be converted into the plural noun אלם, the hirec for segol. This being done, the sacred song, which furnished the measure of David's composition will begin thus : The dove of the remote forests. The circumstance, which, in the opinion of Bochart, has misled interpreters, is the absence of *yod*, the usual sign of the plural. But, as Buxtorf rightly observes, *yod* is often admitted in the plural, as in תנינִים dragons, תנינים perfect †. If this trifling emendation be admitted, which the necessity of the case seems to require, the words will mean, the dove of distant groves, that is, the wild pigeon, which dwells in the deep recesses of the wood, and builds her nest among the thickest branches. Those who

\* Harmer's Observ.—Dove.

† Deut. xxxii. 33. and Lev. ix. 2,

apply the words to the Psalmist himself, suppose that they express a wish for the wings of a dove, that he might fly away and be at rest. Driven by the violence of his enemies from the place of his rest in the sanctuary, he was compelled to wander far off, and seek repose in a distant and strange land; but he neither murmured against God, nor inveighed against his unjust and cruel enemies, the causes of his distress; he was mild, as he was guiltless before men; patient, as inoffensive: like the doves in the valley, he was dejected and mournful; but he encouraged himself in the Lord, and quietly resigned himself to his sovereign disposal.

The manners of the dove are as engaging, as her form is elegant, and her plumage rich and beautiful. She is the chosen emblem of simplicity, gentleness, chastity, and feminine timidity. Our blessed Lord alludes with striking effect to her amiable temper, in that well known direction to his disciples: "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves."\* Wisdom without simplicity, degenerates into cunning; simplicity without wisdom, into silliness; united, the one corrects the excess, or supplies the defects of the other, and both become the objects of praise; but separated, neither the wisdom of the serpent, nor the simplicity of the dove, obtains in this passage the Saviour's commendation. The character which is compounded of both, makes the nearest approach to the true standard of Christian excellence. The wisdom of the serpent enables the believer to discern between good and evil, truth and error, that having proved all things, he may hold fast that which is good; the simplicity of the dove renders him inoffensive and sincere, that he may not deceive nor injure his neighbour. Such were the qualities which the Saviour recommended to his followers; and such his apostle wished the Romans to obtain: "I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil."†

The simplicity of the dove, when separated from the wisdom of the serpent, indicates in Scripture a

\* Matth. x. 16.

† Rom. xvi. 19.

blameable defect ; and in the same light it is viewed by the natural historian. So inattentive is that bird to the snares which the fowler with little precaution spreads for her destruction ; so easily is she entangled and taken,—that her simplicity became proverbial among the ancients. Unsuspicious of danger, she approaches the decoy, to gaze upon the new and curious object, and is suddenly taken in the snare ; and in a state of captivity she submits to become a decoy in her turn ; and with her voice and gestures allures other doves, heedless and foolish as herself, within the grasp of their common enemy. This ignoble character, the prophet imputed to Ephraim, or the ten tribes : He “ is like a silly,” rather a simple “ dove without heart.”\* He was so stupid, or so heedless, that he took no precautions against approaching dangers, but threw himself into the power of his enemies.

Her conjugal chastity has been celebrated by every writer, who has described or alluded to her character. She admits but of one mate ; she never forsakes him till death put an end to their union ; and never abandons of her own accord, the nest which their united labour has provided.† *Ælian*, and other ancient writers affirm, that the turtle and the wood-pigeon punish adultery with death. The black pigeon, when her mate dies, obstinately rejects the embraces of another, and continues in a widowed state for life. Hence, among the Egyptians, a black pigeon was the symbol of a widow, who declined to enter again into the marriage relation. This fact was so well known, or at least so generally admitted among the ancients, that *Tertullian* endeavours to establish the doctrine of monogamy by the example of that bird. These facts have been transferred by later authors to the widowed turtle ; which, deaf to the solicitations of another mate, continues in mournful strains to deplore her loss, till death put a period to her sorrows. These facts unfold the true reason, that the church is by *Solomon* so frequently compared to the dove. Our Lord addresses her in these tender and affecting terms : “ O my dove,

\* *Hos.* vii. 11.

† *Bochart de Columba.*



that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret shelvings of the inaccessible precipice, let me hear thy voice—let me see thy face; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely. Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled; for my head is filled with dew, and my locks with the drops of the night.” And in his description of her holy beauties, we find this clause: “My dove, my undefiled is but one; she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her.”\* The image implies, that the church is the only object of the Saviour’s love; and he, on the other hand, the sole delight of her soul. She acknowledges no other Saviour; and he has but one spouse, whom he has betrothed unto himself for ever, in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercies.†

No creature discovers greater timidity than the dove: on the least noise, she takes the alarm, and flies with the utmost trepidation. Such is the description of the Roman poet:

“Terretur minimo pennæ stridore columba.”

Nor can Valerius Flaccus describe the timidity of a virgin by a more appropriate figure:

“Ecce! autem pavidæ virgo de more columbæ.” &c.

In the prophecies of Hosea, the haste and trepidation of Israel, are compared to the trembling flight of a dove from the snare of the fowler: “They shall tremble as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria; and I will place them in their houses, saith the Lord.”‡

Doves of every species were presented on the tables of the Jews, and offered, by the law of Moses, at the altar of Jehovah. These sacrificial oblations were of various kinds: the grateful Israelite was permitted to bring a pair of turtle doves, or young pigeons, as a free-will offering to the Lord; but when he had neglected to reprove his brother, who had in his presence blasphemed the name of God; or had himself taken a rash oath, or had polluted himself, by touching some unclean thing,—he was commanded to bring as a tres-

\* Song ii. 14.; v. 2.; vi. 8.

† Hos. ii. 19.

‡ Hos. xi. 11.

pass offering two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, the one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering. The same kind of oblations were required in a variety of other cases, which are marked with sufficient clearness and precision.\* In these sacrifices, Jehovah preferred the turtle dove and the pigeon, to all other birds, on account of their purity, chastity, simplicity, and other amiable dispositions which they discovered. The law of Moses required only young pigeons to be offered in sacrifice, for the oblations of God were to be of the best; and these creatures become tough and unsavoury when they grow old; but the full grown turtle continues tender and good. But they were to be offered in sacrifice only by those persons that had nothing more valuable to give; for the law runs in these terms: "And if he be not able to bring a lamb, then he shall bring for his trespass which he hath committed, two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, unto the Lord."† It was therefore the poverty of the virgin mother of our Lord, which compelled her, when the days of her purification were accomplished, to offer in sacrifice a pair of turtle doves, or two young pigeons: and it was a striking proof of the amazing condescension of Christ, that he submitted to be born of a woman, who had nothing more valuable to present on the altar of his Father, even for the gift of the promised Messiah. Such humble offerings were in use, long before the ceremonial law was given from Sinai; for, when Abraham was received into covenant with God, he offered in sacrifice, by the divine command, a turtle dove and a young pigeon. These, together with the heifer, the she-goat, and the ram, all of three years old, which he immolated at the same time, comprehended the different kinds of sacrifices which were afterwards appointed in the wilderness. And they were perhaps required on this occasion, to furnish the patriarch with a complete view of those sacrificial oblations, by which the faith of Old Testament saints was, in every age of that shadowy dispensation, to be conducted to the atoning blood of Messiah.

\* Lev. xii. 6.; xiv. 22.; xv. 13, &c.

† Lev. v. 7.

The dove was selected by Jehovah, to be the messenger of peace to Noah and his family. Bochart is of opinion, that the patriarch made choice of her, after the raven had disappointed his hopes, to bring him intelligence how far the waters of the deluge had subsided, on account of the docility and kindness of her disposition; because she is able to continue long on the wing, and visit places very remote; and because, how wide soever the range of her flight, she is naturally disposed to return to her nest, or the place of her abode. But it is more probable, that he was directed to the choice of this amiable and beautiful bird, by the secret influence of Jehovah, who had appointed her the herald of peace and restoration to a ruined world. The first time she was sent out, she returned after a short excursion; because the waters still covered the face of the earth, and she could find no rest for the sole of her foot. She returned the second time, after pursuing her flight to a much greater distance, for she did not come back till the evening, when she returned with an olive leaf in her mouth, which Noah justly considered as a sure proof that the waters had subsided. The tops of the highest mountains were seen before he sent out the raven; but now, the hills on the declivities of which the olive loves to grow, began to rise above the waters, and indicate to the imprisoned patriarch and his numerous charge, that the face of the ground would ere long be dry, and in a condition to be re-occupied; while the olive leaf instructed him, that the fruit-bearing trees were not all destroyed, and food might still be found for himself and his family. She continued her excursion till the evening, that he might know she had now found rest for the sole of her foot on the trees of the wood; but when her services were needed no longer, she yielded to the suggestions of instinct, and waited in the forest the liberation of her mate. This last circumstance was intended to satisfy Noah, that the earth was now ready to receive him and his family, and all the creatures that he had with him in the ark. In these incidents we can easily discover a wisdom and prudence, far superior to the

inspiration of instinct; we discern the finger of God, regulating all the motions of this animal in favour of Noah, and the hopes of a reviving world.

It is extremely probable, she found the olive leaf, the symbol of peace, on the declivities of Ararat, and did not need, as Bochart supposes, to visit the distant hills of Assyria; for, in succeeding ages, geographers assure us, the lower regions of that lofty chain were adorned with numerous groves of olive trees, many of which might have existed at the time of the deluge.

Some have asked, how the olive could remain so long verdant under the waters; but the answer is easy: the sacred writer only states the return of the dove with the olive leaf in her mouth, but says nothing of its freshness and verdure. It is, however, asserted by the ancients, that the olive is one of those trees, which not only lives, but even flourishes under the water, and never sheds its leaves. Hence, that line of the poet,

——“*ramum semper frondentis olivæ.*”

The leaf is so very strong and durable, and particularly resists so long the action of water, that it was in ancient times often employed by the orientals, to cover the roofs of their habitations. A leaf of this texture must have been easily found adhering to its parent tree, in spite of the stormy tempest and the raging billow.

The dove is also supposed by some writers, to be the proper emblem of the Holy Spirit, when he descended upon the Saviour at his baptism. In the gospel according to Luke, the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape, like a dove upon him. As the dove brought intelligence to Noah of approaching deliverance; so did the Holy Spirit, at the baptism of Christ, announce the spiritual restoration of perishing sinners, by the obedience and death of the Redeemer. For this reason, many have supposed, that the third person of trinity on that occasion, assumed the real figure of a dove; but the sacred writer seems to refer, not to the shape, but to the manner in which the dove descends from the sky. Had it related to the shape



or form, it would not have been *ὡς περὶ περιστεράς*, as a dove; but *ὡς περιστεράς*, as of a dove. In this manner, the likeness of fire is expressed by the same evangelist, in the Acts of the Apostles: "There appeared cloven tongues (*ὡς πυρός*) as of fire."\* The meaning of the clause,

\* The cases, however, it ought to be observed, are not parallel. To make the construction like that in the passage quoted from the Acts, it would be necessary to say, a *form* descended, as of a dove; that is, as *the form* of a dove.—(There appeared cloven tongues as of fire; that is, as *the tongues* of fire.) But Matthew, Mark, and Luke, all agree in saying, *the Spirit* descended as a dove. Had they intended to represent the appearance as resembling a dove, our author surely would not have required them to alter this phraseology. Now the words *σωματικῇ εἰδεί*, in a bodily shape, inserted by Luke, may be considered as an independent clause, added by the evangelist, to make the sense more explicit, without affecting the construction of what was already written. We acknowledge the plausibility of the interpretation which makes the appearance resemble a dove only in its motion: but we see no objection to understanding the account in the more obvious sense. It is as easy to admit the appearance of a dove, as any other miraculous appearance. The dove was considered by the ancient Jews an emblem of the divine Spirit. For proof of this, we need only advert to the paraphrase, in which they explain the voice of the turtle (one of the dove family) as meaning the voice of the Holy Spirit—an erroneous interpretation indeed, as the context sufficiently shows; (Song of Solomon, ii. 11, 12.) but an interpretation which exhibits their views of the dove as a symbol; and certainly they were very natural views, on account of her purity and gentleness. In the Gospel of the Hebrews, some part of a Greek translation of which has been preserved, it is expressly said, the Spirit of God descended *ἐν εἰδὲς περιστεράς*, in the form of a dove. A similar sense is clearly expressed in the Syriac, the oldest version which we have of the New Testament. The mode of expression employed by the evangelists is precisely the same that is used in the Septuagint, where no one doubts the intention of the prophet to represent the appearance of a beast, and not merely the motion.—Dan. vii. 3, 4. *Τεσσαρά θηρία μεγάλα ἀνέβαινον—το πρῶτον ὡς λέαινα*, four great beasts came up—the first as a lioness. That the word *ὡς* was used as conveying the sense of the adjective *similar*, (*ὁμοιος*) is still further confirmed by what follows in Daniel: "Lo, a second beast *ὅμοιον ἀρκτῷ*, like a bear; and, lo, another beast *ὡς παρδαλῆς*, as, or like a leopard."

It is not improbable, that, besides the form of a dove, a luminous appearance around our Lord was observed; as on the mount of transfiguration a *bright cloud* (*νεφέλη φωτεινή*) overshadowed him and his companions. We will only add, that the descent upon him at his baptism, seems to be, not the descent of the third person in the Godhead, but a public manifestation of the divine influence, or Spirit's resting on him, as Isaiah (xlii. 1.) had predicted it should rest on the Messiah.

therefore, is, that as a dove hovers on the wing, and overshadows the place upon which she intends to perch, so did the Holy Spirit, in the form of a luminous cloud, like the Shechinah which rested on the tabernacle, gradually descend, hovering and overshadowing the Saviour, as he came up from the water.\* This exposition refutes another opinion, which was entertained by many of the ancients, that it was a real dove which alighted upon the head of our Lord; for, if the sacred writer describes only the manner of descending, neither the form nor the real presence of a dove can be admitted. But although the evangelist alludes only to the manner in which that bird descends from the wing, he clearly recognizes her as the chosen emblem of the Holy Spirit, the messenger of peace and joy to sinful and miserable men. He descends from the Father, "to lead his people into all truth," to "teach them all things" necessary to their salvation, "to help their infirmities, and make intercession for them with groanings which cannot be uttered."† It may be truly said of him, that he is without gall; for "the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."‡ These precious dispositions, the Spirit of God infuses into the hearts of all genuine believers, although they exist in a much higher degree, and shine with a far superior lustre, in the spotless humanity of Christ. The Father anointed him with the oil of gladness above his fellows; "he is fairer than the children of men;" "he is altogether lovely."

### *The Turtle.*

The form and manners of this bird, so nearly resemble those of a pigeon, that a particular account of her is unnecessary. They are only different species of the same family, and exhibit the same general character, although they differ in some important particulars, to which the sacred writers occasionally refer. The voice of the turtle is hoarse and plaintive, and heard so frequently in the grove, that it has brought upon her the reproach of troublesome loquacity. Still it is pleasing

\* See Whitby *in loc.* † John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 26. ‡ Gal. v. 22.

to the ear of the husbandman and the musing wanderer, because it announces the arrival of spring, a season so dear to every creature possessed of life and sensibility. The following allusion to the plaintive harbinger of the reviving year, is exquisitely beautiful: "Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for, lo! the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."\* By the turtle in this invitation, the Hebrew writers understand the Holy Spirit; and the Chaldee paraphrast thus interprets the words: Ye have now heard the voice of the Holy Spirit, that is, the deliverance which I promised to your father Abraham. In a succeeding age, the prophet Jeremiah alludes to the annual migration of this bird: "The turtle, the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord."† She differs in this respect from the rest of her family, which are all stationary. The fact to which the prophet alludes, is attested by Aristotle, in these words: "The pigeon and the dove are always present, but the turtle only in summer; for she is not seen in the winter;"‡ and in another part of his work he asserts, that the dove remains, while the turtle migrates. The statement of the Grecian sage, is supported by Varro and other ancient writers of Greece and Rome; but Pliny and others are of opinion, that the turtle rather conceals herself during the winter, than departs in search of a milder climate; and Aristotle himself, does not refuse that some turtles may remain behind in the warmer parts of Greece. But the concealment of the turtle during the winter, is not supported by any proof; it is therefore a gratuitous supposition, which cannot invalidate the authority of the prophet, nor the decided testimony of so many writers of antiquity, confirmed by the most eminent natural historians of modern times.

It has already been observed, that the turtle dove never admits a second mate, but lingers out her life in sorrowful widowhood. To this remarkable circum-

\* Song ii. 11, 12.

† Jer. viii. 7.

‡ Hist. b. 8. c. 3.



stance, these words of David are thought by many to refer : " O deliver not the soul of thy turtle dove unto the multitude of the wicked ; forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever."\* As the turtle cleaves to her mate with unshaken fidelity, so these interpreters say, had Israel adhered to their God. But it is well known, that God's ancient people were a stiff necked and rebellious race, equally fickle and perfidious, and discovering, on almost every occasion, a most violent and unreasonable inclination to the worship of heathen deities. It is, therefore, more natural to suppose, that the holy Psalmist, by this term, alludes to the weak and helpless state of his people, that, like the turtle, had neither power nor inclination to resist their numerous enemies. The dove is a harmless and simple creature, equally destitute of skill and courage for the combat ; and the turtle is the smallest of the family. She is therefore a most proper emblem of the national imbecility into which the people of Israel had sunk, in consequence of their numerous iniquities, with which they had long provoked the God of their fathers. They who were the terror of surrounding nations, while they feared the Lord and kept his commandments, whom God himself instructed in the art of war, and led to certain victory, had by their folly, become the scorn of their neighbours, and an easy prey to every invader.

### *The Swallow.*

This bird is more than once joined with the turtle, in the holy Scriptures ; and may, therefore, be properly introduced in this place ; but, except in the circumstance of annual migration, she is exceedingly different in dispositions and manners. The illustration of Scripture has no concern with her form or colour, nor with the varieties of her species : these particulars, therefore, the plan of this work requires to be omitted. While the turtle retires to the tall trees of the forest, or the lonely summits of the mountains, the swallow, like the domestic dove, courts the presence of mankind, and builds her nest in their dwellings. To this trait of her

\* Psa. lxxiv. 19.



character, the Psalmist alludes with great beauty and tenderness, in the sacred ode which he composed, as is generally thought, when he fled before his unnatural son Absalom: "Yea, the swallow hath found a nest for herself, where she may lay her young; thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God."\* The sparrow and the swallow seem to have been permitted to construct their nests in the houses near the altar of Jehovah; perhaps in the cloisters of the sanctuary, or in the buildings connected with that sacred edifice; for it cannot be reasonably supposed, that they would be permitted to nestle about the altar itself, which was consecrated by a special ceremony to the service of Jehovah, and before which, the priests were continually serving. Driven from his home, and especially from the national altars, where all his delights were habitually placed, he envied these birds their enjoyments in the purlieus of the tabernacle. There they found for themselves a place of rest, and reared their young without interruption; while he was compelled to wander far from the place of his repose, upon the mountains of Israel. More destitute than the birds of the air, he, who lately swayed the sceptre over a numerous and affectionate people, had "not where to lay his head." But the afflicted monarch did not resign himself to fretfulness or despair; he encouraged himself in the Lord, and patiently waited for the return of happier days.

The note of the swallow is quick and frequent, and seems to have something in it querulous and mournful. Many a classic bard has celebrated her "shrill and mournful song;" her bitter lamentations from the embowering thicket, or the top of lonely mountains.† Thus Horace commemorates her woes:

"Nidum ponit Ityn flebiliter gemens  
Infelix avis."

*B. 4. Ode 12.*

In this manner, did Hezekiah complain under the mortal disease, from which he was delivered by the immediate interposition of Jehovah: "Like a crane or a

\* Psa lxxxiv. 3.

† See Bochart De Hirundine.

swallow, so did I chatter: I did mourn as a dove; mine eyes fail with looking upwards: O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me."\*

The annual migration of the swallow has been familiarly known in every age, and perhaps in every region of the earth. Anacreon, in one of his odes, addresses her in these words:

Σὺ μὲν, φίλη χελιδὼν  
Ετησίη μολύσσαι, ἔσθ'.

"Friendly swallow, thou indeed coming annually, buildest thy nest in the summer, but in winter disappearest." And Aristotle remarks in the sober language of history: "Both the swallow and the turtle leave us, to spend the winter in other climes." The swallow, says Ælian, announces the most delightful season of the year: she remains in the northern latitudes six months, the thrush and the turtle only three. But in Ethiopia, and other warm countries, according to Herodotus, she continues the whole year. Bochart admits it as a certain fact, that in some of the milder climates of Europe, the swallow ventures to remain during the winter; but loses her feathers, and sinks into a torpid state, in which she continues, till awaked by the genial influences of spring. But, when the prophet says, "The swallow knoweth the time of her coming," it is not necessary to understand it of all these birds, without exception: it is sufficient if his assertion is verified by the migration of the species in general; and we are admonished by their example, of approaching winter, or opening spring.

### *The Crane.*

The crane, in her character and mode of life, nearly resembles the stork. Like her, she is a bird of passage, and, in the language of ancient prophecy, knows her appointed times. From her eager desire to avoid the effects of winter, to which she seems to be extremely sensible, she is supposed to retire to the remotest countries of the globe; or, as it is expressed by Aristotle,

\* Isa. xxxviii. 14.

from the coasts of Scythia to the sources of the Nile. Homer had long before entertained the same idea, which he thus expresses :

ΤΑΙΥΣ ΠΕΤΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΠ' ΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ ΡΟΔΩΝ.

“ These fly to the streams of the ocean ;” that is, to the regions of the south, where the ancient poets placed the dwellings of the Pygmies. Hence the demand of Lucullus, addressed to Pompey : “ Do I seem to you less wise than the cranes and the storks, that I should not change my habitation with the seasons of the year ?” The ancients believed, that the native country of the crane is Thrace. Virgil places her about the river Strymon, which rolls its waters through that country.\* Ælian states, that when the cranes are about to bid farewell to the fields and colds of Thrace, they assemble on the banks of the Hebrus, from whence they commence their journey to the Nile. But those which emigrate from the regions of Scythia, Virgil conducts across the country of Pontus :

— “ ubi frigidus annus  
Trans Pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.”

They leave the wilds of Scythia about the middle of autumn, and return in the ensuing spring and summer. These birds, by the testimony of both ancient and modern writers, discover very great sagacity, both in arranging their bands, and in conducting their long and fatiguing march ; but as the sacred writer directs our attention only to their sagacity in discerning the time appointed for their departure and return, the curious and interesting particulars mentioned by those authors, do not belong to the plan of this work.

These statements completely justify the prophet, in proposing the emigration of the crane as an example of natural wisdom and sagacity : “ Yea, the stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times ; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming ; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord ” That nation whom God had chosen for his own peculiar inheritance, discovered less wisdom and prudence in the management of their affairs,

\* Æn. b. 10.



than these irrational tribes. They soon forgot the mighty works which the Most High had wrought in their favour; they abandoned his service; they refused to listen to his warning voice; they resolutely turned aside to the worship of strange gods, and bowed down to a stock or a stone, till Jehovah, justly provoked by their enormities, delivered them into the hand of their enemies, and scattered them over the face of all the earth.

No bird is more noisy than the crane; and none utters a harsher note. Homer compares the Trojans on their march, to a troop of cranes, pursuing, with loud and discordant clamours, their annual journey:

Τροες μὲν κλαγγὴ τένοπῃ τίσαν ὀρνίθεσσι ὡς

Ἦν τε περ κλαγγὴ γερανῶν πέλει θράνοι ἀγο.

B. 3. l. 2.

Which Virgil imitates in these lines:

— “ quales sub nubibus atris

Strymonizæ dant signa grues, atque æthera tranant

Cum sonitu, fugiunt que Notos clamore secundo.”

Æn. b. 10. l. 264.

The prophet, however, applies the verb (תִּשָּׁפֵף) tsaphaph, which signifies to chatter, to the loud and screaming cry of this bird; for which Mr. Harmer professes himself unable to account. “The word tsaphitsaph,” says he, “translated chatter, appears to signify the low, melancholy, interrupted voice of the complaining sick, rather than a chattering noise, if we consult the other places in which it is used: as for the chattering of the crane, it seems quite inexplicable.” But the difficulty had not, perhaps, appeared so great, if this respectable writer had observed that the connective *vau* is wanting in the original text, which may be thus rendered: “As a crane, a swallow, so did I chatter.” The two nouns are not, therefore, necessarily connected with the verb tsaphitsaph, but admit the insertion of another verb suitable to the nature of the first nominative. The ellipsis, therefore, may be supplied in this manner: “As a crane, so did I scream; as a swallow, so did I chatter.” Such a supplement is not, in this instance, forced and unnatural; for it is evidently the design of Hezekiah to say, that he ex-



pressed his grief after the manner of these two birds, and therefore suitably to each; and he uses the verb *tsaphitsaph*, which properly corresponds only with the last noun, to indicate this design, leaving the reader to supply the verb which corresponds with the other. It is also perfectly agreeable to the manners of the east, where sorrow is expressed sometimes in a low, interrupted voice, and anon in loud continued exclamations. The afflicted monarch, therefore, expressed his extreme grief after the manner of the orientals, in loud screams, like the crane; or in low, interrupted murmurings, like the swallow. According to some writers, the verb under consideration signifies the note of any bird; and, by consequence, may with equal propriety be employed to denote the loud scream of the crane, or the melancholy twitter of the swallow; if this be so, the difficulty admits of an easy solution.

It only remains to be observed, that the crane, although in several points resembling the stork, which the Jewish lawgiver has pronounced an unclean bird, is classed among the clean animals, which his people were permitted to eat. The reason is, the crane does not, like the stork, live on impure or venomous creatures, but on fruits and seeds. It was the design of Jehovah, by those prohibitory laws concerning meats, to prevent his people from tasting impure or unwholesome food; and thus at once to secure, as far as the choice of food can do so, their bodily health and comfort; and suggest the moral and evangelical purity, to which, as a holy nation, they were bound to aspire. In subserviency to these great and benevolent purposes, the crane, which is a granivorous bird, was placed in the list of clean animals, which they might eat without injury to themselves, or offence to their divine sovereign.

### *The Partridge.*

We find only two allusions to this bird in the holy Scriptures. The first occurs in the history of David, where he expostulates with Saul concerning his unjust and foolish pursuit: "The king of Israel is come out to seek a flea, as when one doth hunt a partridge on

the mountains.”\* The other in the prophecies of Jeremiah: “As the partridge sitteth on eggs and hatcheth them not; so he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool.”†

The Hebrew name for the partridge is (קור) kore, from the verb kara, to cry: a name suggested by the harsh note of that bird. Bochart indeed refuses that kore signifies the partridge; he thinks the wood-cock is intended, because the kore of which David speaks in the first quotation, is a mountain bird. But that excellent writer did not recollect that a species of partridge actually inhabits the mountains; and, by consequence, his argument is of no force. Nor is the opinion of others more tenable, that the kore hatches the eggs of a stranger, because Jeremiah observes, “she sitteth on eggs and hatcheth them not;” for the passage only means, that the partridge often fails in her attempts to bring forth her young. To such disappointments, she is greatly exposed, from the position of her nest in the ground, where her eggs are often spoiled by wet, or crushed by the foot.

The manner in which the Arabs hunt the partridge and other birds, affords an excellent comment on the complaint of David to his cruel and unrelenting sovereign; for observing that they become languid and fatigued after they have been hastily put up two or three times, they immediately run in upon them and knock them down with their bludgeons.‡ It was precisely in this manner that Saul hunted David; he came suddenly upon him, and from time to time drove him from his hiding places, hoping at last to render him weary of life, and find an opportunity of effecting his destruction.

When the prophet says, the partridge sitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not, the male seems to be understood; because both the verbs are masculine, and the verb yalad in the masculine gender cannot signify to lay eggs. The red partridges of France, says Buffon, appear to differ from the red partridges of Egypt; be-

\* 1 Sam. xxvi. 20.

† Jer. xvii. 11.

‡ Shaw's Trav.

cause the Egyptian priests chose for the emblem of a well regulated family, two partridges, the one male, the other female, sitting or brooding together. And by the text in Jeremiah, it seems that in Judea the male partridge sat as well as the female. But while the incubation of other birds, which are by no means so attentive, is generally crowned with success, the hopes of the partridge are frequently disappointed by circumstances already noticed, which she can neither foresee nor prevent.

---

## CHAP. XII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

### *The Quail.*

**THIS** bird is somewhat less than a pigeon, and larger than a sparrow. Its Hebrew name is (של) shelav, which Bochart traces to (שלה) shalah, which signifies to live peaceably, or to abound, because in warm countries no bird is more abundant. From its remarkable obesity, it has obtained from the Arabs the name of sumana, which is not less characteristic than the other. But it is more probable, that the Hebrew name alludes to the foolish and ruinous security in which the quail is known to indulge. When she lights upon a field abounding in grain, she resigns herself to the power of appetite without fear or suspicion. Devoted entirely to the happiness of the moment, she betrays herself with her incessant singing, and is easily enticed into the snare of the fowler. Josephus renders the term by the Greek word *οστρυζ*, and the Septuagint by *οστρυζαντες*, which, in the opinion of some writers, denote birds of a different species. This is the sentiment of Augustine, although he admits that the difference between these birds and the quail is very inconsiderable. They appear from the description of different authors. to be



only varieties of the same species, of which the ortygometra is represented as in every respect entitled to the preference. She is the mother of the family, of a larger size, and, according to Pliny, the hereditary leader in their migrating journeys. These terms are, therefore, often used promiscuously to denote the quail.

In opposition to this opinion, an author of great celebrity contends, that the sacred historian alludes to the locust. For if the Hebrew word is derived from a verb which signifies to abound, it applies to the locust with still more propriety than the quail: he adds, that all the oriental versions, and the Arabic authors, have retained the Hebrew word without understanding it, and that Josephus is the first who gave it the common signification, without producing any reason for his interpretation.

His arguments, it is readily granted, possess no inconsiderable force; and, in the opinion of Saurin, they invalidate, or at least involve the common interpretation in doubt and suspicion. But it may be replied in general, to the reasonings of Ludolf, that the term של (shelav), no where else in the sacred volume, signifies the locust; and therefore ought not, without more powerful reasons than he has been able to produce, to be so rendered in this passage. Nor will the root from which it proceeds, admit of Ludolf's conjecture; for no creature is more restless than the locust. Besides, the animal which in one passage is called (של) shelav, is (עוף) fowl in another; but it deserves to be remarked, that the latter term properly belongs to the fowls of heaven, not to winged insects; and if at any time it seems to be used in relation to these, it is only as a generic term, and in a very loose and indefinite sense. But when Moses says, Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean (עוף) fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar, birds only can be understood; for winged insects were never offered in sacrifice upon the altar of Jehovah. Hence when של is used distinctly, and not in the universality of the genus, it ought to be understood of a bird, and not of



an insect. In this sense it was understood by all the ancients, although they differed about the species of bird which the sacred writer intended. On the hypothesis of Ludolf, it may be considered as an inexplicable circumstance that Moses, in a country swarming with locusts, did not seem to think of them, when he asked with surprise: "The people among whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month. Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?"\* Moses knew that the innumerable swarms of locusts which devour the land of Egypt and the surrounding countries, were the sport of every wind, and that a steady gale could waft as many into the desert, as would suffice all the thousands of Israel. Why then did he not mention the locusts, and present his supplication for a favourable breeze? This circumstance cannot be accounted for, but on the supposition that locusts were not the object of their desire, nor in the contemplation of Jehovah. The rebellious Israelites demanded flesh to eat in the clearest terms, and in their name, Moses asked flesh from the Lord. It is true, the word flesh is not always used in a restricted sense; for on that occasion, Moses asked, "Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them? Or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?" But in this place, it is not used in its most general sense, for the muscular parts of any animal, because the people under this name demanded the same kinds of flesh to which they had been accustomed in Egypt. Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely.† The animals on whose flesh they feasted in Egypt, are enumerated by Moses, in his reply to the intimation of Jehovah, except one species, which David, in spirit, long afterwards mentioned in one of the songs of Zion. "He rained flesh also upon them as dust, and feathered fowls." (עֶרְבָּה כָּנָף) ooph canaph. fowls of the wing, by

\* Numb. xi. 20. 21.

† Numb. xi. 4, 5.

way of excellence, to distinguish them from (שרץ העוף,) sherets haoph, winged insects.\* It does not appear, that insects are ever in Scripture called ouph canaph; this phrase being appropriated to the fowls of heaven. Ouph is a generic term, which embraces every winged animal; but when the Hebrews mean to distinguish winged insects, they connect with it the term sherets; and canaph, when they wish to designate feathered fowls. Canaph properly signifies a wing, which may be contracted or expanded, for the purpose of covering and protecting the body of the animal; which does not seem to accord with the wings of insect tribes. Nor were the quails in danger of breeding worms, and becoming unfit for use, by exposure to the scorching beams of the sun on the sandy desert; for this effect was prevented, by the rapidity of the exsiccation; and the safety of this method of curing them, is confirmed by the practice of the modern Egyptians, who dry their meat, and preserve it for use in the same manner. Whatever, then, may be the proper meaning of (שליו) shelav, it is far more probable, that it denotes a feathered fowl, than a locust.

It is evident from the history of Moses, that the demands of Israel were twice supplied with quails by the miraculous interposition of divine Providence. The first instance is recorded in the book of Exodus, and is described in these words: "I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God. And it came to pass, that at even the quails came up, and covered the camp."† From these words it appears, that the quails were sent to supply the wants of the people, at the same time the manna began to be showered down from heaven, around their encampment in the desert of Sin; and it is clear, from the beginning of the chapter, that this event took place soon after their departure from Egypt, upon the fifteenth day of the second month, before they came to mount Sinai. This mira-

\* Lev. xi. 13, 20. Deut. xiv. 19, &c.

† Exod. xvi. 12, 13.

cle was repeated at Kibroth-hattaavah, a place three days journey beyond the desert of Sinai; but they struck their tents before Sinai, in the second year after their departure from Egypt, on the twentieth day of the second month; so that a whole year intervened between the first and second supply. In the first instance, the quails were scattered about the camp only for one day; but in the second, they came up from the sea for a whole month. They only covered the camp at their first appearance; but when they came the second time, they lay round about it to the distance of a day's journey. No signs of divine wrath attended the first miracle; but the second was no sooner wrought, than the vengeance of their offended God overtook these incorrigible sinners: "While the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people; and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague. Hence, it is evident, that the sacred historian records two different events; of which, the one was more stupendous than the other, and seemed to Moses so extraordinary, that on receiving the divine promise, he could not refrain from objecting: "The people among whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month. Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them to suffice them? Or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?" Moses had seen the power of Jehovah successfully exerted in feeding his people with flesh for one day; but he could scarcely imagine, from whence supplies of the same kind could be drawn for a whole month. That eminent servant of Jehovah, astonished at the greatness of the promised favour, seemed to forget for a moment, that with God all things are possible.

These quails were brought by an immediate display of almighty power into the desert, and scattered around the camp of Israel. "And there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's jour-

ney on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp."\* The sacred historian does not mean, as some writers have absurdly imagined, that they were produced in the sea, nor even that they were hatched on the shore, or had remained for some time in the neighbourhood; but only, that they had crossed the sea in their way to the desert. It is generally agreed, that these birds, like the turtle, the crane, and the swallow, annually migrate to distant countries; and that they were on their journey from Egypt, when the "wind from the Lord," forcing them to change their course, wafted them over the Red sea, to the camp of Israel. This appears to be the reason that Moses observes, the wind brought quails from the sea; and Diodorus, describing the manner in which the people about Rhinoculura catch these birds, uses the very words of the inspired writer: 'They place long nets, made of split reeds, along the shore for many stadia, in which they catch the quails, which are brought in immense numbers from the sea (ἐκ τῆς πελάγους) and lay them up for their future subsistence.

The agent employed by Jehovah was a mighty wind; not an incorporeal spirit, whose ministry he condescends occasionally to employ in the movements of providence; but a gale of wind, which the sacred writer says, went forth from the Lord, to intimate, not only its supernatural origin, and special determination, which were sufficiently conspicuous by the effect itself, but also its irresistible force, which collected from every quarter, the innumerable flocks of these birds, that darken the air of the surrounding regions at certain seasons of the year, and swept them into the desert, to supply the wants of Israel.

The Jewish lawgiver only mentions in general terms, that a wind went forth from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea; but the holy Psalmist is more particular, stating in these words, the points from which it came: "He caused an east wind to blow in

\* Exod. xi. 31.



the heaven ; and by his power he brought in the south wind.”\* On this passage it has been asked, How can these winds blow together, and at the same time bring up the quails from the sea into the desert? The Seventy interpreters, and the Vulgate, found it so difficult to give a satisfactory answer to these queries, that they were induced to render the first clause, “He removed the east wind from the heaven;” as if the removal of one wind was necessarily succeeded by another. But this version cannot be admitted, because the Psalmist clearly intends to represent the east and the south winds, as the joint instruments of divine goodness, which, by their united force, collected and brought up the quails from the sea. If the Psalmist had meant to express the removing of the east wind, he must have used the phrase (מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם) from the heaven ; but instead of this, he uses the words (בַּשָּׁמַיִם) in or into the heavens, which conveys an idea quite the reverse. Our version, therefore, gives the true sense of the sacred text : He caused an east wind to blow in the heaven ; that is, he introduced it for the very purpose of bringing the quails into the camp. Nor can the sacred writer be justly charged with inconsistency, in combining the force of the east and the south wind, on that memorable occasion ; for, it is evident from the classic authors, that they are not contrary, but may conspire to produce the same effect. Thus :

“Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis

Africas, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.” *Æn. b. 1. l. 55.*

In the lines of Homer, the same winds contend with each other, to shake the trees of the mountain forest, and shiver to pieces their long extended boughs :

Ὡς δ' Εὐρος τε Νότος τ' ἐριδαινέτον ἀλληλοῖν

Οὐρεὸς ἐν βήσσος βαθεὴν πελεμιζέμεν ὕλην.

*Il. b. 16. l. 765.*

To this may be added, that in the whole of this Psalm, as often in the other poetical books of the Hebrews, the two hemistichs are almost parallel, and mutually explain each other. From whence it follows, that (יָסַח) *yasah*, in this text, has nearly the same meaning as its

\* *Psa. lxxviii. 26.*

parallel verb (וַיָּבֵא) vainbag, which signifies to introduce. This is accordingly the sense which all interpreters, ancient and modern, have adopted, except the Septuagint and the Vulgate. From this statement, it appears, that the royal Psalmist in this passage means to excite, not to remove the east wind; to introduce, not to expel it from the heavens. But to understand the matter clearly, let it be remembered, that the people of Israel were at that time in the wilderness of Paran; at the distance of three days' journey from Sinai, directly north from the extremity of the Arabian gulf; and, by consequence, from Theman, the country from whence the south wind blows, whose name it commonly bears, in the Hebrew text, which brought the quails into the camp of Israel. The same region is named (קַדִּים) kadim, that is, the east; because it lay toward the south-east; and was denominated sometimes by the one name, and sometimes by the other. Although the cardinal winds are reckoned four in number, which are again subdivided into many more; yet the ancient philosophers, and particularly Aristotle and Theophrastus, distributed them into two, the north and the south. The westerly winds they included in the north, because they are colder; and the easterly winds in the south, because they are attended by a greater degree of heat. But, since the east wind was anciently comprehended in the south, the east and the south may be used in this text as synonymous; and, by consequence, the east is the same, or nearly the same, as the south wind. Nor is it in this text alone, that the sacred writers ascribe to the east, what might seem to be the proper effects of the south wind; the same thing may be observed in every part of Scripture. It burns up the fruits of the earth;—it blasts the vines, and other fruit bearing trees;—it drove back the Red sea, and opened a passage to the people of God;—it dries up the fountains of water;—and by its irresistible violence, it dashes the ships of Tarshish in pieces; and, in fine, scatters destruction among the dwellings of wicked men. and sweeps them from

the face of the earth, into the silent mansions of the grave.\* The prophet Isaiah, on this account, calls it a rough wind;† and Jonah feelingly describes the vehemence with which it beat upon his head, till he fainted, and wished in himself to die.‡ The Greek interpreters uniformly render it the south wind; and Theodoret regards these two winds as nearly the same. Although, therefore, the phrase (רוח חקדים) ruah hakadim, properly and precisely speaking, denotes the east wind; yet, because the east and the south winds resemble each other in many particulars, the Hebrews, in the opinion of Bochart and other learned writers, appear to have used these names promiscuously; which is the reason that (קדים) kadim is in every part of the Greek version, and particularly in the text under review, rendered the south wind. Thus the same wind seems to have been intended by both these terms, the south or African wind, which from the interior of Egypt wafted the quails into the desert, and scattered them round the tents of Israel.

This difficulty admits of other solutions equally natural and easy. The inspired writer may be understood to mean the south-east wind, which might bring the quails as well from the east as from the south; or, that both the east and the south winds were employed on that occasion, the first to scatter about the tents of Israel, the congregated flocks, which the last had swept into the desert; or, in order to secure a complete supply for so great a multitude, to gather at the same time from the east and the south, the widely dispersed troops of these birds, which, in distant regions of the sky, were pursuing their annual journey from their winter quarters, to the more temperate latitudes.

It is indeed objected by some writers, that the west wind, rather than the east, ought to blow, in order to produce the effect recorded by Moses; and that, according to Pliny, Aristotle, and Solinus, the quails do not trust themselves to the sky, when the humid and boisterous south wind blows; and for this reason, the

\* Gen. xli. 6. Ezek. xvii. 10. and xix. 12. Exod. xiv. 21. and Hos. xiii. 15. Psal. xlviii. 8. Job xxvii. 21. Jer. xviii. 17. † Isa. xxvii. 8. ‡ Jon. xiv. 8.

winds blowing from the north and west, are distinguished by the name of ornithian, because they are favourable to the migratory tribes. But no miracle is involved in this circumstance; for these ancient authors only mean, that the quails pursue their journey with greater difficulty, and are more easily taken when the south wind blows; while, according to the observation of others, these birds of passage were brought back in the spring, by the south winds, which are the most proper for conducting them from the banks of the Nile and the shores of the Red sea, into the wilderness of Paran.

The quails were scattered around the camp of Israel, in the most astonishing numbers: "He rained flesh also upon them as dust, and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea."\* The holy Psalmist had used the metaphorical word to rain, in relation to the manna, in a preceding verse, both to intimate its descent from heaven, and its prodigious abundance. And because a single metaphor is not sufficient to give us a just idea of the sudden and extraordinary supplies which descended on the tents of Israel, they are compared to the dust of the field, and to the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered. To suggest at once the countless myriads of these birds, and the ease with which they were caught, it is added: "He let it fall in the midst of their camp, round about their habitations." The account of Moses is still more striking: "And there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and as it were two cubits high upon the face of the earth." Hence, these birds covered the whole camp and the surrounding waste, to the distance of a day's journey on every side. The only ambiguity lies in the phrase, "a day's journey;" whether it means the space over which an individual could travel in one day, in which case it would be much greater—or the whole army could traverse, which would be

\* Psa. lxxviii. 27



much less. If the journey of an individual is intended, it might be about thirty miles; but if the sacred historian refers to the whole army, a third part of this space is as much as they could march in one day in the sandy desert, under a vertical sun. In the opinion of Bochart, this immense cloud of quails covered a space of at least forty miles diameter; for a day's journey is at least twenty miles. Ludolf thinks, it ought to be reduced to sixteen miles; and others, to half that number; because, Moses refers to the march of Israel through the desert, encumbered with their women and children, their flocks and herds, and the baggage of the whole nation; which must have greatly retarded their movements, and rendered the short distance of eight miles more than sufficient for a journey of one day. It is equally doubtful, whether the distance mentioned by Moses, must be measured from the centre, or from the extremities of the encampment; it is certain, however, that he intends to state the countless numbers of these birds which fell around the tents of Israel.

Some interpreters have doubted, whether the next clause refers to the amazing multitude of these birds which strewed the desert, or to the facility with which they were caught; the wind let them fall by the camp—"as it were two cubits high upon the face of the earth." The Seventy, and after them the Vulgate, render it, They flew, as it were two cubits high above the earth. Others imagine, the quails were piled one above another over all that space, to the height of two cubits; while others suppose, that the heaps which were scattered on the desert with vacant spaces between, for the convenience of those that went forth to collect them, rose to the height of two cubits. The second opinion seems entitled to the preference; for the phrase "to rain," evidently refers to these birds after they had fallen to the ground, upon which they lay numerous as the drops of rain from the dense cloud. Besides, the people could scarcely have gathered ten homers a piece, in two days, if they had not found the quails lying upon the ground; for a homer is the largest mea-

sure among the Jews, and contains nearly six pints; according to some Hebrew writers, the load of an ass, from whose name the term is supposed to be derived.

The surprising abundance of these birds may be inferred also from the quantity which the tribes collected: "And the people stood up all that day, and all that night, and all the next day, and they gathered the quails; he that gathered the least, gathered ten homers." The persons employed, were not a few of the people, but a great multitude, that were not prevented by other domestic engagements or important reasons; and who discovered on this occasion much alacrity and perseverance. Unwilling to lose so valuable an opportunity of gratifying their inordinate desires, and providing for their future wants, they continued their active exertions for several days; and that we may know the result of their diligence, and form some idea of the abundant supply with which divine Providence had favoured them, the sacred historian states, "he that gathered least, gathered ten homers." This word (חומר) homer, is properly distinguished from (עמר) omer, a much smaller measure, and from (חמור) hamor, an ass, or the load which is commonly laid upon that animal. But some writers make it equal to the cor, which is more than double the weight, and is the common load of a camel. But it was not necessary that every one should gather ten camel loads of quails; for God had promised his people flesh for a month, and would have fulfilled his promise, by bestowing on every individual the third part of a cor, or camel's burden. The truth of this assertion will appear, when it is considered, that every Israelite received for his daily subsistence, an omer of manna, which is the tenth part of an ephah. But an ephah is the tenth part of a cor; and, by consequence, a cor contains a hundred omers. If, then, an omer is sufficient for one day, a cor must be sufficient for a hundred days; that is, for more than three months. Hence, if every Israelite gathered ten cors of quails, they collected thirty times more than God had promised. Bochart endeavours to remove this difficulty, by observing, that Moses in this verse,

speaks only of the heads of families, leaving out of his enumeration, the women, children, and slaves. But it is evident, that Moses did not use the word people, in this restricted sense; for he states, that the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people that gathered the quails, “and the Lord smote them with a very great plague. And the people journeyed from Kibroth-hattaavah;” but these things are surely said of the whole people. Dissatisfied with this solution, Bochart proposes another, with which he is better pleased: The ten homers are not ten cors, but ten heaps; for in this sense, the word is sometimes used. Thus, in the prophecies of Habakkuk, homer signifies a heap of many waters;\* and in the book of Exodus, a heap of frogs.† Onkelos, and other interpreters, accordingly render it, in this passage, ten heaps. If this be admitted, Moses has not determined the quantity of these birds which every one gathered; but only says, that every one at least gathered ten heaps; that is, by a familiar phrase among the Hebrews, a very great number; for ten is often used in Scripture for many.‡ This version ought to be preferred, both on account of what has been already stated, and because the cor is a measure of corn, not of flesh. The view now given, is of some value; for if every Israelite gathered ten cors of quails, the number of these birds must have been so great as to exceed all belief. But it has been shown, that instead of ten cors, an Israelite did not collect and use the third part of one. It is not meant to limit the power of God; but surely no violence should be offered to human belief, by requiring more from it, than God has revealed in his word.

The vast multitude of these birds, appears also from the long time that the many thousands of Israel subsisted upon them in the desert. Jehovah promises, with uncommon emphasis, “Ye shall not eat one day, nor two days, nor five days, neither ten days, nor twenty days; but even a whole month.” The complete fulfilment of this promise, although not recorded by Moses, may be justly inferred from the great quantity

\* Hab. iii. 15.    † Exod. viii. 14.    ‡ See Gen. xxi. 7. Num. xiv. 32, &c.

which the people gathered, and laid up in store, after drying them in the sun, for their subsistence. The Psalmist distinctly alludes to it in these words : “ So they did eat and were filled ; for he gave them their own desire.” Thus were six hundred thousand footmen, besides women and children, supplied with quails for a whole month, by the power and goodness of Jehovah. In the colder regions of Europe, where the quail is less frequent, this could not have been done without a new creation ; but in warm climates, the case is very different. There these birds are found in immense numbers. From Aristophanes it appears, that no bird was more common in Greece ; and Juvenal asserts, that none were of less value at Rome. Nor will that appear wonderful, when the assertion of some writers is considered, that, in the beginning of spring, within the space of five miles, a hundred thousand of these birds are sometimes caught in one day ; and this astonishing number continues to be taken for nearly a whole month. Varro asserts, that turtles and quails return from their migrations into Italy, in immense numbers. Hence, their flight, when they approach the land, is alleged by Pliny, to “ be attended with danger to mariners ; for these birds, wearied with their journey, alight upon the sails, and this always in the night, and sink their frail vessels.” The same fact is stated by Solinus : “ When they come within sight of land, they rush forward in large bodies, and with so great impetuosity, as often to endanger the safety of navigators ; for they alight upon the sails in the night, and by their weight upset the vessels. ’ Many places also have borne the name of Ortygia, from the multitude of quails which crowded their fields. Thus, Delos was called Ortygia ; the Island of Syracuse was known by the same name, also the city of Ephesus, as well as a grove very near it, and another in the vicinity of Miletus. For the same reason, the whole country of Libya, received from the ancients the name of Ortygia. But quails abounded no where in greater numbers than in Egypt, and the surrounding countries. whither they were allured by the intense



heat of the climate, or the great fertility of the soil. Hence, the remark of Josephus, that the Arabic gulf is peculiarly favourable to the breeding of these birds. We have also heard the testimony of Diodorus, concerning the countless number of quails about Rhinocolura; and the ancients mention a species of quail peculiar to Egypt, which is so numerous at a certain season of the year, that the inhabitants unable to consume them all, are compelled to salt them for future use. This was done in times, when, according to Theocritus, the vale of Egypt contained more than thirty thousand cities; and by the testimony of Josephus, seven hundred and fifty myriads of people, without including the inhabitants of Alexandria.\* From this statement, it must be evident, that in order to supply the many thousands of Israel with quails for a whole month, no act of creation was necessary; but only a strong breeze, to direct the flight of those innumerable flocks, which encumber the African continent, to the camp of Israel. We read that our Lord multiplied the loaves and the fishes, when he fed the attending multitudes; but no inspired writer insinuates, that Jehovah created or multiplied the quails with which he sustained his people in the wilderness. He had only to transport them on the wings of the wind, from the vale of Egypt, and the shores of the Red sea. It was indeed a stupendous miracle, to collect such immense numbers, to bring them into the desert precisely at the time which he had appointed, and to let them fall about the camp, that they might be gathered by his people; but the provision itself existed already in the stores of common providence, and required only to be conveyed to the spot where it was needed.

The first supply of quails was followed by no visible judgment from heaven; for although they were guilty of murmuring against the Lord, he spared them in his love and in his pity; but they provoked him on this occasion, by their indecent desire of good living; by loathing the manna, which was provided for them by

\* See B. chart.

his distinguishing kindness ; by regretting the provisions which they had enjoyed in Goshen ; and by denying the divine power and goodness, which they had already experienced, in supplying them with quails, soon after they came out of Egypt, and of which they had every day the most substantial proofs, in giving them bread from heaven. Incensed by this undutiful conduct, Jehovah unequivocally notified his righteous displeasure, before he granted their demands : “ Ye shall eat it a whole month, until it come out at your nostrils, and it be loathsome unto you ; because that ye have despised the Lord which is among you, and have wept before him, saying, Why came we forth out of Egypt ? ” These words are a proof, that he had heard the murmuring of his people with great indignation. When, therefore, the month was completed, and while the flesh with which they had gorged themselves was yet in their mouth, “ the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague.” Various are the views which interpreters have given of this judgment ; but their opinion seems entitled to the preference, who suppose it was a fire from heaven, by which some of the people were consumed. Their undutiful murmurings were punished in this manner, a very short time before : “ And when the people complained, it displeased the Lord ; and the Lord heard it, and his anger was kindled : and the fire of the Lord burnt among them, and consumed them that were in the uttermost parts of the camp ”\* Bochart, indeed, considers this brief statement as a summary view of the scene which is more minutely described in the rest of the chapter. The same place, he thinks, is called Taberah, from the conflagration ; and Kibroth-hattaavah. “ because there they buried the people that lusted.” But this opinion seems to rest upon no solid foundation ; no trace of a more brief, and then of a more extended narrative can be discovered in the passage. The sacred writer plainly describes two different calamities, of which the first was indisputably by fire, which renders it not im-

\* Exod. xi. 1.

probable, that the second was also produced by the same devouring element. This probability is greatly increased by the words of David, in his sublime description of this very judgment: "Therefore, the Lord heard, and was wroth; so a fire was kindled against Jacob, and anger also came up against Israel; because they believed not God, nor trusted in his salvation."\* An instance of similar perverseness is recorded of this people, soon after they came out of Egypt.† But, although they were perhaps equally blameable, they were not subjected to the same punishment; for, in this instance, Jehovah bestowed upon them a supply of quails that evening; and the day after, he rained manna from heaven, around their tents. He had a right to punish them for their iniquity; but he graciously turned away his anger, and yielded to their importunities. And for this forbearance, several reasons may be assigned. If any fall a second time into the sins which had been already forgiven, he is more guilty than before; because he both insults the justice, and tramples on the grace and mercy of God. Besides, in this instance, the people of Israel murmured against their leaders, because they were pressed by famine, and in want of all the necessities of life. But in the desert of Paran, bread from heaven descended in daily showers around their encampment, in sufficient quantity to satisfy the whole congregation; they lived on angel's food; they were satiated with the bread of heaven; and, by consequence, the flesh which they demanded with so great eagerness and importunity, was not required to supply their necessity, but to gratify their lustful desires. When they murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness of Sin, they had but lately come out of Egypt—they were still in a rude and untutored state, for the law was not yet given; but in Paran they rebelled, after long and various experience of the divine care and goodness, after the law was given, and after they had been instructed by many sufferings, in the evil nature and bitter consequences of sin; their conduct, therefore, was much

\* Psa. lxxviii. 21.

† Exod. xvi. 2.

more criminal, and deservedly subjected them to severe castigation.

### *The Cock.*

No certain allusions to this domestic fowl, occur in the Old Testament Scriptures. But in the writings of the apostles and evangelists, we find two unequivocal references to it; one to the crowing of the cock, and the other to the tender affection of the hen for her brood. Our blessed Lord refers to the former, in his warning to the disciples: "Watch ye, therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning."\* The cock-crowing was, properly, the time which intervened between midnight and the morning; which is evident from the words of the evangelist just quoted. Availing themselves of this circumstance, the Romans divided their day and night into various parts, which they distinguished by appropriate names. Midnight was the point at which their day commenced and terminated; then followed, what they called the inclination of midnight; after that, the cock-crowing; then the conticinium; or term of silence, when all was still; this was followed by the dawn, which ushered in the morning; and this, in its turn, was succeeded by the noon day. The Greek term which denotes the cock-crowing, is often used in the plural number, because that wakeful bird announces more than once, the approach of light. He begins to chant at midnight; and again raises his warning voice, between midnight and the dawn; which, on this account, is often called the second cock-crowing. Thus, Juvenal, in one of his Satires:

"Quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi,  
Proximus ante diem caupo sciet."

The second cock-crowing corresponds with the fourth watch of the night; for, says Ammianus, he ascended mount Casius, from whence, at the second crowing of the cock, the rising sun might be first descried. But, according to Pliny, from the towering height of mount

\* Mark xiii. 35.



Casius, the sun might be seen at the fourth watch, ascending through the shades of night. But, although the cock crows twice in the night, yet, when any thing is said to be done at the time of the cock-crowing, without stating whether it is the first or the second, it must always be understood of the last, which is by way of distinction called the cock-crowing, either because the warning is more loud and cheerful, or because it is more useful to mankind, as it rouses them from their slumbers to the active scenes of life; or, in fine, because the time of the first warning is called by another name, the middle of the night. Thus, the evangelist Mark agrees with the uninspired writers of antiquity, in placing the time of the second crowing between the hour of midnight and the morning. And Isidore says, it was called the cock crowing, because then the cock announced the approach of day. Hence, it is evident he meant the time of the second crowing. Horace also refers to the same hour in these lines:

“Agricolum laudat juris legumque peritus

Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.” *Sat. l. l. 10.*

It appears from these, and many other testimonies, which the learned reader will find in Bochart, that the same time was now called simply, the cock-crowing; and now more expressly, the second cock-crowing: from whence it has been justly thought, that Mark may be easily reconciled with the other evangelists, in relation to the time when the apostle Peter thrice denied his Lord. According to Mark, the Saviour informed his presumptuous disciple, “Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.” As the Saviour had foretold, the cock crew after the first, and a second time after the third denial; but, according to the other evangelists, the cock did not crow before he denied him the third time. The words of Christ, according to Matthew, are these: “Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.”\* In Luke: “I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me”† In John: “Wilt thou lay down thy

\* Matth. xxvi. 34.

† Luke xxii. 34.

life for my sake? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, the cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice.”\* But, it is no difficult task to reconcile these different accounts; for the prediction clearly refers to the time of the second crowing, before when, according to all the four evangelists, Peter had thrice denied his Master. These phrases, the cock shall not crow, or, before the cock shall crow, are the same as if he had said, Before the time of the cock-crowing, or the cock shall not give that loud and cheerful alarm, from which the time, called emphatically, the cock-crowing (*αλεκτοροφωνία*) is dated, before thou shalt deny me thrice. No doubt can reasonably be entertained, that Mark, who was the disciple of Peter, recorded the very words of Christ, as he received them from the apostle. But it was sufficient for the others to mention the principal fact, that Christ not only foresaw and predicted the three-fold denial of Peter, but also fixed the time when it should happen, before the second crowing. The words of our Lord are certainly to be understood of the second, because this only was simply called the cock-crowing; yet Mark expressly asserts it, and declares also, that the first denial of Peter preceded the first cock-crowing. Here it may be objected, that between the first and second crowing, the fourth part of the night commonly intervenes; which, at that time, was nearly three hours; for in Judea, at the time of the year when our Lord was crucified, the nights are more than eleven hours in length; but between the first and second denial of Peter, scarcely the half of that time could have elapsed. This appears from the narrative of the evangelist Luke, in which it is stated, that when the terrified apostle had first denied his Lord to the maid, as he sat by the fire, “a little after, another saw him, and said, Thou art also of them. And Peter said, Man, I am not;” which was the second denial. “And about the space of one hour after, another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth, this fellow also was with him; for he is a Galilean.” “And Peter denied the third

\* John xiii. 38.

time, and immediately the cock crew.” To this objection, it may be sufficient to reply, that the statement of the evangelist is extremely brief; and while Peter endeavoured to clear himself of the charge, many words might pass on both sides, which are not put on the record, and the discussion be protracted through a great part of the night. Nor will it follow from the phrase which Luke uses, *after a little while*, that no time, or only a very short interval passed, between the first and second denial; for the apostle John, in his gospel, mentions many incidents which happened in that time; and the third denial, which Luke says happened about the space of one hour after the second denial, is in Matthew and Mark said to have taken place “a little after.” Hence, this phrase may denote a much longer space of time than is commonly supposed. Besides, Luke does not say, that the third denial happened precisely at the distance of one hour, but about the space of one hour; which might therefore be considerably more. In fine, although the fourth part of the night commonly intervenes between the first and second crowing, it is not always the case; for it is well known, that these birds do not always crow at stated times. Some cock, therefore, after the third denial of Peter, might anticipate the usual time of announcing the approach of morning, by one hour. It may be objected again, when Peter denied his Lord, the scribes, the priests, and the elders, were met in the house of Caiaphas, and sitting in judgment on the Saviour; while the apostles waited the issue, among the servants in the hall. But it is not likely that the council would prolong their sitting through so great a part of the night. Who can believe, that so many persons of the first rank among the Jews, would spend almost the whole night on the judgment seat, when the cause for which they were assembled could, with equal convenience, be referred to another time? But this objection is urged in vain: for the fact, that they actually did so, is certain. This will appear, when it is considered how many things were done that night, before the apostle denied his Lord the third time. When

the evening was come, that is, at the setting of the sun, our Lord celebrated the passover with his disciples; he then washed their feet, and addressed them on the occasion. After finishing this discourse, he instituted the supper; then he reproved his disciples for their contentions with one another, about the supremacy. When he had finished this reproof, he sung a hymn; which, according to the Talmudical writers, consisted of a number of psalms. This act of devotion being ended, he went out to the mount Olives,—came to the garden of Gethsemane—withdraw from his disciples to pray—and after praying an hour, he returned to the disciples, whom he found asleep, and reproved them for their unseasonable indulgence; this he did a second, and a third time. In the mean time, Judas arrived with a numerous party, and apprehended him; and led him away, first to Annas, and then to Caiaphas, in whose house, the scribes, the priests, and the elders were assembled. Into the hall of judgment, Peter with difficulty obtained admission; and, being recognized as one of his followers, denied his Lord. Christ was placed at the bar, and interrogated by Caiaphas; this being done, Peter denied his Master a second time, and again in the space of an hour. It will appear to every reflecting and candid mind, that these transactions must have occupied the greater part of the night. The despatch which the high priest and his council made, indeed would seem quite extraordinary, if we did not consider that the passover, their most solemn festival, was just ready to commence, and that the worst passions of their depraved hearts were now in a state of high excitement against the Redeemer.

It only remains, that we make a few remarks on the tender care which the hen displays in watching over her young. She provides for them with unwearied diligence; she guards them from the attacks of their enemies with unceasing jealousy, giving the alarm on the least appearance of danger, and evincing a fearless intrepidity in their defence; with kind affection she gathers them under her wing, and cherishes them with the genial warmth of her own body. These are the



allusions involved in the words of our Lord: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not."\* The term *ορνις*, which the evangelists use in recording this affecting address, originally signified a bird of any kind; but in the progress of language, its meaning was gradually contracted, till it became appropriated to the household fowl. The truth of this remark is placed beyond a reasonable doubt by the learned Bochart, to whose elaborate work the reader is referred. In Homer and Hesiod, the word is used in its most general signification; but in the time of Plato, it began to suffer a change, and to be restricted to the domestic fowl; and for some ages, it was employed to denote indiscriminately the male and the female, till custom, the great arbiter of language, determined that it should be the proper name of the latter. In the evangelists, therefore, *ορνις* does not signify a bird in general, as it is rendered in the Vulgate, and some other versions of Luke, but the hen, as they properly translate it in Matthew. It is used in this restricted sense in the Syriac, and by most of the ancients, except Ambrose on Luke, and in the authorized English version. It is justly appropriated to the hen, because she hatches her eggs like other birds, and also gathers her brood under her wings, and cherishes them with maternal heat. Hence, the Arabian writers emphatically call her *the mother of congregation*. The renowned Augustine often asserts, that it is peculiar to the hen to be so affected with the weakness of her chicks, as to become herself infirm and sick. Thus, in his Commentary on the fifty-eighth Psalm, he observes, that Christ became feeble unto death, and assumed the flesh of infirmity, that he might gather the children of Jerusalem under his wings, as the hen becomes feeble with her brood. And a little after; I mention a thing well known, which happens every day in our presence, how her voice becomes hoarse.

\* Matth. xxiii. 37. and Luke xiii. 34.

her whole body rough and shaggy, her wings hang down, and her plumage is disordered. And on the ninetieth Psalm, Many birds hatch and rear their young before us, but no bird sympathizes with its young like the hen. Let us attend to the swallow, the stork, and the sparrow : when we see these birds out of their nests, it cannot be known that they have young. But the breeding hen is known by the weakness of her voice, the disorder of her plumage, and the universal change which her maternal tenderness produces. Because they are weak, she becomes weak. —No figure, then, could be more happily chosen to express the infinite love of Christ, and his ardent desire to deliver his people from the sin and misery of their fallen condition, his watchful care, and powerful protection, and the safety and happiness of those that believe in his name.

### *The Peacock.*

This beautiful bird, which is now familiarly known to perhaps every nation of Europe, does not seem to have found his way into Palestine, before the reign of Solomon. That rich and powerful monarch, added to his unexampled wisdom, a taste for natural history; and every three years, his fleets returned laden with the most curious and valuable products of distant regions. The elegant shape, the majestic mein, and the splendid plumage of the peacock, rendered him a present not unbecoming the greatest king the world had ever seen; and the servants of Solomon, stimulated probably not more by a sense of duty, than by inclination to gratify their amiable sovereign, were forward to place it under his eye. “For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish, with the navy of Hiram : once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes, and peacocks.”\* The Hebrew name of this bird is (תוכים) thoehijim, which the Greek interpreters, not understanding, left without explanation; but the Chaldee, the Syriac, and other translators, render it the peacock. The origin of the

\* 1 Kings x. 22. and 2 Chron. ix. 21.

Hebrew name is unknown; and, accordingly, various are the conjectures in which the learned have indulged their imaginations, or critical acumen. Bochart imagines it is an exotic term; and changing the Hebrew (תוכיים) thochijim by inversion into (כתיים) cuthijim, he traces it to a Cushite root, intended to denote the native country of the peacock. Nor is it uncommon for an animal to derive its proper name from the place of its original residence. The pheasant is indebted for her name to the Phasis, a river of Colchus, on the banks of which she first drew the attention of the postdiluvian tribes; and African and Numidian birds are so called from Africa or Numidia, the country where they were hatched, and where they commonly fixed their abode. On the same principle, the peacock himself is every where called by the ancients, the bird of Media or Persia, in which the land of Cush, or Cuth, was situate, because he came originally from that region.

Aristophanes calls the peacock the bird of Persia; Suidas, the bird of Media; and Clemens Pædagogus, the bird of India. Diodorus observes, that Babylonia produces a very great number of peacocks marked with colours of every kind. In the opinion of Bochart, India is the true native country of that bird; but it is frequently mentioned as a native of Persia and Media, because it was first imported from Media into these countries, from whence it passed into Judea, Egypt, and Greece, and gradually found its way into the other parts of the globe. Hence, the peacocks which were imported in the fleet of Solomon, probably came from Persia; for in that long voyage of three years, in which they visited Taprobane, it is by no means probable they would always pursue a direct course: but along the various windings of the coast, search for any thing that suited their purpose. It is even probable that they sailed up the Persian gulf, and touched at the renowned isles of the Euxenicians, Tyrus or Ty-lus, and Aradus, at no great distance from Persia.\*

The elegance of the peacock's form, and the bril-

\* See Bochart de Pavonibus

liancy of his plumage, seem to be the principal reasons which induced the mariners of Solomon, to bring him into Palestine, and that the sacred historian so distinctly mentions the circumstance. Nature, according to the remark of Varro, has certainly assigned the palm of beauty to the peacock; but since the introduction of the ape into Palestine, an animal neither distinguished by the elegance of his form, nor the brilliancy of his colour, is mentioned at the same time, the historian might intend to direct the reader's attention, as well to the riches and splendour of Solomon, as to his taste for rare and curious articles of natural history. In the Lesser Asia, and in Greece, the peacock was long held in high estimation, and frequently purchased by the great and the wealthy, at a very great price. We learn from Plutarch, that in the age of Pericles, a person at Athens made a great fortune by rearing these birds, and showing them to the public, at a certain price, every new moon; and to this exhibition, the curious Greeks crowded, from the remotest parts of the country. The keeper of these birds, the same author informs us, sold a male and a female for a thousand drams, about thirty-six pounds of our money. Peacocks were very rare in Greece, even in the time of Alexander, who, by the testimony of Ælian, was struck with astonishment at the sight of these birds on the banks of the Indus; and from admiration of their beauty, commanded every person that killed one of them to be severely punished. At Rome, as the same historian relates, when Hortensius first killed one for supper, he was brought to trial, and condemned to pay a fine. Their eggs, according to Varro, were sold in his time at five denarii, or more than three shillings a piece; and the birds themselves, commonly at about two pounds of our money. The same writer affirms, that M. Aufidius Luzco derived a yearly revenue of more than sixty thousand pieces of silver, which amounts to four hundred and sixty-eight pounds fifteen shillings sterling, from the sale of peacocks; for although their flesh is not better tasted than that of a domestic fowl, they were sold at a much greater



price, on account of the richness and brilliancy of their plumes. These statements prove, that the peacock was deemed, in remote ages, a present not unworthy of a king.

### *The Sparrow.*

The habits and manners of this little bird are familiarly known, and require no particular description. Its Hebrew name is (צפור) tsippor, a term which, in the sacred volume, is often used to denote small birds of any kind. In this general sense, it occurs in Solomon's affecting description of the closing scene of human life: "He shall rise up (לקול הצפור) at the sound of the bird." Some interpreters give it a more restricted sense, translating it, he shall rise up at the sound of the cock. This interpretation is rejected by some writers, because the original term, they allege, is used only to denote birds of inferior size. But in the sacred text, the word is employed to signify birds of every species. In the law of Moses, the people of Israel were forbidden to make the likeness of any winged fowl (צפור) that flieth in the air"\* But it could not have been the intention of the lawgiver, to prohibit only the idolatrous veneration of smaller birds; the precept certainly embraced "any winged fowl that flieth in the air," in the utmost latitude of the term. When the same God conceded to his people the use of every clean bird, (צפור) he certainly did not mean to withhold from their table, fowls of a larger size.† And who ever restricted to small birds the law which protected the dam, while it suffered the passing Israelite to carry away the young? "If a bird's nest (קן צפור) chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree, or on the ground, whether they be young ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young."‡ Nor can it be denied, that birds of every wing are subjected to the sway of man by the holy Psalmist, as well as all the beasts of the field, and the fishes of the sea: "Thou madst him to have dominion over the

\* Deut. iv. 17.

† Ch. xiv. 11.

‡ Ch. xxii. 6.

works of thy hands ; thou hast put all things under his feet ; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field ; the fowls of the air, (צפור שמים) and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.\* Or, when the “beasts, and all cattle ; creeping things, and flying fowl,” are invited to praise their Maker ; † is it to be supposed, that birds of a larger size are exempted ?

But although the word (צפור) tsippor, is a name common to birds and fowls of every wing ; it is often used, as the Hebrew writers assert, in a more restricted sense, to signify the sparrow. Tsippor, says Kimchi, on the eighty-fourth Psalm, denotes a small bird, which they commonly call the sparrow. Aquinas also admits, that it is the name of a particular species of bird ; and a little after : “The small bird is known by the name of a sparrow.” Jerome therefore renders the word, sparrow ; ‡ and the Greek translators give the same interpretation, in five different parts of the Psalms ; and also in the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes, and the third chapter of Lamentations. § On the other hand, the Greek word *σπριθα*, which occurs in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and signifies a sparrow, is translated by the Syriac interpreter tsipparin ; which every person in the least acquainted with oriental literature knows, is, with a very slight change, the Hebrew term tsipporim. Nor is it peculiar to the Hebrews to give the same name to the sparrow, and to fowls of the largest size ; for the word *σπριθος*, which in Greek signifies a sparrow, is also given to the hen. Thus, Nicander, as quoted by Bochart :

Ἡ τε μυελόεντα χαλκροτέρων ποτον ἰσχυροῖς  
ὄρνιθος σπριθοιο κατοικαδός.

“Or a pure, potable medicine, full of marrow, may be obtained from a fowl, the domestic sparrow ; that is, the hen.” In imitation of the Greeks, the Roman writers call the ostrich, which is the largest fowl in existence, the marine sparrow. Both Plautus and Ausonius give it this name : the words of the last writer are,

“Ovum tu coque passeris marini.”

\* *Psa.* viii. 6, 7, 8.

† *Psa.* cxlviii. 10.

‡ *Lev.* xiv. 4.

§ *Ver.* 6. and 52.

“Boil thou the egg of the marine sparrow.” And that these authors meant the ostrich, is confirmed by Festus, who declares, that the marine sparrow signified the bird which they commonly called the struthio-camel, or the ostrich.

Interpreters have not been able to determine in what parts of Scripture, the Hebrew term (צפור) tsippor, ought to be translated sparrow. Some suppose, that Moses intends this bird, in the law concerning the purification of the leprosy: “Then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed, two birds alive.”\* One of these birds was to be killed over running water; and the living bird, after certain ceremonies described in the law, was ordered to be let loose into the open field. The same ceremonies were commanded to be observed in cleansing the leprous house. Jerome, and many succeeding interpreters, render the word צפור used in the law, sparrows. But it is evident from an attentive perusal of the fourth verse, that it signifies birds in general. “Then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed, two birds alive and clean.” Now, if the sparrow was a clean bird, there could be no use in commanding a clean one to be taken, since every one of the species was ceremonially clean; but if it was unclean by law, then it could not be called clean. The term here must therefore signify birds in general, of which some were ceremonially clean, and some unclean; which rendered the specification in the command, proper and necessary. From the terms of the law, it appears, that any species of clean birds might be taken on such occasions, domestic or wild; provided only they were clean, and the use of them conceded by the laws of Moses to the people.

Another passage, in which the word tsippor is supposed to refer to the sparrow, occurs in that sublime description of the leviathan, in the book of Job, and is couched in these terms: “Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?”† But there is no necessity to confine the original term

\* Lev. xiv. 1. 53.

† Job xli. 5.

here, to the sparrow ; since many other birds may be named, which are equally pleasing to young people of both sexes. Jerome therefore translates it without mentioning the sparrow : Wilt thou play with him, as with a bird ? or bind him for thy maidens ? an interpretation which has been followed by the greater part of modern expositors.

The royal Psalmist, is by some interpreters supposed to refer to the same bird, in these words : “ In the Lord put I my trust : how say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird to your mountain ? ” In the Greek version, it is translated : How say ye to my soul, Flee as a sparrow to your mountain. This interpretation has been followed by the Vulgate, and other expositors. But Jerome, with more propriety, renders it, Flee as a bird to your mountain ; and his version has been adopted by the greater part of modern translators. The sparrow is not a mountain bird ; and David, whose sufferings are described in the Psalm, complains, that his implacable sovereign pursued him, not like a sparrow, but like a partridge upon the mountains.\* Some authors indeed mention a bird on the shores of the lake de Como in Italy, which they call a mountain sparrow ; but Gesner proves by many arguments, that it is a species of black bird.

The same inspired writer uses the original term in a restricted sense, in that beautiful Psalm, where he seems to envy the swallow and the sparrow the happiness of approaching the altar, of which he was deprived, by the rebellion of an unnatural son. “ Yea, the sparrow (וַעֲרַב) hath found out an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young : thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my king and my God.”† The term in this passage is connected with the proper name of the swallow ; and therefore cannot be understood as the common name of the feathered race, but like the other must denote, a particular species of bird, which, by the general suffrage of interpreters, is the sparrow. This idea is confirmed by the plaintive description of David, according to

\* 1 Sam. xxvi. 20.

† Psa. lxxxiv. 3



which, that little bird, under the direction of instinct alone, provides a habitation for herself, in the abodes of men, where she rears her young, and enjoys the sweets of repose. Some of these birds, the Psalmist had probably seen constructing their nests, and propagating their kind, in the buildings near the altar, or in the courts of the temple; and piously longs to revisit a scene so dear to his heart. The altar is here by a synecdoche of a part for the whole, to be understood of the tabernacle, among the rafters of which, the swallow and the sparrow were allowed to nestle; or rather, for the buildings which surrounded the sacred edifice, where the priests and their assistants had their ordinary residence. Even these exterior buildings were extremely desirable to the exiled monarch, because of their vicinity to the splendid symbols of the divine presence, and the instruments of his worship. The holy Psalmist sometimes wished for the wings of a dove, to waft him into the desert from the cruel oppression of his enemies; but on this occasion, when he is compelled to flee for his life into the wilderness, he longs for the enjoyment of a sparrow, which flew unobserved into the courts of the tabernacle, and flitted among the beams without interruption.

The sparrow has been considered by some interpreters as a solitary, moping bird, which loves to dwell on the house top alone; and so timid, that she endeavours to conceal herself in the darkest corners, and passes the night in sleepless anxiety. Hence, they translate the words of the Psalmist: *I watch, and am as a sparrow alone upon the house top* \*. But her character and manners by no means agree with their description. She is a pert, loquacious, bustling creature, which, instead of courting the dark and solitary corner, is commonly found chirping and fluttering about in the crowd. The term in this text, therefore, must be understood in its general sense, and probably refers to some variety of the owl. Jerome renders it, *I was as a solitary bird on the roof*. The Hebrew text contains nothing which can with propriety suggest the sparrow, or any similar bird; and indeed, nothing

\* Psa. cii. 7

seems to be more remote from the mind of David ; all the circumstances seem to indicate some bird of the night ; for the Psalmist, bending under a load of severe affliction, shuns the society of men, and mingles his unceasing groans and lamentations with the mournful hootings of those solitary birds, which disturb the lonely desert. “ By reason of the voice of my groaning, my bones cleave to my skin ; I am like a pelican of the wilderness ; I am like an owl of the desert.” He then proceeds with his comparison : “ I watch, and am as a bird upon the house top alone :” I watch, that is, I have spent a sleepless night ; or, as it is paraphrased in the Chaldee, I have watched the whole night long, without once closing my eyes. Every part of this description directs our attention to some nocturnal bird, which hates the light, and comes forth from its hiding place when the shadows of evening fall, to hunt the prey, and from the top of some ruined tower, to tell its joys or its sorrows to a slumbering world. These characters are easily recognized in Virgil’s beautiful description of the owl :

“ Sola que culminibus ferali carmine bubo

Visa queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.”

*Æn. b. 4.*

But, with what propriety can the sparrow be called a solitary bird, when it is gregarious, and, so far from loving solitude, builds her nest in the roofs of our dwellings ? Natural historians mention two kinds of this bird—one domestic, and the other wild. But the wild sparrow does not repair for shelter like her relative, mentioned by David, to the human dwelling ; she never takes her station on the house top, but seeks a home in her native woods. If the allusion, therefore, be made to the sparrow, it must be to the domestic, not to the wild species. It is in vain to argue, that the domestic sparrow may be called solitary, when she is deprived of her mate ; for she does not, like the turtle, when she loses her spouse, remain in a state of inconsolable widowhood, but accepts, without reluctance, the first companion that solicits her affections. Hence, the Psalmist undoubtedly refers to some species of the owl, whose dreary note and solitary dispositions, are celebrated by almost every poet of antiquity.

The word is used by Solomon, in the general sense, in his affecting description of the wakeful debility of extreme old age: "He shall rise up at the voice of the bird." In the Greek version it is translated, the voice of the sparrow; but it is more natural to suppose, that the inspired writer alludes to the note of a larger bird; probably to the crowing of the cock, which the God of nature has appointed to announce the approach of day. It is not easy to determine, which of these opinions is entitled to the preference; for the original term, as already observed, signifies birds of any size. It must be confessed, that it gives us a much more striking idea of the lowest ebb of human weakness, to refer the phrase to the feeble note of the sparrow, or the chirping of other small birds at the dawn of day; but "the voice of the bird" may with equal, perhaps with greater propriety, denote the shrill and powerful clarion of the cock, which rouses the slumbering world to the cares and exertions of active life.

Low in the scale of being as the sparrow has been placed by its Creator, it is, according to the declaration of our Lord himself, the object of his unceasing care: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father."\* In the gospel of Luke, the value of this little bird is represented as still less: "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God."† It neither attracts our notice by the beauty of its plumage, nor conciliates our esteem by the amiableness of its dispositions and manners; nor commands our regard by the benefits it bestows; yet this insignificant animal cannot perish without the express permission of its Maker. This truth was taught by the royal Psalmist, many ages before the coming of Christ: "These all wait upon thee, that thou mayst give them their meat in due season. That thou givest them, they gather; thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good. Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust."‡ In these quotations, it is not

\* Matth. x. 29.

† Luke xii. 6.

‡ Psa. civ. 27.

meant, that God, who is infinitely wise, values a sparrow as highly as a man, who is formed after his own image, and for whose use the lower animals were created in the beginning of time. He cannot but love his creatures, according to the nature and the degree of excellence which they possess; to do otherwise, would argue a defect of wisdom and goodness in his nature and character. The care of divine Providence, therefore, admits of various degrees: the great Preserver does not take care of oxen in the same manner as he watches over the interests of men; but, according to Paul, makes a distinction in his providential management. "For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen?" It cannot, however, be doubted, that as well oxen as men, and even the meanest creatures, are equally subject to God, who disdains not to govern and preserve the creatures which he condescended to create. We must beware of setting bounds to his providence, which the greatest of his works cannot burthen, nor the smallest escape. Who, that deserves the name of Christian, can believe, that Jehovah knew not the number of the quails with which he supplied his people in the wilderness; or of the fishes which sported in the lake of Genesareth, when, by the command of Christ, the apostle Peter cast his net into the sea? Could he be ignorant how many frogs and locusts he would employ in executing his vengeance upon the oppressors of his people in Egypt? A general knows the number of the troops which he musters for the battle, and leads into the field; and can the omniscient God be ignorant of the numbers which swell the ranks of his army, and march under his banners? Such a supposition is not more repugnant to the uniform declaration of Scripture, than to the light of nature; which taught the ancient heathens, That God not only took care of oxen, but also extended his protection to animals of every species.\*

\* Plutarch and Ælian:



**PART III.**

---

OF THE

**CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF ANCIENT  
AND MODERN NATIONS.**



# ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

---

## PART III.

---

### CHAP. I.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE PASTORAL LIFE OF THE ORIENTALS.

**T**HE first man was no sooner expelled from the garden of Eden for his breach of covenant, and doomed to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, than he attempted to reduce the more useful animals under his yoke; and with so much success, that the sacred historian marks it as the proper employment of Abel, his younger son, that he “was a keeper of sheep.” But it is in Jabal, a son of Cain, that we find the first example of an oriental shepherd: “he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle.”\* No further notice is taken of antediluvian shepherds, in the rapid narrative of Moses; but it is reasonable to suppose, that the descendants of Jabal continued, according to the manners of the east, to follow the employment of their father, till the deluge swept them all away. Noah, it is probable, was devoted to husbandry from his earliest years; for Moses observes, that immediately after the deluge, he “began to be an husbandman;”† he resumed his labours in the field, which had been interrupted by that dreadful catastrophe. But the cares of the shepherd devolved upon his eldest son Shem, the great progenitor of God’s ancient people—a man, it would seem, imbued with a religious spirit,

\* Gen. iv. 20.

† Ch. ix. 20.

and devoted to a contemplative life, to which that employment is peculiarly favourable. By him it was transmitted to his renowned descendant Abraham, with whom he lived more than a hundred years. While it appears from the history of Laban, that the other branches of his family continued, after his example, to tend their flocks and their herds on the banks of the Euphrates and its tributary streams; the posterity of Abraham followed the same employment in the fertile pastures of Canaan, for several succeeding ages. This is the account which Joseph gave to Pharaoh, when his family came down into Egypt: "The men are shepherds; for their trade has been to feed cattle; and they have brought their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have."\* And he directed them to say, when they should be admitted to an audience of the king: "Thy servants' trade has been about cattle, from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers."

The patriarchal shepherds, rich in flocks and herds, in silver and gold, and attended by a numerous train of servants purchased with their money, or hired from the neighbouring towns and villages, acknowledged no civil superior; they held the rank, and exercised the rights of sovereign princes; they concluded alliances with the kings in whose territories they tended their flocks; they made peace or war with the surrounding states; and, in fine, they wanted nothing of sovereign authority but the name. Unfettered by the cumbrous ceremonies of regal power, they led a plain and laborious life, in perfect freedom and overflowing abundance. Refusing to confine themselves to any particular spot, they lived in tents, and removed from one place to another, in search of pasture for their cattle. Strangers in the countries where they sojourned, they refused to mingle with the permanent settlers, to occupy their towns, and to form with them one people. They were conscious of their strength, and jealous of their independence; and although patient and forbearing, their conduct proved, on several occasions, that they wanted neither skill nor courage to vindicate their

\* Gen. xlv. 32.



rights, and avenge their wrongs. In the wealth, the power, and the splendour of patriarchal shepherds, we discover the rudiments of regal grandeur and authority; and in their numerous and hardy retainers, the germ of potent empires. Hence the custom so prevalent among the ancients, of distinguishing the office and duties of their kings and princes, by terms borrowed from the pastoral life:—*Αρχιμενωνα ποιμενα λαῶν*, is a phrase to be met with every where in the strains of Homer. The sacred writers very often speak of kings under the name of shepherds, and compare the royal sceptre to the shepherd's crook: "He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheepfolds; from following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance. So he fed them according to the integrity of his heart, and guided them by the skilfulness of his hands."\* And Jehovah said to David himself: "Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be a captain over Israel."†

The royal Psalmist, on the other hand, celebrates under the same allusions, the special care and goodness of God towards himself, and also towards his ancient people. "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want." "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubim, shine forth."‡ But to multiply quotations is useless; in a hundred places of Scripture, the church is compared to a sheepfold, the saints to sheep, and the ministers of religion to shepherds, who must render at last an account of their administration to the Shepherd and Overseer to whom they owe their authority.

The patriarchs did not commit their flocks and herds solely to the care of menial servants and strangers; they tended them in person, or placed them under the superintendence of their sons and their daughters, who were bred to the same laborious employment, and taught to perform, without reluctance, the meanest services. Rebecca, the only daughter of a shepherd

\* *Psa. lxxviii. 70.*      † *2 Sam. v. 2.*      ‡ *Psa. xxiii. 1. and lxxx. 1*

prince, went to a considerable distance to draw water; and it is evident, from the readiness with which she let down her pitcher from her shoulder, and gave drink to the servant of Abraham, and afterwards drew for all his camels, that she had been long accustomed to that humble employment. From the same authority, we know, that Rachel, the daughter of Laban, kept her father's flocks, and submitted to the various privations and hardships of a pastoral life, in the deserts of Syria. The patriarch Jacob, though he was the son of a shepherd prince, kept the flocks of Laban, his maternal uncle; and his own sons followed the same business, both in Mesopotamia, and after his return to the land of Canaan. This primeval simplicity was long retained among the Greeks. Homer often sends the daughters of princes and nobles, to tend the flocks, to wash the clothes of the family at the fountain, or in the flowing stream, and to perform many other menial services.\* Adonis, the son of Cinyras, a king of Cyprus, fed his flocks by the streaming rivers:

“Et formosus oves ad flumina pavit Adonis.” *Vir. Ecl.* 10.

The flocks and herds of these shepherds were immensely numerous. So great was the stock of Abraham and Lot, that they were obliged to separate, because “the land was not able to bear them.” From the present which Jacob made to his brother Esau, consisting of five hundred and eighty head of different sorts, we may form some idea of the countless numbers of great and small cattle, which he had acquired in the service of Laban. In modern times, the numbers of cattle in the Turcoman flocks, which feed on the fertile plains of Syria, are almost incredible. They sometimes occupy three or four days in passing from one part of the country to another. Chardin had an opportunity of seeing a clan of Turcoman shepherds on their march, about two days' distance from Aleppo. The whole country was covered with them. Many of their principal people, with whom he conversed on the road, assured him, that there were four hundred thousand beasts of carriage, camels, horses, oxen, cows,

\* *Iliad.* b. 6. l. 59. 78.

and asses, and three millions of sheep and goats. This astonishing account of Chardin, is confirmed by Dr. Shaw, who states, that several Arabian tribes, who can bring no more than three or four hundred horses into the field, are possessed of more than so many thousand camels, and triple the number of sheep and black cattle. Russel, in his history of Aleppo, speaks of vast flocks which pass that city every year, of which many sheep are sold to supply the inhabitants. The flocks and herds which belonged to the Jewish patriarchs, were not more numerous.

The care of such overgrown flocks required the attention of many shepherds. These were of different kinds; the master of the family and his children, with a number of herdsmen, who were hired to assist them, and felt but little interest in the preservation and increase of their charge. In Hebrew, these persons, so different in station and feeling, were not distinguished by appropriate names; the master, the slave, and the hired servant, were all known by the common appellation of shepherds. The distinction, not sufficiently important to require the intervention of a particular term, is expressed among every people by a periphrasis. The only instance in the Old Testament, in which the hired servant is distinguished from the master, or one of his family, occurs in the history of David, where he is said to have left the sheep (עֵל שׂוֹרֵי) in the hand of a keeper, while he went down to visit his brethren, and the armies who were fighting against the Philistines, under the banners of Saul.\* This word exactly corresponds with the Latin term *custos*, a keeper, which Virgil uses to denote a hireling shepherd, in his tenth Eclogue :

“ Atque utinam ex vobis unus, vestrique fuisset  
Aut custos gregis, aut maturæ vinitor uvæ.”

In such extensive pastoral concerns, the vigilance and activity of the master were often insufficient for directing the operations of so many shepherds, that were not unfrequently scattered over a considerable extent of country. An upper servant was therefore appointed

\* 1 Sam. xvii. 20.

to superintend their labours, and take care that his master suffered no injury. In the house of Abraham, this honourable station was held by Eliezer, a native of Damascus, a servant in every respect worthy of so great and good a master. The numerous flocks of Pharaoh, seem to have required the superintending care of many overseers.\* Doeg, an Edomite, was intrusted with the whole pastoral establishment of Saul.† But in the reign of David, the important office of chief herdsman was abolished, and the vast flocks and herds of that monarch, were intrusted to a number of superintendants; animals of the same species forming a separate flock, under its proper overseer.‡ These overseers, in the language of the Hebrews, were called the princes of the flock; they were treated with great distinction, and seem to have been selected in the reign of David from the nobles of his court. The office of chief shepherd, is frequently mentioned by the classic authors of antiquity. Diodorus relates from Ctesias, that Simma was overseer of the royal flocks under Ninus, king of Syria. According to Plutarch, one Samo managed the flocks and herds of Neoptolomus, the king of the Molossians. The office of chief shepherd was also known among the Latins; for, in the tenth *Æneid*, Tyrrhus is named as governor of the royal flocks:

——— “Tyrrhus que pater, cui regia parent  
Armenta, et late custodia credita campi.”

And Livy informs us, that Faustus held the same office under Numitor, king of the Latins.§ But it is needless to multiply quotations; every scholar knows, that the Greek and Roman classics abound with allusions to this office, which in those days was one of great importance and dignity, on the faithful discharge of which, the power and splendour of an eastern potentate greatly depended. The office of chief shepherd, therefore, being in pastoral countries one of great trust, of high responsibility, and of distinguished honour, is with great propriety applied to our Lord, by the apostle Peter: “And when the chief shepherd

\* Gen. xlvii. 6.    † 1 Sam. xxi. 7.    ‡ 1 Chron. xxvii. 29.    § Book 1



shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory which fadeth not away.”\* The same allusion occurs in these words of Paul : “ Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will.”†

The only other distribution of oriental shepherds, mentioned in the holy Scriptures, is into good and bad. A bad, or foolish shepherd, is thus described by the prophet : “ And the Lord said unto me, ‘ Take unto thee yet the instruments of a foolish shepherd. For, lo, I will raise up a shepherd in the land, which shall not visit those that are cut off, neither shall seek the young one, nor heal that which is broken, nor feed that which standeth still ; but he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces. Woe to the idle shepherd, that leaveth the flock.”‡ In this passage, the prophet fixes a mark of indelible infamy upon the unfaithful shepherd ; he calls him a person of no use. A man of nought was, among the Hebrews, an expression of utter contempt. The idols which the heathens worshipped, they accordingly stigmatized as things of nought, or of no value : “ An idol,” says the apostle Paul, “ is nothing,” or of no value in the world.§ In the same light, the sorrowful patriarch regarded his unkind friends : “ Ye are all physicians of no value.”|| Such were the rulers of Israel in the days of Zechariah ; they were foolish, or unprofitable shepherds, who neglected every part of their duty ; they neither brought back the sheep which had wandered from the fold, and knew not how to return ; nor visited that which was ready to perish. They were not careful to bind up the fractured bone, nor restore the dislocated limb ; nor to furnish those that were vigorous and healthy with food, to preserve them in good condition ; but they rioted on the flesh of the fat ; they tore their limbs asunder ; and like a company of rapacious wolves, they devoured every thing, not

\* 1 Pet. i. 4, 5.  
 § 1 Cor. viii. 5.

† Heb. xiii. 20.  
 || Job xiii. 4.

‡ Zech. xi. 16.

sparing even the meanest and the least useful parts of the carcase. By this hyperbole, the prophet meant, that the rulers of his people, disregarding the duties of their office, and the plainest dictates of justice and equity, turned every thing to their own advantage.

The prophet Jeremiah pronounces a curse upon the unfaithful shepherds, by whom he means the proud and oppressive rulers of his people: "Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture! saith the Lord. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God of Israel, against the pastors that feed my people: Ye have scattered my flock, and driven them away, and have not visited them: behold, I will visit upon you the evil of your doings, saith the Lord."\* No shepherd perhaps is so foolish and wicked, as literally to scatter the flock intrusted to his care, and drive them away; this is rather the work of lions and wolves, that prowl about the fold, watching the favourable moment to seize their victim. But they scattered the flock, by suffering them to wander, and neglecting to visit and bring them back to the fold. The hiphil form of the Hebrew verb, often admits of this passive sense; thus, the hiphil of the verb (היה) hiah, to live, signifies not to cause, but to permit a person to live; and it is extremely probable, that the prophet uses the verb (נדה) nadah, in the hiphil form, in the same sense here. This interpretation seems to correspond with a passage in Homer:

— αἰ γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσσιν

Ποιμενος αφραδισσι διςλμαγε.

*Il. b. 16. l. 354.*

"Like ravenous wolves, which rush with vehement impetuosity on the lambs or the kids, that by the folly of the shepherd, are scattered on the mountains."

The prophet Ezekiel has imitated, and beautifully amplified, the metaphor of Jeremiah: "Woe to the shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was

\* Jer. xxiii. 1.

sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. And they be scattered, because there is no shepherd; and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered. My sheep wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill; yea, my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search or seek after them"\* All the care of these foolish, these unfaithful shepherds, was, to enrich and aggrandize themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? The common sense of mankind finds no difficulty in answering the question; we shall find it in the beautiful lines of Virgil:

—— "pastorem, lyuire, pingues  
Pascere oportet oves."

It becomes a shepherd to feed his lusty flocks; this is the very design of his office, and he betrays his trust, if he do not provide suitable food for them, or conduct them to where it may be found. Instead of this, these shepherds fed themselves; they thought of nothing, but how to indulge their own luxurious appetites, securing the profits of their places, fleecing their unhappy subjects, and even cutting them off by mock trials, in order to get possession of their property. Disregarding the welfare of those committed to their care, they fed not the flock: either they were so ignorant, that they knew not how to feed them; or so lazy and slothful, they could not make the necessary exertions; or so treacherous and unfaithful, they neither desired nor intended to perform their duty. They took no care to vindicate those that had suffered wrong, nor to defend the innocent from the craft or the violence of their enemies. The magistrate suffered the poor to starve for want of the common necessaries of life; the priest allowed them to grow up in ignorance and vice, a burden to themselves, and a nuisance to society; and the statesman, intent only to enrich himself and his connexions, applied no suitable or effectual remedies

\* Ezek. xxxiv. 2, &c.

to the growing distempers which threatened the vitals of the state. Wild misrule and confusion every where prevailed, and threatened to overwhelm all orders of men in one common destruction. Alarmed by these public calamities, to which no end could be discovered, many left their native land, already weakened and impoverished, to linger out a precarious and miserable existence in foreign countries, resigning the place of their fathers' sepulchres, an easy prey to the first invader. Yet these wretched exiles were neither sought for, nor encouraged to return; but were rather confirmed in their determination, to spend the remainder of their years in voluntary banishment, by the unrelenting cruelties and oppressions which the friends and relations whom they left behind them, were compelled to endure. This character of the unfaithful shepherd, remarkably corresponds with that which has been drawn by the pen of Virgil :

"Hic alienus oves custos bis mulget in hora  
Et succus pecori et lac subducitur agnis."

It only remains to add a few circumstances from the beautiful parable of the good shepherd : "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber."\* In this manner, according to Joel, were the ministers of divine vengeance to act : "They shall run to and fro in the city ; they shall run upon the wall ; they shall climb upon the houses ; they shall enter in at the windows, like a thief."† To the dishonest practices of eastern shepherds, who do not seem to have been more correct in their manners than those in less genial climes, Theocritus alludes in these lines :

Λίγες εμῆι τήνον τον ποιμένα τον Συβαρίταν  
Φεύγετε τον Λακωνα το μεν νακος εχθες εκλεψεν.

"Fly, my goats, that shepherd Lacon from Sybaris, who yesterday stole my skin." Lacon returns the compliment, by charging Comatas with stealing his pipe.

The Grecian bard is thus imitated by Virgil in his third Eclogue :

\* John x. 1.

† Joel ii. 9



*“Quid domini facient, audent cum talia fures?  
Non ego te vidi Damonis, pessime, caprum  
Excipere insidiis multum latrante Lycisca?”*

And we learn from various writers, that many herdsmen and shepherds in Egypt, daily practised the crimes of theft and robbery; which Bochart supposes might be the reason that shepherds were, in the times of Joseph, “an abomination to the Egyptians.” The circumstances of our Lord’s parables are commonly borrowed from real life; and therefore he alludes, not without cause, to those shepherds who lived by rapine and plunder.

It is added in the twelfth verse, “But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth; and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.” This description applies only to those, who, equally indifferent to the voice of duty, and the solicitations of honour, are actuated by a base and mercenary spirit; for a hired servant may be faithful to his master, not less than a son or a slave born in the house. The patriarch Jacob furnishes an illustrious example of persevering and unshaken fidelity to Laban, although that envious relative changed his wages ten times, and otherwise treated him with great injustice.

From the base character and disgusting conduct of the bad, we turn with satisfaction to the virtuous dispositions, and pleasing exertions of the good shepherd, to whose employment and manners the sacred writers often allude. Under the name of a shepherd, the Messiah delighted to reveal himself by his servants, the prophets, to the ancient church. His fidelity to his Father, and his tender care of his people, are thus described by the pen of Isaiah: “He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arms, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.”\* The Syrian

\* Isa. xl. 11, 12.

shepherds were obliged to lead their numerous flocks and herds into the desert, or thinly inhabited country, to pasture. Moses led the flocks of Jethro "to the back side of the desert." The patriarchs wandered with their cattle among the towns and villages of Canaan, and fed them even in the most populous districts without molestation. And it is a remarkable fact, that the Kenites and Rechabites lived in Palestine under tents, and fed their cattle wherever they could find pasture, when the country was crowded with inhabitants. The Bedouin Arabs claim the same privilege in those countries to this day, which, depopulated as they are, probably contain as many inhabitants in their towns and villages, as in the days of Abraham. Nor is this custom peculiar to Palestine; in Barbary and other places, they live in the same manner. Great numbers of Arabian shepherds come into Egypt itself, in the months of November, December, and January, from three or four hundred leagues' distance, to feed their camels and their horses. After having spent some time in the neighbourhood of the Nile, they retire into the deserts, from whence, by routs with which they are acquainted, they pass into other regions to dwell there, in like manner, some months of the year, till the return of the usual season recalls them to the vale of Egypt\*. To this custom, of leading the flocks from one country and region to another, the royal Psalmist alludes in that beautiful pastoral: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul; he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness, for his name's sake."† We are taught by the prophet, to look for the same blessings from the vigilant care and tenderness of Messiah: "They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all high places. They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat nor sun smite them; for he that hath mercy on them, shall lead them: even by the springs of water

\* Maillet.

† Psa. xxiii. 1, 2, 3.

shall he guide them. And I will make all my mountains a way, and my high ways shall be exalted.”\* The conduct of the eastern shepherd, in leading his flock to the green pastures, and the still waters, is clearly alluded to by John, in the book of Revelation: “For the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.”† But the character of a good shepherd, is no where delineated with greater force and beauty, than in a passage of Ezekiel, where Jehovah promises to gather his people from all their dispersions, and plant them in their own land: “For thus saith the Lord God, Behold I, even I, will both search my sheep, and seek them out. As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that he is among his sheep that are scattered; so will I seek out my sheep, and will deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day. And I will bring them out from the people, and gather them from the countries, and will bring them to their own land, and feed them upon the mountains of Israel, by the rivers, and in all the inhabited places of the country. I will feed them upon a good pasture, and upon the high mountains of Israel shall their fold be; there shall they lie in a good fold, and in a fat pasture shall they feed upon the mountains of Israel. I will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord God. I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick; but I will destroy the fat and the strong; I will feed them with judgment.”‡ In the seventeenth verse, he promises to “judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he-goats.” To these words of the prophet, our Lord evidently alludes in his sublime description of the last judgment: “And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep

\* Isa. xlix. 9, 10, 11.

† Rev. vii. 17.

‡ Ezek. xxxiv. 11, &amp;c.

from the goats ; and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.\*

It is added, "the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep." In this number, David certainly deserves a place, who repeatedly risked his life in the defence of his father's property. It is no uncommon thing in the east, for the shepherds to encounter the lion and the bear, and drive them from the fold. But, the reference is to a greater than David, or any other eastern shepherd. The dangers they encountered, and the loss they sustained, were nothing to the labours and sufferings of Jesus Christ, who freely laid down his life for the sins of his people, magnifying the law, and satisfying the justice of his Father, in their name.

The shepherds of the east were accountable for the flocks under their charge. Of this fact, the following extract from the Gentoo laws, furnishes a remarkable proof: "Cattle shall be delivered over to the cow-herd in the morning; the cow-herd shall tend them the whole day with grass and water; and in the evening, shall redeliver them to the master, in the same manner as they were intrusted to him: if, by the fault of the cow-herd, any of the cattle be lost or stolen, that cow-herd shall make it good. When a cow-herd has led cattle to any distant place to feed, if any die of some distemper, notwithstanding the cow-herd applied the proper remedy, the cow-herd shall carry the head, the tail, the fore-foot, or some such convincing proof taken from that animal's body, to the owner of the cattle; having done this, he shall be no further answerable: if he neglects to act thus, he shall make good the loss." In this very situation was Jacob with Laban, his father-in-law, as we learn from his memorable expostulation, addressed to that deceitful and envious relation: "This twenty years," said the angry patriarch, "have I been with thee; thy ewes and thy she-goats have not cast their young; and the rams of thy flock have I not eaten. That which was torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bore the loss of it; of my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen by day, or stolen by night."

\* Matth. xxv. 32.

† Gen. xxxi. 41



By the blessing of God upon his incessant care, the flocks of Laban had not cast their young; so that his stock, which was but very limited, when Jacob arrived, had "increased into a multitude."

The Syrian shepherds were exposed, with their flocks, to all the vicissitudes of the seasons. It was indeed impossible to erect buildings capacious enough to receive the countless numbers of cattle, which constituted the wealth of those pastoral princes. Their servants were, therefore, compelled to watch the flocks night and day. The flocks of Libya "often graze both night and day, and for a whole month together, and repair into long deserts, without any shelter, so wide the plain extends."

"Sæpe dum, noctemque, et totum ex ordini mensem  
Pascitur, itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis  
Hospitiis: tantum campi jacet."

*Vir. 3 Geor. l. 340.*

The Mesopotamian shepherd was reduced to the same incessant labour: Jacob complains, "Thus I was; in the day, the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from mine eyes."\* In times long posterior to the age when Jacob flourished, the angels who descended to announce the birth of our Lord, found the shepherds, to whom they were sent, keeping watch over their flocks by night. To prevent them from wandering, they shut them up in a fold, formed of hurdles;† and took their station on the outside, to defend them from the attacks of wild beasts, or bands of robbers, that infested the country, and preyed upon the property of the peaceful and industrious inhabitant.

When the prophet Ezekiel threatened the Ammonites, that Rabbah, their capital, should become a stable for camels, we are not to imagine that the Arabian shepherds were careful to provide such coverts for these more hardy animals. Chardin says, that as they feed them on the ground, and do not litter them, they never think of erecting such buildings for their reception. The same fact is admitted by Dr. Shaw, when he makes a supposition that the cattle of these countries would

\* Gen. xxxi. 40.

† Horace.

be much more numerous than they are, if they had some little shelter in winter. The only shelter to which they have recourse, is the desolate ruin; and to this circumstance, the prophet Ezekiel most probably alluded, when he described Rabbah as about to become a stable for camels; or, as the original term may be rendered with equal propriety, a place of camels, where they screen themselves from the rays of a burning sun, and feed on the nettles, and other plants, which spring up among the mouldering walls of ruined habitations. The same term is rendered in the twenty third psalm, pastures; and perhaps all that the prophet means, is only this, that Rabbah should be so completely destroyed, that camels should feed on the place where it stood; and if this was his meaning, it has been long since realized, for the last remains of that proud city have entirely disappeared.

The greatest skill and vigilance, and even tender care, are required in the management of such immense flocks as wander on the Syrian plains. Their prodigious numbers compel the keepers to remove them too frequently in search of fresh pastures, which proves very destructive to the young, that have not strength to follow. This circumstance displays the energy of Jacob's apology to his brother Esau, for not attending him, as he requested: "The flocks and herds with young are with me; and if men should over drive them one day, all the flocks would die." It illustrates also another passage in the prophecies of Isaiah: "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd; he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young:" a beautiful image, expressing with great force and elegance, the tender and unceasing attention of the shepherd to his flock.

A most important pastoral duty in those regions, is to provide water for the flock. The living fountain and the flowing stream, generally furnish a sure and abundant supply; but these are seldom to be found in the burning desert, where the oriental shepherd is often compelled to feed his cattle. In such circumstances,

happy is he who finds a pool where his flocks may quench their thirst. Often, as he pursues his journey, a broad expanse of water, clear as crystal, seems to open to his view; and faint and weary under the fierce sun beam, he gazes on the unexpected relief with ineffable delight, and fondly anticipates a speedy termination to his present distress. He sees the foremost camels enter the lake, and the water dashed about by their feet. He quickens his pace, and hastens to the spot; but, to his utter disappointment, the vision disappears, and nothing remains but the dry and thirsty wilderness. To such deceitful appearances, the prophet opposes, with admirable effect, the real pool, the overflowing fountain, and the running stream; the appropriate symbols of those substantial blessings of grace and mercy, that were laid up in store for the church of Christ, in the last days: "And the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water."\* "I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys; I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water."†

When the pool, the fountain, and the river fail, the oriental shepherd is reduced to the necessity of digging wells; and in the patriarchal age, the discovery of water was reckoned of sufficient importance to be the subject of a formal report to the master of the flock, who commonly distinguished the spot by an appropriate name. A remarkable instance of this kind is recorded by Moses in these terms: "And Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there. And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopt them after the death of Abraham; and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them. And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water. And the herdmen of Gerar did strive with Isaac's herdmen; saying, the water is ours; and he called the name of the well Ezek, be-

\* Isa. xxxv. 7.

† Ch. xli. 18.



cause they strove with him. And they digged another well; and they strove for that also, and he called the name of it Sitnah (opposition); and he removed from thence, and digged another well; and for that they strove not; and he called the name of it Rehoboth (room); and he said, for now the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land.”\* So important was the successful operation of sinking a well in Canaan, that the sacred historian remarks in another passage: “And it came to pass the same day (that Isaac and Abimelech had concluded their treaty), that Isaac’s servants came and told him concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, We have found water; and he called it Shebah (the oath), therefore the name of the city is Beer-shebah unto this day.”†

To prevent the sand, which is raised from the parched surface of the ground by the winds, from filling up their wells, they were obliged to cover them with a stone. In this manner, the well was covered, from which the flocks of Laban were commonly watered; and the shepherds, careful not to leave them open at any time, patiently waited till all the flocks were gathered together, before they removed the covering, and then having drawn a sufficient quantity of water, they replaced the stone immediately. The extreme scarcity of water in these arid regions, entirely justifies such vigilant and parsimonious care in the management of this precious fluid; and accounts for the fierce contentions about the possession of a well, which so frequently happened between the shepherds of different masters. But after the question of right, or of possession, was decided, it would seem the shepherds were often detected in fraudulently watering their flocks and herds, from their neighbour’s well. To prevent this, they secured the cover with a lock, which continued in use so late as the days of Chardin, who frequently saw such precautions used in different parts of Asia, on account of the real scarcity of water there. According to that intelligent traveller, when

\* Gen. xxvi. 17.

† Ch. xxvi. 33.



the wells and cisterns were not locked up, some person was so far the proprietor, that no one dared to open a well, or a cistern, but in his presence. This was probably the reason, that the shepherds of Padanaram declined the invitation of Jacob to water the flocks, before they were all assembled; either they had not the key of the lock which secured the stone, or if they had, they durst not open it, but in the presence of Rachel, to whose father the well belonged.

It is ridiculous to suppose, the stone was so heavy, that the united strength of several Mesopotamian shepherds could not roll it from the mouth of the well, when Jacob had strength, or address, to remove it alone; or, that though a stranger, he ventured to break a standing rule for watering the flocks, which the natives did not dare to do, and that without opposition. The oriental shepherds were not, on other occasions, so passive; as the violent conduct of the men of Gerar sufficiently proves.

Twice in the day they led their flocks to the wells; at noon, and when the sun was going down. To water the flocks, was an operation of much labour, and occupied a considerable space of time. It was, therefore, an office of great kindness with which Jacob introduced himself to the notice of his relations, to roll back the stone which lay upon the mouth of the well, and draw water for the flocks which Rachel tended. Some of these wells are furnished with troughs and other contrivances, to facilitate the labour of watering the cattle. It is evident, the well to which Rebecca went to draw water, near the city of Nabor, had some convenience of this kind; for it is written, "Rebecca hasted and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again unto the well to draw water, and drew for all his camels."\* A trough was also placed by the well, from which the daughters of Jethro watered his flocks;† and if we may judge from circumstances, was a usual contrivance in every part of the east. In modern times, Mr. Park found a trough near the well, from which the Moors watered their cattle, in the sandy

\* Gen. xxiv. 20. † Exod. ii. 46

deserts of Sahara. As the wells are often very deep, from a hundred and sixty to a hundred and seventy feet, the water is drawn up with small leathern buckets, and a cord, which travellers are often obliged to carry along with them, in their journey, because they meet with more cisterns and wells than springs. To this custom, which they are forced to submit to by the scantiness of the population in those regions, the woman of Samaria refers, in her answer to our Lord: "Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with;" thou hast no bucket and cord, as travellers commonly have, "and the well is deep; from whence then hast thou that living water?"\*

The scarcity of water, and the great labour and expense of digging away so much earth, in order to reach it, render a well extremely valuable. As the water is often sold at a very high price, a number of good wells yield to the proprietor a large revenue. Pitts was obliged to purchase water at sixpence a gallon;† a fact which illustrates the force of the offer made by Moses to Edom: "If I, and my cattle drink of thy water, then will I pay for it."‡ It is properly mentioned as a very aggravating circumstance in the overthrow of Jerusalem, that the ruthless conqueror forced the Jews to purchase with money, the water of their own wells, and the wood of their own trees: "We have drunken our water for money; our wood is sold unto us."§ Even a cup of cold water cannot always be obtained in Syria, without paying a certain price. It is partly on this account, our Lord promises, "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of those little ones, a cup of cold water, in the name of a disciple, should in no wise lose his reward.||

To stop the wells, is therefore justly reckoned an act of hostility. The Canaanites, envying the prosperity of Abraham and Isaac, and fearing their power, endeavoured to drive them out of the country, by stopping "up all the wells which their servants had digged, and filling them with earth."¶ The same mode

\* John iv. 11.

† Lam. v. 4.

‡ Travels.

§ Matth. x. 42. Mark ix. 11.

¶ Num. xx. 19.

¶ Gen. xxi. 17.

of taking vengeance on enemies, mentioned in this passage, has been practised in more recent times. The Turkish emperors give annually to every Arab tribe near the road, by which the Mahomedan pilgrims travel to Mecca, a certain sum of money, and a certain number of vestments, to keep them from destroying the wells, which lie on that rout, and to escort the pilgrims across their country.\* D'Herbelot records an incident exactly in point, which seems to be quite common among the Arabs. Gianabi, a famous rebel in the tenth century, gathered a number of people together, seized on Bassorah, and Coufa; and afterwards insulted the reigning caliph, by presenting himself boldly before Bagdat, his capital; after which, he retired by little and little, filling up all the pits with sand, which had been dug on the road to Mecca, for the benefit of the pilgrims.

Near the fountains and wells, the robber and assassin commonly took his station; and there in time of war, the enemy placed their ambush, because the flocks and herds, in which the wealth of the country chiefly consisted, were twice every day collected to those places, and might be seized with less danger when the shepherds were busily engaged in drawing water. This circumstance, which must have been familiar to the inhabitants of those countries, is mentioned by Deborah in her triumphal song: "They that are delivered from the noise of archers in the place of the drawing of water, there shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord."† But a still more perfect comment on these words, is furnished by an historian of the croisades, who complains, that during the siege of Jerusalem, by the Christian armies, numbers of their men were daily cut off, and their cattle driven away by the Saracens, who lay in ambush for this purpose, near all the fountains and watering places.‡

The implements which the oriental shepherds and herdmen used in the management of their flocks, were of various kinds. Several of these are mentioned in the account of David's combat with Goliath, the cham-

\* Niebuhr.

† Judg. v. 11.

‡ Harmer.

pion of the Philistines : " And he took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's bag, even in a scrip ; and his sling was in his hand : and he drew near to the Philistine."\*

But in order to explain with greater accuracy, the furniture of an oriental shepherd, it may be proper to begin with his vestments. To these, the prophet Jeremiah refers, in his prediction of the success which was to crown the arms of Nebuchadnezzar in Egypt : " He shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment ;"† or, as the expression evidently signifies, wraps his body in it with great care, to defend himself from the injuries of the weather. So should that mighty potentate make himself absolute master of Egypt, clothe himself with its spoils, and remunerate himself and his army, for their long and unsuccessful service before Tyre.

In the bag or scrip, which is mentioned by Samuel as a part of the shepherd's furniture, his provisions, and other necessities, are carried. He bears in his hand a staff of considerable length, with which he keeps his cattle in order, and numbers them when they return from the field. To this instrument, the Psalmist refers in that beautiful and affecting passage, where he addresses Jehovah as the shepherd of his soul : " Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil ; for thou art with me : thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me."‡ The same allusion is involved in these words of Ezekiel to his people : " And I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant." And in the charge of the prophet Micah : " Feed thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine heritage, which dwell solitarily in the wood, in the midst of Carmel."§ This serves to explain an obscure passage in the laws of Moses, which runs in these terms : " And concerning the tithe of the herd, or of the flock, even of whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord ;"|| In the Septuagint, Whatsoever in

\* 1 Sam. xvii. 40.

§ Mic. vii. 14.

† Jer. xliii. 12.

|| Lev. xxvii. 32

‡ Psa xxiii. 4



numbering passeth under the rod. It was the custom of more accurate or severe masters, to number their flocks in the morning when they went out to pasture, and again in the evening when they returned to the fold.\* But the most indulgent masters seem to have always numbered their flocks in the evening; a fact clearly attested by Virgil in the close of his sixth Eclogue :

“Cogere donec oves stabulis numerum que referre  
Jussit, et invito processit vesper Olympo.”

“Till vesper warned the shepherds to pen their sheep in the folds, and recount their number; and advanced on the sky, full loth to lose the song.” He states it again as an invariable practice, in his fourth book of the Georgics :

“Consedit scopulo medius, numerum que recenset.” l. 433.

The testimony of Theocritus is still more express :

— τα δὲ μάλ᾽ ἀποβήπερα τὰς ἀριθμῶσι.

“The whole flocks, however, are always numbered in the evening.”

Agreeably to this custom, the prophet Jeremiah is directed by the Spirit of God, to promise, “The flocks shall pass again under the hands of him that telleth them, saith the Lord.”† The reference of these words to the rod of the shepherd numbering his flock, when they return from the pasture, appears from the verse immediately preceding: “Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Again in this place, which is desolate, without man and without beast, and in all the cities thereof, shall be an habitation of shepherds, causing their flocks to lie down.” They also used an ox goad, by which beesves are habituated or broken to the plough, and managed in the labours of the field. In the book of Judges, it is stated, that Shamgar, with an ox-goad, slew of the Philistines six hundred men. From this fact, it is evident, that the ox-goad was a very formidable weapon; and Maundrell, who saw one that was still used in those parts, declares, it was of such a make and strength, as to be very dangerous in the hand of an exasperated enemy. The testimony of Maundrell is supported by the authority of Homer, who, in the

\* Virg. Ecl. 3.

† Jer. xxxiii. 13.

sixth book of the *Iliad*, celebrates the flight and destruction of the Bacchanals, that fell by the ox-goad of *Lycurgus*.

But besides the rod and the crook, with which the shepherd engaged his enemies in close fight, he was provided with others to annoy them from a distance, among which were the javelin, the bow, and the sling. The use of the javelin and the arrow, is attested by *Virgil*, in his admirable description of the frantic wanderings of *Dido*: "Like a wounded deer, whom, heedless of her fate, a shepherd pursuing with his darts, has pierced at a distance among the Cretan woods, and left in the wound the winged steel unknown."

"Pastor agens telis, liquitque volatile ferrum  
Nescius."

*Æn. b. 4. l. 70.\**

These weapons were in common use among the shepherds of *Palestine*, in ages long anterior to the time of *Virgil*; for *Isaac* directed his son *Esau* to take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and go out to the field, in quest of some venison.† When *David* engaged in single combat with *Goliath*, "he took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's bag, which he had, even in a scrip; and his sling was in his hand;"‡ and with one of those stones he struck the blaspheming giant on the forehead, through the opening of the helmet, from whence the warrior surveyed his antagonist, the only aperture in that piece of armour. "So *David* prevailed over the *Philistine*, with a sling and with a stone, and smote the *Philistine*, and slew him; but there was no sword in the hand of *David*." In this daring action, the strength and dexterity of the stripling shepherd were eminently displayed; but still more, the mighty arm and directing hand of *Jehovah*, who inspired the youthful breast with undaunted courage, nerved his arm, imparted more than mortal skill in taking his aim, and crowned his perilous attempt with a success, equally great and unexpected. Such were the accoutrements of the Arabian

\* See also his *Geor. b. 3. l. 342.*

† *Gen. xxvii. 5.*

‡ *1 Sam. xvii. 40.*

shepherds from the remotest antiquity; accoutrements imposed upon them by the necessity of their circumstances, and which they often employed against their enemies with terrible effect.

As soon as the morning dawned, they led their flocks to the pasture, and tended them with solicitous care till the evening, when they conducted them again to the fold. But their care and labour were not then over; all night long they were obliged to watch them, as has been already observed, prepared alike to repel the assault of the robber or the wild beast. Jacob complains to Laban, that the heat by day, and the frost by night, consumed him, and his sleep departed from his eyes; and the shepherds, to whom the angels appeared at the birth of Christ, "were in the field keeping watch over their flocks by night." The dangers to which they were exposed in the wilderness, may be learned from the history of Job, whose servants were slain, and his cattle driven away by three bands of Chaldean freebooters. Such predatory expeditions, it is probable, were by no means unfrequent. Nor were they safe from the furious attacks of ravenous beasts, that approached the fold, and often, in spite of all their vigilance and exertions, broke into the enclosure, and carried off a part of their charge. When David kept his father's sheep, he had to encounter both a lion and a bear, which he vanquished, and rescued the prey from their devouring jaws.

The oriental shepherd marches before his flock to the field, with his rod in his hand, and his dog by his side; and they are so perfectly disciplined, that they follow him wherever he chooses to lead them. To facilitate the management of his charge, he gives names to his sheep, which answer to them, as dogs and horses answer to theirs in these parts of the world. The flocks in the island of Cynon ran off when a stranger approached them; but when the shepherd blew his horn, they immediately recognized the sound, and scampered towards the spot from whence it came.\* In Syria and Palestine, the sheep distinguish the voice of their

\* Polybius, b. 12.

keeper from that of a stranger, and follow his call with the same readiness, as the flocks of Cynnon the horn of their shepherds. These curious customs, our Lord beautifully applies to his own management, as the great shepherd of his church: "The sheep hear his voice; and he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out. And when he putteth forth his sheep, he goeth before them; and the sheep follow him; for they know his voice. And a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him; for they know not the voice of strangers."\*

The shepherds in those, as in other pastoral regions, frequently devoted a part of their leisure hours to the study and practice of music. With the pipe or the harp, they endeavoured to beguile the listless hours of the noon day; or, while they guarded the slumbering fold, the lonely watches of the night. The son of Jesse, was, at an early period of life, renowned among the shepherds of Palestine for his exquisite skill in touching the harp. His superior abilities as a musician, procured him the dangerous honour of standing in the presence of Saul, and soothing his agitated mind into peace and comfort, with the ravishing tones of his favourite instrument. But his musical talents were often devoted to a nobler purpose, than allaying the distraction of a gloomy despot, or beguiling the lingering hours in the lonely wilderness; they were employed in setting to music the inimitable lyrics, which, under the direction of the Divine Spirit, he composed for the worship of his God, and in performing the sweet and solemn airs upon the harp. He invented several kinds of musical instruments, and improved others; but the instrument in which he seems to have chiefly delighted, was the harp with ten strings; of which number, it is probable, several were added by himself. It is a curious fact, that the Greek writers refer the invention of music to shepherds. Apollo, the inventor of the harp, according to some, tended for nine years the flocks of Admetus; Pan, another shepherd, invented the lyre, and Mercury, the pipe; both of whom,

\* John x. 5.



were, in succeeding ages, adored as the deities who presided over pastoral affairs. In times long posterior to the age in which they flourished, the shepherds of the east were still renowned for their taste in poetry and music; of which, the *Idylls* of Theocritus, and the *Eclogues* of Virgil, are permanent and incontestible proofs.

The oriental shepherd and his family sometimes take up their abode in caves, with which the country, particularly about Askelon, abounds. These caverns are often so capacious, as to admit the master and his whole property. In times of imminent danger, the people forsake their towns and villages, and retire with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into these dark recesses, which have been from time immemorial, the refuge of the oppressed. It was in these hiding places, that Baldwin I. king of Jerusalem, in the barbarous age of the croisades, found the inhabitants of many villages, with their flocks and their herds, who had favoured the cause of his enemies, and fled at his approach.\*

But the most common abode of the Syrian shepherd, is the tent. From the permanency of their customs, it is reasonable to suppose, that it was made in the same manner as the common Arab tents, which have only a pole or two to support them in the middle, and a single covering of black hair cloth, which, though mean and coarse, effectually repels the rain and the dew. These, the Arabians call *kymas*, from *kama*, he pitched a tent, because of the shelter they afford; and *beet el shaar*, houses of hair, from the materials, or webs of goats' hair, of which they are made. They are the same which the ancients called *mapalia*:

"Qualia Maurus amat dispersa mapalia Pastor."

To the colour of these tents, the spouse thus alludes: "I am black, but comely, like the tents of Kedar."†

The Arabian tents are of an oblong figure, supported, according to their size, some with one pillar, others with two or three, whilst a curtain or carpet, occasionally let down from each of these divisions, turns the

\* Harmer.

† Song i. 5.

whole into so many separate apartments. These tents are kept firm and steady, by bracing, or stretching down their eves with cords, tied to hooked wooden pins, well pointed, which they drive into the ground with a mallet; one of these pins answering to the nail, as the mallet does to the hammer, which Jael used in fastening to the ground the temples of Sisera.\* In these homely dwellings, the Arabian shepherds and their families, wrapping themselves up in their bykes, repose upon the bare ground, or with only a mat or carpet beneath them, whenever they can find a place unoccupied. Those, indeed, who are married, have each of them a portion of the tent to themselves, separated by a curtain; and, in remote times, women of distinction had a tent for their own use.

Besides the mats and coverlets of the common Arab tents, La Roque mentions several domestic utensils, among which, are hair sacks, and trunks, and baskets, covered with skin, in which they packed their kettles or pots, great wooden bowls, hand mills, and pitchers. These are all the articles of household furniture they commonly need, or desire. This account seems to explain, in a clearer manner than commentators have done, the passages where the furniture which the people of Israel used in the wilderness, is described: "Upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean; whether it be any vessel of wood," that is, their wooden bowls, "or raiment, or skin," which was used in covering their trunks or baskets, "or sack," made of hair cloth, for any domestic purpose: "whatsoever vessel it be, wherein any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the evening, so it shall be cleansed. And every earthen vessel, (or pitcher, for holding liquids, and drinking out of) whereinto any of them falls, whatever is in it shall be unclean, and ye shall break it."†

But, although the bowls and dishes of the vulgar Arabs are of wood, those belonging to their chiefs are not unfrequently of copper, neatly tinned. Mr. Har-

\* Judg. iv. 21.

† Lev. xi. 32

mer supposes, that the vessel in which Jael, the wife of Heber, presented the butter-milk to Sisera, which Deborah, in her song, calls a lordly dish, or, literally, a dish of nobles, was of this sort. Her husband certainly was an Arabian emir or chieftain, of great distinction, in whose tents we might expect to find vessels of a superior kind; the working of metals dates its commencement long before her time; and the mere size of the vessel could hardly be the thing intended, for it does not appear, that the chieftain of the east drank out of larger vessels, than the meanest of his retinue. But it is more probable, that Jael's lordly dish was a large basin of wood, which, even in modern times, is often presented on the table of Arabian emirs, and accords better with that simple mode of living for which the Kenites were so distinguished. It was quite natural to present such a basin of milk to the exhausted fugitive; and besides, we learn from the conduct of Joseph to his brother Benjamin, that a large portion was given as a mark of love and respect; which the wife of Heber certainly pretended to feel for Sisera on that occasion.

The bottle is another necessary utensil in the tent of an Arabian shepherd. It holds their water and other liquids, and is frequently used as a pitcher. The eastern bottle is made of a goat or kid skin, stripped off, without opening the belly; the apertures made by cutting off the tail and legs are sewed up, and when filled, it is tied about the neck. The Arabs and Persians never go a journey without a small leathern bottle of water hanging by their side, like a scrip. These skin bottles preserve their water, milk, and other liquids, in a fresher state than any other vessels they can use. The people of the east, indeed, put into them every thing they mean to carry to a distance, whether dry or liquid, and very rarely make use of boxes and pots, unless to preserve such things as are liable to be broken. They enclose these leathern bottles in woollen sacks, because their beasts of carriage often fall down under their load, or cast it down on the sandy desert. This method of transporting the necessities of life has ano-

ther advantage: the skin bottles preserve them fresher; defend them against the ants, and other insects, which cannot penetrate the skin; and prevent the dust, of which immense quantities are constantly moving about, in the arid regions of Asia, and so fine, that no coffer is impenetrable to it, from reaching them. It is for these reasons, that provisions of every kind are enclosed in vessels made of the skins of these animals. The conjecture, therefore, is highly probable, that not only the balm and the honey, which are somewhat liquid, but also the nuts and almonds, which were sent as a present to Joseph from Canaan, were enclosed in little vessels of kid skin, that they might be preserved fresh; and to defend them against injuries, from the restiveness of the camels or asses, or other accidents, the whole were enclosed in woollen sacks. This custom has descended to the present times: for fruits and provisions of every kind, are still commonly packed up in skins, by the inhabitants of Syria.\*

These skin bottles were not confined to the countries of Asia: the roving tribes, which passed the Hellespont soon after the deluge, and settled in Greece and Italy, probably introduced them into these countries. We learn from Homer, that they were in common use among the Greeks at the siege of Troy; for, with a view to an accommodation between the hostile armies, the heralds carried through the city the things which were necessary to ratify the compact, two lambs, and exhilarating wine, the fruit of the earth, in a bottle of goat skin:

Ἀγε δὴ δῶα καὶ οἶνον εὐφρονα, καρπὸν ἀγέλης  
Ἀσκά ἐν αἰγείῳ.

Il. b. 3. l. 246.

At the feast of Bacchus, it was the custom of the Romans to dance upon bottles of goat skin, blown up like bladders, and besmeared with oil, which were placed in the fields for that purpose.

— “atque inter pocula læti.

Mollibus in pratis unctos saliere per utres” *Vir. 2 Geor. l. 383.*

To these goat-skin vessels, the Psalmist refers in this complaint: “I am become as a bottle in the smoke.”†

\* Dr. Russel’s Hist. of Aleppo.

† *Psa. cxix. 83.*



My appearance in the state of my exile, is as different from what it was when I dwelt at court, as are the gold and silver vessels of a palace, from the smoky skin bottle of a poor Arab's tent, where I am now compelled to reside. Not less emphatical is the lamentation of the prophet, that the precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold, or to vessels fabricated of that precious metal, were considered as no better than earthen pitchers, the work of the potter.

The holy Psalmist compares himself to a bottle in the smoke; which is a convertible phrase with a bottle in the tent of an Arab; because, when fires are lighted in it, the smoke instantly fills every part, and greatly incommodes the tenant. Nor will this appear surprising, when it is considered, that an Arabian tent has no aperture but the door, from which the smoke can escape. The inspired writer, therefore, seems to allude both to the meanness of a skin bottle, and to its blackness, from the smoke of the tent in which it is plac'd. And a most natural image it was for him to use, driven from the vessels of silver and gold in the palace of Saul, to quench his thirst with the wandering Arabs, from a smutted bottle of goat skin.

These bottles are liable to be rent, when old or much used; and, at the same time, capable of being repaired. In the book of Joshua we are informed, the Gibeonites, "took wine bottles, old and rent, and bound up."\* This is perfectly according to the custom of the east; and the manner in which they mend their old and rent bottles, is various. Sometimes they set in a piece; sometimes they gather up the wounded place in the manner of a purse; sometimes they put in a round flat piece of wood, and by that means stop the hole.†

The shepherds are not the only class of people that live in tents; many orientals forsake their villages at the approach of summer, for the more airy and refreshing shelter which they afford. This custom, which may be traced to an antiquity very remote, explains, in the most satisfactory manner, an incident in the history of Jacob. When the patriarch, in consequence of a di-

\* Josh. ix. 4.

† Chardin's Trav.

vine admonition, had formed the resolution to return from Mesopotamia to his father's house, he sent for Rachel and Leah to his flocks, and there informed them of his design; and, on their consenting to go with him, he set out upon his journey, so silently, that Laban had no notice of it till the third day after his departure. It appears, however, that he carried all his effects with him, and tents for the accommodation of his family; and that Laban, who pursued him, had tents also for the use of his followers. The reason is, it was the time of sheep-shearing, when the masters and all their retainers commonly lived under tents, in the open fields; and had the greater part, if not the whole of their furniture with them, on account of the entertainments which were given on these joyful occasions. Thus was Jacob equipped at once for his journey, and Laban for the pursuit. It is not more difficult to account for the intelligence not reaching Laban, till the third day after Jacob's escape. Laban's flocks were in two divisions—one under the care of Jacob; the other committed to the care of Laban's sons, at the distance of three days' journey; and Jacob's own flock, under the management of his family, were, probably for the same reason, at an equal distance. Beside this, there might be other circumstances which retarded the progress of the messenger, which the sacred historian did not think it necessary to state; the fact is certain, and all the incidents of the story are natural and easy.

The custom of living in tents, was not confined to people in the country; persons of distinction often retired from the towns into the fields, and lived under tents during the heats of summer. Tahmasp, a Persian monarch, used to spend the winter at Casbin; and to retire in the summer, three or four leagues into the country, where he lived in tents at the foot of mount Alouvent, a place famed for its cool and pleasant retreats.\* His successors acted in the same manner, till the time of Abbas the Great, who removed his court to Ispahan.

Entertainments are frequently given in the country

\* Chardin's Trav.

under tents, which, by the variety of their colours, and the peculiar manner in which they are sometimes pitched, make a very pleasant appearance. To this agreeable custom, the spouse probably alludes, in that description of her person: "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem! as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon"\* The seeming contradiction in the first clause, is easily obviated. The Arabs generally make use of tents covered with black hair cloth; the other nations around them live in booths, or huts, constructed of reeds and boughs, or other materials, or in tents of different colours. In Palestine, the Turcomans live in tents of white linen cloth; while the Turks in their encampments, prefer green or red, which have a very pleasing effect on the eye of the traveler."† It is only the Arabian tents, or the tents of Kedar, which are uniformly black. This is the reason the spouse compares herself, not to tents in general, which are of different colours, but to those of Kedar, which are all covered with black hair cloth, and have therefore a disagreeable appearance.

To be black, but comely, involves no contradiction; for it is certain that the face may be discoloured by the sun, to the influence of which, the spouse positively ascribes her sable hue, and yet possess an exquisite gracefulness. The Arab women whom Mr. Wood saw among the ruins of Palmyra, were well shaped; and, although very swarthy, yet had good features. Zenobia, the celebrated queen of that renowned city, was reckoned eminently beautiful; and the description we have of her person, answers to that character; her complexion of a dark brown (the necessary effect of her way of life in that burning climate)—her eyes black and sparkling, and of an uncommon fire—her countenance animated and sprightly in a very high degree—her person graceful and genteel beyond imagination—her teeth white as pearl—her voice clear and strong. Such is the picture which historians have drawn of the beautiful and unfortunate Zenobia; from whence it appears, that a person may be both black and comely; and by consequence,

\* Song i. 5.

† D'Arvieux.

that the description of Solomon, which certainly refers to the moral and religious state and character of the genuine worshipper of Jehovah, is neither incongruous nor exaggerated, but perfectly agreeable to nature.

In this case, however, the duskiness of complexion was not natural. but the consequence of exposure to the rays of the sun ; for the spouse anticipates the surprise which the daughters of Jerusalem would feel, when they beheld her countenance : “ Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me.” Females of distinction in Palestine, and even in Mesopotamia, are not only beautiful and well-shaped, but, in consequence of being always kept from the rays of the sun, are very fair. This fact is attested by D’Arvieux, who was favoured with a sight of several Arabian ladies of high rank. It is not unworthy of notice, that the Scripture bears the same testimony concerning the complexion of Sarah, of Rebecca, and of Rachel ; they were “ beautiful and well-favoured.” But the women in general are extremely brown and swarthy in the complexion ; although there are not a few of exquisite beauty in these torrid regions, especially among those who are less exposed to the heat of the sun. It is on this account, that the prophet Jeremiah, when he would describe a beautiful woman, represents her as one that keeps at home ; because those who are desirous to preserve their beauty, go very little abroad.

The spouse proceeds, “ As the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon.” By the last clause, may be understood those splendid tents, to which that great monarch, who, by his own confession, denied himself no earthly pleasure, retired in the heats of summer, or when he wished to entertain his nobles and courtiers, or sought the amusement of the chase. Some are of opinion, these curtains refer to the sumptuous hangings which surrounded the bed of the Israelitish king : and their idea receives some countenance from a manuscript note of Dr. Russel’s, which states, that Mosquito curtains are sometimes suspended over the beds in Syria and Palestine. But, since it is common in



Hebrew poetry to express nearly the same thought in the second parallel line as in the first; and since it is equally common in Scripture to put a part for the whole,—it is more natural to suppose, that the tents of Solomon are actually meant in this passage; and as we are sure they were extremely magnificent, they might with great propriety be introduced here, on account of their beauty.

The oriental shepherds, when unprovided with tents, erect huts or booths of loose stones, covered with reeds and boughs. Pococke found, in the neighbourhood of Acre, some open huts, made of boughs raised about three feet from the ground, inhabited by Arabs. In such booths, many of the people of Israel were obliged to take shelter in the wilderness, from the want of a sufficient number of tents; the remembrance of which, they were commanded to preserve by a solemn festival. But even these meaner and more inconvenient habitations, are not always within the reach of an Arabian shepherd; he is often obliged to take refuge under the projecting rock, and to sleep in the open air. A grove or woodland occasionally furnishes a most agreeable retreat. The description which Chandler has left us of one of these stations, is so strikingly picturesque, that it must be given in his own words: “About two in the morning, our whole attention was fixed by the barking of dogs; which, as we advanced, became exceedingly furious. Deceived by the light of the moon, we now fancied we could see a village; and were much mortified to find only a station of poor goat-herds, without even a shed, and nothing for our horses to eat. They were lying, wrapped in their thick capots or loose coats, by some glimmering embers, among the bushes in a dale, under a spreading tree by the fold. They received us hospitably, heaping on fresh fuel, and producing sour curds and coarse bread, which they toasted for us on the coals. We made a scanty meal, sitting on the ground, lighted by the fire and by the moon; after which, sleep suddenly overpowered me. On waking, I found my two companions by my side, sharing in the comfortable cover of the janizary’s cloak.

which he had carefully spread over us. I was now much struck with the wild appearance of the spot. The tree was hung with rustic utensils; the she-goats in a pen, sneezed, and bleated, and rustled to and fro; the shrubs, by which our horses stood, were leafless, and the earth bare; a black cauldron with milk, was simmering over the fire; and a figure, more than ghaut or savage, close by us, struggling on the ground with a kid, whose ears he had slit, and was endeavouring to cauterize with a red hot iron." This description forms a striking comment on a passage in Ezekiel, in which God condescends to give this promise to his people: "I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land; and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the woods."\* No reasonable doubt can be entertained, that they were often exposed in the same manner, while tending their flocks; and in great danger when their country, from the thinness of the population or other causes, happened to be overrun with beasts of prey. They are, accordingly, cheered with the sure prospect of those ravenous animals being exterminated, and every woodland becoming a place of safety to the slumbering shepherd.

In the time of Chandler, it was still the custom of eastern shepherds to sit at the door of their tents in the heat of the day. That traveller, "at ten minutes after ten in the morning," was entertained with the view of a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans sitting by their doors, under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees, surrounded with flocks of goats. In the same situation, the three angels found Abraham, when they came to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah, sitting under the portico, or skirts of his tent, near the door, to enjoy the refreshing breeze, and superintend his servants. It was not the hottest part of the day, when Chandler saw the Turcoman shepherds sitting at the doors of their booths; it was soon after ten in the morning; and when Abraham was sitting at his tent door, it might be nearly at the same hour. In the

\* Ezek. xxxiv. 25.

hottest part of the day, according to the practice of those countries, the patriarch had been retired to rest.

The goats of the Turcomans were feeding around their huts; and if Abraham's cattle, which is extremely probable, were feeding around his tent in the same manner, it accounts for the expedition with which he ran and fetched a calf from the herd, in order to entertain his visitants.

In winter, the Arabians and their cattle lodge together: on this account, they encamp in valleys, or on the sea-shore upon the sand, in order to avoid the inconvenience of mire: but the emirs, or princes, live in a very different manner; they have always two tents, one for themselves, and the other for their wives, besides a number of small ones for their domestics, together with a tent of audience. In the same style of rustic magnificence, the patriarchs seem to have lived; for Abraham and Sarah occupied separate tents, as did Isaac and Rebecca; and from them, it is probable, the custom descended to the Arabian shepherds of modern times.

In summer, the flocks were enclosed in folds, to which allusion is frequently made in the sacred volume. The fold of Polyphemus, the far-famed Sicilian shepherd, was a spacious cave, where his cattle, his sheep, and goats reposed. But the more common sheep-fold was an enclosure in the manner of a building, and constructed of stone or hurdles, or fenced with reeds. It had a large door, or entrance, for admitting the flock, which was closed with hurdles; and to facilitate the tithing, which was done in the fold, they struck out a little door, so small, that two lambs could not escape together. To this entrance, which is still used in the east, our Lord alludes in this declaration: "He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber."\*

To remove the impurities which the wool might have contracted in the course of the year in the sandy deserts, it was the custom in those countries, as well as

\* John x. 1.

in our own, to wash their flocks in the standing pool or flowing stream. But in what manner they accomplish this necessary operation, whether by the hand of the shepherd, or by leaping the sheep from the brow of a rock into the pool below, does not certainly appear. The direction of Virgil to the shepherds of Italy, seems to favour the last method :

“*Dulcibus idcirco fluviis pecus omne magistri,*” &c.

*Geor. 3. l. 445.*

On this account, the shepherds drench the whole flock in sweet rivers, and the ram, with humid fleece, is plunged in the pool, and sent to float along the stream.

Sheep-washing is only once mentioned in Scripture; the passage occurs in the Song of Solomon, and is thus translated: “*Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep, that are even shorn, which come up from the washing.*”\* The embrowned fleece is taken off; every speck of impurity is washed away in the flowing stream; the flock, shining in the purest white,† go up from the pool, as their custom is, in a line; from these circumstances, the royal preacher borrows the beautiful comparison in this passage; and it is scarcely possible to conceive one more striking and appropriate, to describe the teeth, at once so ornamental to the mouth, and so beneficial in the work of nutrition, clean as the fleece which has been washed in the running stream: “*white as the colour of the purest wool; none rising higher than the other; none standing unduly prominent beyond another; but all set as true as if they were ranged by the compass; and making as regular an appearance as the flocks that are even shorn.*”‡ It places before us, with equal force and propriety, the spiritual meaning of the text; for whether we apply it, with the Chaldee paraphrast, to the ministers of religion, who, under the former economy, fed upon the sacrifices, as the representatives of the people, or who, since the coming of Christ, are engaged in teaching them, and conducting the affairs of the church; or, with the Christian expositor, to the graces of the Holy Spirit, and

\* Song iv. 2.

† Virgil.

‡ Hervey's Theron and Aspasio, vol. 2. p. 385. Note



their corresponding exercises in the genuine believer,—it gives us a most vivid idea of the immaculate purity and perfect regularity, which ought to adorn the character and actions of the minister or the private Christian.

Sheep-shearing is an operation to which allusion is more frequently made in the sacred volume. From the concurrent testimony of several writers, the time when it is performed in Palestine, falls in the month of March. If this be admitted, it fixes the time of the year when Jacob departed from Laban on his return to his father's house, for he left him at the time he went to shear his sheep. In like manner, the sheep of Nabal were shorn in the spring; for among the presents which Abigail made to David, five measures of parched corn are mentioned. But we know, from other passages of Scripture, that they were accustomed to use parched corn when it was full grown, but not ripe; for the people of Israel were commanded in the law not to eat parched corn nor green ears, until the self same day they had made an offering to the Lord.\*

This time seems to have been spent by the eastern swains in more than usual hilarity. And it may be inferred from several hints in the Scriptures, that the wealthier proprietors invited their friends and dependants to sumptuous entertainments. Nabal, on that joyous occasion, which the servants of David called a good, or festive day, although a churlish and niggardly man, "held a feast in his house, like the feast of a king;"† and on a similar occasion, Absalom treated his friends and relations in the same magnificent style. The modern Arabs are more frugal and parsimonious; yet their hearts, so little accustomed to expand with joyous feelings, acknowledge the powerful influence of increasing wealth, and dispose them to indulge in greater jollity than usual. On these occasions, they perhaps kill a lamb, and treat their relations and friends; and at once to testify their respect for their guests, and add to the luxury of the feast, crown the festive board with new cheese and milk.

\* Lev. xxiii. 14.

† 1 Sam. xxv. 56.

Bottles of goat skin, with the hairy side inwards, receive the milk of their flocks; and when they wish to make butter, they put the cream into a goat skin, prepared in the same manner, which they suspend in their tents, and then pressing it to and fro, in one uniform direction, quickly produce a separation of the unctuous from the wheyey part of the fluid.\* In the Levant, they tread upon the skin with their feet, which produces the same effect. The last method of separating the butter from the milk, perhaps may throw light upon a passage in Job, of some difficulty: "When I washed my steps with butter, and the rock poured me out rivers of oil."† Commentators have observed, what must be obvious to every reader, that the afflicted patriarch meant to say, he once possessed great abundance of those products; but they have not been able to account for the manner of his expression. The way of a great personage was sometimes swept, sometimes strewed with flowers, sometimes watered; but never, as far as we know, moistened with butter. The feet were sometimes anointed with oil, in which odoriferous substances had been infused; but to them, butter was never applied. It is more natural to suppose, that these words of Job referred to the method of churning their milk, by treading upon large skins full of cream, with their bare feet. It conveys a still more lively idea of the exuberant plenty which Job once possessed, if this method was adopted, when they had large quantities of milk to churn. A variety of practice very similar to this, appears to have prevailed in the ancient vineyards. When a small quantity of grapes was to be pressed, it seems to have been done with the hand; for Pharaoh's butler dreamed that he took the grapes and pressed them, in this manner, into his master's cup. This, it must be admitted, was only a visionary scene; but we must suppose it corresponded with general custom. So, when they meant to churn a small quantity of cream, they suspended it in a skin, from the roof of the tent; and the female part of the family conducted the process. But when the quantity was very large,

\* Chandler.

† Job xxix. 6.

as it must have been in the extensive dairies of the patriarchs, who possessed such immense flocks and herds, it was put into a number of skins, and churned by the feet of men \* This, Mr Harmer considers as no improbable account, and by no means an unnatural explanation of the phrase, "I washed my steps with butter;" and in the present state of our knowledge, perhaps a more satisfactory one cannot be given. Greece, indeed, lies at a great distance from the land of Uz, and the age when Job flourished is far removed from our times; but as a skin is still the churning vessel used by the Arabs in the Holy Land, as well as in Barbary, and consequently, as their customs admit of little or no variation, the use of skins in churning, must belong to a very remote antiquity. And the same reason that might induce the more opulent Greeks, in the time of Chandler, to tread their cream, rather than swing it in the tent, or between two poles, as the Arabs generally do, might also induce the richer proprietors in Asia, who possessed such numerous flocks, to adopt the same custom. The expression, it must be allowed, is highly figurative, but not more than many others, in which the oriental muse delights. The term washing, when used poetically, is not surely confined to cleansing the feet, by some purifying fluid; for dipping the feet in the blood of the slain, the Psalmist calls washing the feet. Hence, to plunge them into cream or butter, or to sprinkle them profusely with it, may be called washing them in butter, with equal propriety; and walking in it, washing the steps.

The butter is carried to market in the same goat skins in which it is churned. In consequence of this mode of management, it becomes necessary to melt and strain it, in order to separate the impurities; a process by which it acquires a certain rancid taste, disagreeable for the most part, to strangers, though not to the natives. To this custom of melting the butter, in order to clarify it, Zophar seems to allude, in his description of the state and portion of a wicked man: "He shall not see the rivers, the floods, the brooks of honey and butter."†

\* Harmer's Obs.

† Job xx. 17.

As the flowing of honey from the comb into the vessels in which it is to be kept, may, by a bold figure be compared to a little river; so may clarified butter, when poured into the jars in which it is preserved for use. The wicked man, says Zophar, shall not see the rivulets, much less the rivers, still less the torrents of honey and butter (as the clause ought to be rendered), which the righteous may hope to possess. In our excellent translation, the beauty of the climax in this instance is lost; for instead of continuing to rise, it sinks in the close, ending with brook, after mentioning rivers and torrents; but in the original, it is equally striking and well conducted.

The manner of making butter in the east, illustrates the conduct of Jael, the wife of Heber, described in the book of Judges: "And Sisera said unto her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water to drink; for I am thirsty: and she opened a bottle of milk, and gave him drink, and covered him." In the song of Deborah, the statement is repeated: "He asked water, and she gave him milk, she brought forth butter in a lordly dish."\* The word (חֶמֶה) *hemah*, which our translators have rendered butter, properly signifies cream; which is undoubtedly the meaning of it in this passage, for Sisera complained of thirst, and asked a little water to quench it, a purpose to which butter is but little adapted. Mr. Harmer, indeed, urges the same objection to cream; which, he contends, few people would think a very proper beverage for one that was extremely thirsty; and concludes, that it must have been butter-milk which Jael, who had been just churning, gave to Sisera. But the opinion of Dr. Russel seems entitled to the preference, that the *hemah* of the Scriptures, is probably the same as the *haymak* of the Arabs, which is not, as Harmer supposed, simple cream, but cream produced by simmering fresh sheeps' milk for some hours over a slow fire. It could not be butter newly churned, which Jael presented to Sisera, because the Arab butter is apt to be foul, and is commonly passed through a strainer before it is used; and Russel declares, he never saw

\* Judg. iv. 19. and v. 25.



butter offered to a stranger, but always haymak; nor did he ever observe the orientals drink butter-milk, but always leban, which is coagulated sour milk, diluted with water. It was leban, therefore, which Pococke mistook for butter-milk, with which the Arabs treated him in the Holy Land. A similar conclusion may be drawn concerning the butter and milk which the wife of Heber presented to Sisera; they were forced cream or haymak, and leban, or coagulated sour milk diluted with water, which is a common and refreshing beverage in those sultry regions.

The art of coagulating milk, and converting it into cheese, was known among the Syrian shepherds, from the remotest times. Instead of runnet, they turn the milk, especially in the summer season, with sour butter-milk, the flowers of the great headed thistle, or wild artichoke; and, putting the curds afterwards into small baskets made with rushes, or with the dwarf palm, they bind them up close, and press them. These cheeses are rarely above two or three pounds' weight; and in shape and size, resemble our penny loaves. Oriental cheeses are sometimes of so very soft a consistence, after they are pressed, and even when they are set upon the table, that they bear a very near resemblance to curds, or to coagulated milk, which forms a very considerable part of eastern diet. But the ten cheeses which David carried to the camp of Saul, seem to have been fully formed, pressed, and sufficiently dried, to admit of their being removed from one place to another, without the frames in which they were made.\*

The word (חרוט) harouts, derived from a verb which signifies to cut off, frequently signifies a piece or lump of any thing. Thus, in Daniel, it means a ruin, or heap of ruins;† in the book of Job, a piece of rock or stone;‡ and, in the prophecies of Zechariah, a lump of native gold.§ Hence, the phrase under consideration literally signifies ten lumps; and the word (החלב) haheleb, is added to determine what they were, ten lumps of milk, which can mean nothing else than ten cheeses:

\* 1 Sam. xvii. 18. † Dan. ix. 25. ‡ Job xli. 30. § Zech. ix. 3.

for what are these, but lumps of coagulated milk? Our translators did not, as Harmer says, leave out the last word as unnecessary, but gave the genuine meaning of the whole phrase. This exposition is supported by the Septuagint, in which it is rendered by *τευφαλιδας τη γαλακτος* explained by Hesychius, pieces of the tender cheese or curd. But, neither the original term, nor the exposition of these different authors, determines whether the coagulated milk remained in the basket; or, although still new and fresh, had acquired such consistency, as to admit of being carried to so great a distance without the frame. As we know, however, that the eastern cheeses were pressed after they were bound up in the rush mould, it is more probable, they were not in the state of soft curd, but of new cheese.

The shepherds of Syria and the east have, from the remotest antiquity, carried on a considerable trade with the circumjacent cities. The people of Aleppo are still supplied with the greater part of their butter, their cheese, and their cattle for slaughter, by the Arabs, Kushwans, or Turcomans, who travel about the country, with their flocks and herds, as did the patriarchs of old.\* It was undoubtedly by trading with the ancient cities of Canaan in such articles of provision, that Abraham became so rich in silver and gold. The lucrative commerce which Jacob his grandson carried on with the inhabitants of Shechem, is mentioned by Hamor their prince, and urged as a reason of alliance and union: "These men are peaceable with us; therefore, let them dwell in the land, and trade therein; for the land, behold, it is large enough for them."† While the wealth of the country, where they tended their flocks and herds, flowed into the coffers of these shepherd princes, in a steady and copious stream; their simple and frugal manner of living, required but little expense for the support of their numerous households; and their nomadic state, prevented them from contracting alliances, or forming connexions of an expensive nature. Hence, in a few years, they amassed large quantities of the precious metals; they multiplied their flocks

\* Russel's Hist.

† Gen. xxxiv. 21.

and their herds, till they covered the face of the country for many miles; they engaged a numerous train of servants from the surrounding towns and villages, and had servants born in their house, of the slaves whom they had purchased, or taken prisoners in war. When Abraham heard that his brother Lot was taken captive by the king of Shinar and his confederates, he armed his trained servants, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan. The truth of the Scripture accounts is verified by the present state of the Arabian chieftains, in those very places where Abraham and his descendants formerly wandered. By the unimpeachable testimony of Russel, they are equally rich, and powerful, and independent, as were these renowned patriarchs; they are surrounded with servants and retainers, equally numerous, resolute, and faithful; they are, in fine, the modern patriarchs of the east.\* In Persia and in Turkey, where the country is full of Turcoman shepherds, their chiefs appear with a great train of servants, richly clothed and mounted. Chardin fell in with one of these pastoral chieftains, between Parthia and Hyrcania, whose train filled him at once with surprise and alarm. The Turcoman had more than ten led horses, with harness all of solid gold and silver. He was accompanied by many shepherds on horseback, and well armed. They treated the traveller civilly, and answered all the questions his curiosity prompted him to put to them, upon their manner of life. The whole country, for ten leagues, was full of their flocks. An hour after, the chieftain's wives, and those of his principal attendants, passed along in a line: four of them rode in great square baskets, carried two upon a camel, which were not close covered. The rest were on camels, on asses, and on horseback; most of them with their faces unveiled, among whom were some very beautiful women. From this display of pastoral magnificence, which Chardin had an opportunity of contemplating, we are enabled to form a very clear idea of the splendour and elegance in which Abraham and other patriarchs lived; and of the beauty

\* See Chardin's Trav.

which the sacred historian ascribes to Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel, who had very fair complexions \*

These Turcoman shepherds, besides their lucrative trade in the various products of their flocks and herds, engage a little in agriculture. Those in Syria and Palestine do the same; and in Barbary, it is very common. The Bedouin Arabs in that country, are divided into tribes, like their brethren in other parts, and live in tents, formed into itinerant villages: these nomadic villagers farm lands from the inhabitants of the towns, sow and cultivate them, paying the rent with the produce; and are said to discover great skill in choosing the most advantageous soils for every season.†

We are not informed whether Abraham attempted to raise any part of his supplies in this manner; but the successful exertions of his son Isaac, in cultivating the soil, are distinctly stated in the memoir of his life; and it may be supposed, from the richness of his harvests in the fields of Gerar,‡ that he possessed the intelligence for which the Arabian shepherds in Barbary are so celebrated. It would seem too, from the circumstances of the story, that he rented the lands from the fixed inhabitants: for the king of Gerar, envying his prosperity, compelled him to remove from them to another part of the country, which he would scarcely have ventured to do, had they been unappropriated lands, or his own property. The manner in which the king addressed him, clearly shows that he dreaded his power, as well as envied his success; and that Isaac was not a person to be treated with unceremonious rudeness. “Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we,” was the language of a man, conscious of his weakness and inferiority. Had Isaac, therefore, cultivated lands in the neighbourhood of Gerar, to which the people of that city had no just claim, the petty prince of that town, whom Isaac might have crushed when he pleased, had not presumed to disturb his operations. But if the right of cultivating these lands depended upon an agreement with the men of Gerar, when the crop for which the contract had been made was gathered in, the king of

\* Chardin's Trav.

† Shaw's Trav.

‡ Gen. xxvi. 12



that city might, without injustice, refuse to renew it, and assign this as the reason. The view now given, receives additional confirmation from the address of Isaac to Abimelech, the king of Gerar, when, probably dreading the consequence of his uncourteous behaviour, he made him a visit in his tent, and endeavoured to secure his friendship by a solemn treaty: "Wherefore," said Isaac, "come ye to me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you?" The patriarch does not complain, that he was dispossessed of lands which belonged to himself, or forcibly driven from those which no man owned; but in saying, Ye have sent me away from you, he seems to admit, that the lands were theirs, and that he had farmed them by their permission, or by mutual compact, which they refused from envy to renew.

The patriarch Abraham, following the dictates of a wise policy, concluded treaties of peace and alliance with some of the principal shepherds in his neighbourhood; of whom, only the names of Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre are mentioned in the sacred text. These were his principal auxiliaries in the war with the king of Shinar and his confederates; and they seem, from the honourable mention he makes of them, after his return from the battle, to the king of Sodom, to have been of essential service in that expedition. Isaac, animated by the principles, and imitating the policy of his renowned father, did not refuse the proffered friendship of Abimelech, the king of Gerar, although he was not insensible to the unkind treatment he had received. This treaty, which furnishes a very strong proof of Isaac's power, and the high respect attached to his name, is given at full length by Moses, and is remarkable for being the first document of the kind, in the records of history: "Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath, one of his friends, and Phicol, the chief captain of his army. And Isaac said unto them, Wherefore come ye unto me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you? And they said, We saw certainly, that the Lord was with thee; and we said, let there be now an oath betwixt us; even betwixt us and thee: and let us make a covenant with thee,

that thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace; thou art now the blessed of the Lord." After this negotiation, which is not less singular, in the history of the diplomatic corps, for its brevity, than for its moderation and good faith; "he made them a feast, and they did eat and drink. And they rose up betimes in the morning, and swore one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace."\* In the same manner, family alliances are frequent among the Arabian shepherds, and indeed rendered necessary, by the state of continual warfare in which they live with the neighbouring tribes. The eighteen Arab emirs of the family which d'Arvieux visited, kept near one another, encamping at no greater distance from their chief than a league or two, and all removing together every month, sometimes every fortnight, as their cattle wanted fresh pasture, that they might be able to assemble with ease. But while Abraham and Isaac cultivated the friendship of their neighbours, entered into treaties of peace and amity with the kings and princes of Canaan, and entertained them in their tents,—Ishmael, animated by different principles and views, commenced a course of action, after leaving his father's house, so new and unprecedented, that it was made the subject of a distinct prediction. Standing on the verge of a burning desert, which he claimed as his proper inheritance, he assumed from the beginning, a hostile attitude, spurned the ties of peace and friendship, and laid all the surrounding tribes under contribution. When he drew upon himself and his adherents, the resentment of the fixed inhabitants, and was afraid to risk their attack, he withdrew into the depths of the great wilderness, where none could follow him with hopes of success. In the same manner have his descendants lived: when threatened with an unequal contest, they will strike their tents upon less than two hours' warning, and retire immediately, with all their effects, into the deserts, with whose wells and forage they only are acquainted.

\* Gen. xxvi: 31.

Within those impenetrable barriers, which are for ever guarded by hunger and thirst, the Arabians regard with utter contempt, the warlike array of the most powerful nations.

To these circumstances, the prophet seems to allude, in the charge which he addresses to Dedan and Hazor: "Flee ye, turn back, dwell deep, O inhabitants of Dedan; for I will bring the calamity of Esau upon him, the time that I will visit him."\* Dedan, it has already been observed, was one of the sons of Cush, whose first settlement was in the country adjoining to his brother Canaan on the south, a part of Arabia. Hazor, which is joined with Dedan in this charge, was a city of Canaan, near the waters of Merom, in upper Galilee, the regal city of Jabin, the most powerful prince in that part of the country. It was this king who summoned the princes around him to battle against Joshua, and the armies of Israel; but being entirely routed, he lost his kingdom and his life together; and Hazor, his capital, was reduced to ashes. It was afterwards rebuilt by the Canaanites, and became once more the seat of empire; but was again destroyed by the armies of Israel, under the command of Deborah and Barak.† After the war, it was restored by the remains of its ancient inhabitants; and although it never recovered its former grandeur and importance, it continued till the time of Jeremiah. From this statement, it is clear, that Hazor was the capital of a Canaanitish nation, not, as Harmer contends, a station of Arabian shepherds. The phrase to "dwell deep," in relation to the fixed inhabitants of that city, and the kingdom of which it was the capital, must therefore refer to the caverns in Galilee and the neighbourhood, in whose capacious recesses they were accustomed to take refuge in time of war. Or, if it signify to dwell far remote from the threatened danger, the many other caverns beyond Damascus, towards Arabia, which the prophet might allude to, were at a sufficient distance to justify his language. Nor is it inconsistent with the manners of the Arabians, as

\* Jer. xlix. 8. 30.

† Josh. xi. 10, 11. Judg. iv. 24.

Harmer supposes, to retire into caves and dens of the earth for shelter; for the Bedouins in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, who encamp near the gates in the spring, inhabit grottoes in the winter.\* And Mahomed mentions an Arabian tribe, that hewed houses out of the mountains for their security.† To these caverns, both the wandering Arabs and the fixed inhabitants, certainly retreated in times of danger; although the more common practice of the former, was to retire into the depth of their terrible deserts, where no enemy could disturb their repose.

The generous hospitality displayed by the Syrian shepherds, commands the applause of every reader. Of their kind attention to strangers, the patriarch Abraham furnishes an illustrious example. He was sitting in his tent door, in the heat of the day, when three strangers met his eye; starting from his seat, he ran to meet them, bowed himself to the ground, and invited them to an entertainment under the oak, whose extended arms screened his tent, and offered at the same time to the passing travellers a refreshing shade. The invitation was accepted, and a calf was immediately killed, and cakes of fine flour were baked for the repast. But a correct and lively idea of this pleasing scene, can be obtained only from the simple and beautiful description of the inspired historian: “And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth. And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good, and gave it unto a young man; and he hasted to dress it. And he took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat.”‡ In this narrative, we have a number of circumstances very different from our customs, and even from our ideas of propriety. We are ready to suppose, that the patriarch, who lived in a state of princely splendour and affluence, would have had a variety of provisions ready

\* Russel's Hist. of Aleppo. . . . † Koran, chap. xv. and xxvi.

‡ Gen. xviii. 6, 7, 8.



prepared for his own table, and for the entertainment of those strangers whom he might think proper to invite. But it was now the heat of the day; Abraham, according to the custom of that country, had already dined, and there was time enough to kill meat for supper. Fresh meat is not preserved from one meal to another in the east, as in the colder latitudes, but is killed and dressed for each repast, the residue of the former meal being always consumed by the attendants and servants. One reason for this custom is, the impossibility of preserving fresh meat long in those burning climates. For the same reason, they bake their bread just as it is needed. These facts account for such a man as Abraham having neither meat nor bread to set before the angels, when they came to his tent on their way to Sodom.\*

The modern Arabs still practise the ardent hospitality of their renowned ancestor, both in their encampments and in their villages. "When a stranger enters one of their stations, where he knows nobody, he inquires for the *menzil*, which is the place destined for the reception of travellers, and desires to speak with the sheik, the head man of the settlement, or at least his representative. After saluting him, he signifies his want of a dinner, or his wish to sup or lodge in the village. The sheik bids him welcome, and assures him that he could not do him and his people a greater pleasure. He then marches before the stranger to the *menzil*, where he takes up his abode, and is furnished with every accommodation the place can afford. But if the sheik happens to be absent, a stranger may proceed at once to the *menzil*, and call for every thing he wants. A stranger, however, seldom has occasion for all this; for as soon as the villagers see a stranger coming, they inform the sheik of it, who goes to meet him, accompanied by some of his people, and having saluted him, asks if he would dine in the village, or whether he chose to stay the whole night there. If he answer, that he would only eat a morsel and go forward, and that he chose to stay under some tree in the

\* See Harmer's Observation.

vicinity, the sheik goes, or sends his people into the village, to cause a collation to be brought; and in a little time they return with provisions of every kind, according to the season. When several strangers are to lodge for the night in the settlement, the preliminary ceremonies being observed, the women belonging to the sheik's house, having marked the number of the guests, never fail to provide a sufficient quantity of meat for the entertainment of the travellers, and of those who are to bear them company, and quickly make it into soup, or dress it in a variety of ways, according to their customs, which they send to the menzil by the sheik's servants, in wooden bowls, placed on a great round straw mat, which usually serves them for a table. These dishes being set in order, with many others, in which are eggs, cheese, fruit, salad, sour-curdled milk, or leban, and all that they have to treat their friends with, which they set before them at once, that every one may eat as he likes; the sheik begs the strangers to sit round the mat, sitting down with them himself, with the other peasants of fashion belonging to the village, in order to do them honour: they make no use of knives at table, the meat being all cut into little bits."\* This picture of oriental hospitality, in modern times, will enable the reader to form a clear and precise idea of the manner in which Abraham entertained his guests under the spreading oak at Mamre. The most remarkable difference is, that the sheik sat down with his guests; while, to express the extreme reverence with which the patriarch treated his visitants, he stood by them during the time of their repast.

Abraham, on that occasion, killed a calf for the entertainment of his guests, although they only proposed to stop for a short refreshment, in testimony of his munificence towards persons whom he seems to have regarded with uncommon reverence. The quantity of food prepared for the strangers, by the hospitable patriarch, is apt to excite our surprise; he dressed a whole calf, and three measures of meal made into cakes, which

\* La Roque's Account, &c.

comes to more than two of our bushels, and nearly to fifty-six pounds of our weight.\* It is probable that, by this ample provision, Abraham meant at once to consult his own credit, to express the generous liberality which glowed in his bosom, and the profound respect which he felt for the strangers, in whose form and mein, perhaps, he discovered from the first, something which betokened more than mortal excellence.

The patriarchal shepherds often amused themselves, or supplied their wants, by hunting. It seems to have been an exercise in which Esau excelled; and the familiar way in which his father Isaac commanded him to take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and go out to the field and take him some venison, clearly shows, that the patriarchs and their descendants frequently indulged in the pleasures of the chase. The snare and the trap, the quiver and the bow, were the first implements of the hunter. At this exercise, the Arabs, and, according to Dr. Shaw, the eastern nations in general, are very dexterous. "Their method of hunting the wild boar is this: after they have roused the beast from his hiding place, and pursued him into some adjacent field, their first endeavour is, by frequently overtaking and turning him, to tire and perplex him, and then watching an opportunity, they either throw their lances at him from a distance, or else coming close by his side, which is the most valiant way, they lodge their spears in his body."

"At the hunting of the lion, a whole district is summoned to appear, who, forming themselves first into a circle, enclose a space of four or five miles in compass, according to the number of the people, and the quali-

\* A measure (סאה, *seah*;) according to the best computations, contained *about ten quarts*. It is said by Hieronym (on Matth. xiii. 33.) to be equal to one Latin modius and a half; and the modius was a fraction larger than the peck English. See Adams' Roman Antiquities, p. 551. But Brown's Dictionary of the Bible makes the measure referred to in the text, a little more than one peck and one pint; so that the whole quantity mentioned by Abraham, could not much exceed three pecks. I. C.

ty of the ground which is pitched upon for the scene of action. The footmen advance first, rushing into the thickets with their dogs and spears, to put up the game ; while the horsemen keeping a little behind, are always ready to charge, upon the first sally of the wild beast. In this manner they proceed, still contracting their circle, till they all at last close in together, or meet with some other game to divert them. The accidental pastime on these occasions, is sometimes very entertaining ; for the several different sorts of animals, that lie within the compass, being thus driven together, or frightened from their dens, they rarely fail of having a variety of agreeable chases after hares, jackalls, hyænas, and other wild beasts. The manner of hunting with the falcon is thus described by Hasselquist, who had an excellent opportunity of seeing the sport : “ An Arab, mounting a swift courser, held a falcon in his hand, which he let loose when he saw the wild goat, of which he was in quest, on the top of a mountain. The falcon attacked it from time to time, fastening its talons on or near the throat, till the huntsman coming up, took it alive, and cut its throat ; the falcon drinking the blood, as a reward for his services.”

“ Those who delight in fowling, do not spring the game with dogs, as we do ; but, shading themselves with an oblong piece of canvas, stretched over a couple of reeds or sticks, like a door, they walk with it through the several brakes and avenues, where they expect to find game. The canvas is usually spotted, or painted with the figure of a leopard, and perforated near the top in a few places, for the fowler to look through, and observe what passes before him. The partridge and other gregarious birds, when the canvas approaches, will covey together, although they were feeding before at some distance from one another. The woodcock, quail, and other birds, which do not commonly feed in flocks, will, at sight of the extended canvas, stand still and look with astonishment ; which gives the sportsman an opportunity of coming very near them : and then resting the canvas upon the ground.



and directing the muzzle of his piece through one of the holes, he will sometimes shoot a whole covey at a time. The Arabs have another, but a more laborious method of catching these birds; for, observing that they become languid and fatigued, after they have been hastily put up two or three times, they immediately run in upon them, and knock them down with their bludgeons. They are likewise well acquainted with that method of catching partridges called tunnelling; and, to make the capture the greater, they will sometimes place behind the net, a cage with some tame ones within, which, by their perpetual chirping and calling, quickly bring down the coveys which are within hearing, and by that means, destroy great numbers of them.\* To hunt the jackall, which greatly abounds in that country, they sometimes use a leopard which has been trained to hunting from his youth. The hunter keeps the animal before him on his horse, and when he meets with a jackall, the leopard leaps down, creeps along till he thinks himself within reach of the prey, when he leaps upon it with incredible agility, throwing himself seventeen or eighteen feet at a time.† These statements illustrate the force and propriety of those passages of holy writ, which allude to the arts and implements of the hunter and the fowler, by which the timid victim is taken, ere ever it is aware; or the bold is compelled by main force, or by deadly wounds, to submit to his more cunning or powerful adversary. It is not without reason, the Psalmist rejoiced that the snare was broken, and his soul had escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowler; and that God had brought his feet out of the net.†

Before taking leave of this subject, it may not be improper to direct the reader's attention to a text which has long exercised the critical powers of expositors. When Joseph was going to introduce his father and his brethren to the Egyptian court, he instructed them to say they were shepherds, that they might be separated from the natives, and settled together in the land of Goshen; a country abounding with rich and ample

\* Shaw's Trav. vol. 1, p. 424.

† Psal. xxv. 15.

pastures, and lying nearest to Canaan, the place of their future residence. On this occasion, the sacred writer observes, that "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." Cunæus, with great plausibility, ascribes the detestation of that people, to the ferocious dispositions and rebellious conduct of the shepherds who tended their flocks in the plains and marshes of Lower Egypt. "These," says that writer, "were active and able men, but execrable to all the Egyptians, because they would not suffer them to lead their idle course of life in security. These men often excited great commotions, and sometimes created kings for themselves. It was on this account, that the Romans, in succeeding times, when they easily held the rest of Egypt in obedience, placed a strong garrison in all these parts. When you have taken the most exact survey of all circumstances, you will find this was the reason that made the Egyptians, even from the first, so ill affected to shepherds; because these sedentary men and handicrafts, could not endure their fierce and active spirits. Pharaoh himself, when he had determined to abate and depress the growing numbers of the Israelites, spake to his subjects in this manner: "The Israelites are stronger than we; let us deal wisely, that they increase not, lest, when war arises, they join themselves to our enemies, and take up arms against us."

But, this view does not account for the use of the term which is properly rendered abomination, and which indicates, not a ferocious and turbulent character, which is properly an object of dread and hatred, but a mean and despicable person, that excites the scorn and contempt of his neighbours. It is readily admitted, that the detestation in which shepherds were held in Egypt, could not arise from their employment in the breeding of cattle; for the king himself, in the days of Joseph, had very numerous flocks and herds, in the management of which he did not think it unbecoming his dignity to take a lively interest. This is proved by the command to his favourite minister: "If thou knowest any men of activity among them,

then make them rulers over my cattle.”\* Nor were his numerous subjects less attentive to this branch of industry; every one seems to have lived upon his paternal farm, part of which was converted into pasture. Hence, when money failed in the years of famine, “all the Egyptians came to Joseph, and said, Give us bread; for why should we die in thy presence? for the money faileth. And Joseph said, Give your cattle, and I will give you bread for your cattle, if money fail.”† But if Pharaoh and all his subjects were themselves engaged in the rearing of stock, a shepherd could not be to them an object of general abhorrence. Besides, it was not unlawful in Egypt to deprive an ox or a sheep of life, and feast upon the flesh; for, in the temples, these animals were offered in sacrifice every day;‡ and for what purpose did the Egyptians rear them on their farms, but to use them as food? The contempt in which this order of men were held, could not then be owing to the superstition of the nation in general. It may even be inferred from the command of Pharaoh to Joseph, requiring him to appoint the most active of his brethren rulers over his cattle, that the office of a shepherd was honourable among the Egyptians; for it could not be his design to degrade the brethren of his favourite minister. This idea is confirmed by Diodorus, who asserts, that husbandmen and shepherds were held in very great estimation in that country. But that writer states a fact, which furnishes the true solution of the difficulty—that in some parts of Egypt, shepherds were not suffered.§ The contempt of shepherds, seems, therefore, to have been confined to some parts of the kingdom; probably to the royal city, and the principal towns in Upper Egypt, where the luxury of a court, or the wealth and splendour of the inhabitants, taught them to look down with contempt and loathing upon those humble peasants. The sagacious prime minister of Egypt, desirous to remove his brethren from the fascinations of wealth and power, directed them to give

\* Gen. xlvii 6.

‡ Rollin's Anc. Hist. vol. 1, p. 195.

† Ver. 15, 16.

§ Rollin's Anc. Hist. vol. 1, p. 220.

such an account of themselves, that the counsellors of Pharaoh, from their dislike of the mean employment in which they had been educated, might grant their request, and suffer them to settle in Goshen, a land of shepherds, far removed from the dangerous blandishments of a court.

---

## CHAP. II.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE EAST.

**W**HEN God placed Adam in Paradise, he instructed him “to dress and keep it;” to work and labour the ground, let in the influences of heaven, prune the trees, cherish the plants, preserve the fruits from the beasts of the field, and the fowls of heaven, which had access to the garden; and to keep all his abode, and the domain around it, in good order. This was the first employment of man, which, by the wise and benevolent arrangements of his Maker, was to cheer and accelerate the hours of innocence and peace. After his expulsion from the garden, on account of his transgression, the command which he had received at his formation, to cultivate the ground, was renewed; and the curse under which it was laid, rendered his exertions more necessary than before. This may be one reason, that Adam initiated his eldest son in the art of cultivating the soil, which now refused to produce the necessaries of life in sufficient abundance and perfection, without the skill and industry of man; while he devoted Abel, his younger son, to the easier and more simple occupation of a shepherd.

In the first ages of the world, men were chiefly employed in digging and throwing up the earth, by means of rude and inconvenient implements: but Noah made important advances in the art of husbandry, and found



out fitter instruments of cultivation than were known before. This patriarch, the second father of our family, is called a man of the ground—in our translation, a husbandman, because of his improvements in agriculture, and his inventions for subduing and fertilizing the soil. In consequence of the divine malediction, useless or noxious plants obtained the ascendancy, and obstructed the growth of esculent vegetables. These obstructions were to be removed, which required great pains and labour; and the sterility of the ground was to be corrected, and its productive energy excited and improved, by the operations of the plough.

The surface of the ground was probably divided into fields, and secured to individual proprietors, long before the flood. By that dreadful catastrophe, the whole earth reverted to its natural, undivided, unappropriated state; but how long it continued in common, we have no means of ascertaining. In the days of Abraham, who lived at no great distance of time from the flood, the lands of Canaan had become in some degree the exclusive property of the nation by whom they were occupied; and been even subdivided into small fields, and claimed as the legal inheritance of private individuals. The patriarch bought a field from Ephron the Hittite, for a possession of a burying place; and the transaction shows, that the property was perfectly well defined; that Ephron had the same absolute right to it, as any landed proprietor of our times has to his estate. And upon the purchase money being paid, the sacred historian says, “The field of Ephron which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field and the cave which was therein; and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure unto Abraham, for a possession, in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city.”\* The minute divisions of landed property in Egypt, is attested by the same infallible authority; for, under the administration of Joseph, the people of that country were compelled by the famine to sell every man

\* Gen. xxiii. 11. 20

his field;" and "Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh." When the sons of Israel had conquered the land of promise, it was, by the divine command, surveyed and divided by lot; first among the twelve tribes: and then the portion of each tribe was laid out in separate inheritances, according to the number of the families composing the tribe: and thus every man in the nation had his field, which he was directed to cultivate for the support of himself and his family. To prevent mistake and litigation, these fields were marked off by stones set up on the limits, which could not be removed without incurring the wrath of heaven. The divine command, in relation to this matter, runs in these terms: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's land mark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess"\*

Their inheritances were again divided into parts, which the Hebrews distinguished by the name of portions, or pieces of ground; and distributed by measure into acres. The distribution of a field into acres, is ascertained by a passage in the first book of Samuel, which is couched in these terms: "And that first slaughter which Jonathan and his armour-bearer made, was about twenty men, within as it were an half acre of land, which a yoke of oxen might plough."†

The land of promise was distinguished by extraordinary fruitfulness: Jehovah was pleased, in a special manner, to bless the springing of the earth, and to crown the year with his goodness; yet this peculiar favour did not supersede the vigilance and activity of the husbandman. The prophet Isaiah intimates, that his countrymen began their operations in the field by erecting fences, and gathering out the stones, and clearing away other incumbrances: "My well beloved has a vineyard in a very fruitful hill; and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof."‡ Thorns, or other useless plants, were either dug up by the roots, or consumed by fire. "For thus saith the Lord to the men of Judah and Jerusalem, break up your fallow

\* Deut. xix. 14.

† 1 Sam. xiv. 14.

‡ Isa. v. 1, 2

ground, and sow not among thorns.”\* Rich as the soil of Palestine certainly was, it refused at not ime the aid of manure, which travellers and historians tell us is the case in some countries. This fact we discover in several parts of Scripture, but particularly in the parable of the barren fig tree: “Let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it; and if it bear fruit, well; and if not, then shall we cut it down.”† Thus, we find the Jewish farmer, however highly favoured, was obliged to follow the rule which Virgil prescribed to his countrymen, to saturate the parched soil with rich dung, and scatter sordid ashes upon the exhausted lands:

——— “arida tantum  
Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola: neve  
Effetos cinerem immundum jactare per agros.”

*Geor. b. 1. l. 79.*

The ground, as in our own country, was broken up with the plough. The Syrian plough, which was probably used in all the regions around, is a very simple frame, and commonly so light, that a man of moderate strength, might carry it in one hand.‡ With such an imperfect instrument, the Syrian husbandman can do little more than scratch the surface of his field, or clear away the stones or weeds that encumber it, and prevent the seed from reaching the soil. The ploughshare is a “piece of iron, broad, but not large, which tips the end of the shaft.” So much does it resemble the short sword used by the ancient warriors, that it may, with very little trouble, be converted into that deadly weapon; and when the work of destruction is over, reduced again into its former shape, and applied to the purposes of agriculture. In allusion to the first operation, the prophet Joel summons the nations to leave their peaceful employments in the cultivated field, and buckle on their armour: “Beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears.”§ This beautiful image, the prophet Isaiah has reversed, and applied to the establishment of that profound and

\* Jer. iv. 3.

† Luke xiii. 8.

‡ Russel's Hist. of Aleppo.

§ Joel iii. 10.

lasting peace which is to bless the church of Christ, in the latter days : “ And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”\* In similar strains, the Roman poets sang :

— “ squalent abductis arva colonis,  
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.”

*Geor.* 1. l. 507.

“ Saracula cessabent; versique in pila ligones;  
Facta que de rastro pondere cassis erat.”

*Ovid, Fast.* 1. l. 697.

The plough used in Syria, is so light and so simple in its construction, that the husbandman is under the necessity of guiding it with great care, bending over it, and loading it with his own weight, else the share would glide along the surface without making any incision. His mind should be wholly intent on his work, at once to impress the plough into the ground, and direct it in a straight line. “ Let the ploughman,” said Hesiod, “ attend to his charge, and look before him; not turn aside to look on his associates, but make straight furrows, and have his mind attentive to his work.” And Pliny : “ Unless the ploughman stoop forward” to press his plough into the soil, and conduct it properly, “ he will turn it aside.” To such careful and incessant exertion, our Lord alludes in that declaration : “ No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven.”†

The furrows are extremely shallow, but so remarkably straight, although of great length, that one would imagine they had used a line in tracing them. This allusion seems to be involved in the Psalmist’s complaint : “ The ploughers ploughed upon my back, and made long their furrows.”‡

The plough was sometimes used in measuring land, by the Greeks and orientals; for Homer, speaking of contending chiefs, has this expression :

Αλλ’ ὅτε δὴ εἰς ἀπὲν, ὅσσον τ’ ἐπιούρου πέλονται  
Ἕμιονων.

*Il. b.* 10. 351.

\* Isa. ii. 4.

† Luke ix. 62. Calmet, vol. 3.

‡ Psa. cxxix. 3



“But when they were now so distant from each other, as the furrows of two teams of mules.” To explain the comparison, it is necessary to state, that the Grecians did not plough in the manner now in use. They first broke up the ground with oxen, and then ploughed it more lightly with mules. When they employed two ploughs in a field, they measured the space they could plough in a day; and at the two ends of that space, set their ploughs, which proceeded towards each other. This intermediate space was constantly fixed, but less in proportion for two ploughs of oxen than for two of mules, because oxen are slower, and the toil more in a field that has not yet been turned up; whereas, mules are naturally swifter, and make greater speed in a ground that has already had the first ploughing.\* We discover a trace of the same custom in the first book of Samuel, where the historian, describing the valorous exploit of Jonathan, observes: “And that first slaughter, which Jonathan and his armour bearer made, was about twenty men, within as it were a half acre of land, which a yoke of oxen might plough.”†

After the operation of ploughing was finished, they were under the necessity of breaking the clods in clayey soils, and levelling the surface. This treatment, Virgil recommends to the cultivators of the age in which he flourished. He too, said the didactic bard, greatly improves the lands, who breaks the sluggish clods with harrows, and drags ozier hurdles over them; and he also, who, after the plain has once been torn, again breaks through the land that raises up its ridges, turning the plough across, and vexes it with frequent exercise, and rules his lands imperiously.‡ It was in the same way, that the Israelitish husbandman subdued the stubborn soil of his native land: “Doth the ploughman plough all day?” rather, plough continually, saith Isaiah, “doth he open and break the clods of his ground? When he hath made plain the face of it, doth he not cast abroad the fitches, and scatter the cummin, and cast in the principal wheat, and the appointed barley and the rye, in their place?”§

\* Dacier. † 1 Sam. xiv. 14. ‡ Georg. b. 1. l. 94. § Isa. xxviii. 24.

And shall the God of wisdom be always uttering his judgments, and warning his people; shall he be always proceeding with his work, and never bring it to a conclusion? No: He will at length execute his threatenings, and correct them for their sins; but not with indiscriminate severity: he will punish them in wisdom, and in proportion to their strength, not that they may be destroyed, but reclaimed from their vicious courses.

“For his God doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach him.” That we owe the knowledge of agriculture, the most useful, and the most necessary of all human sciences, to the suggestion of heaven, is a sentiment which has been entertained by all nations. Virgil ascribes it to the divine Intelligence, that mortals exchanged Chaonian masts, for fattening ears of corn, and mingled Acheloian draughts, or pure water, with the invented juice of the grape:

——— “vestro si munere tellus

Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,  
Poculaque inventis Acheloïa miscuit uvis.” *Geor. b. 1. l. 7.*

This idea was also cherished by the Greeks, inculcated by their philosophers, and sung by their poets.\* The Jewish writers, instructed by the pen of inspiration, are not less clear and precise; with this important difference, that they ascribe the art to the suggestion of the true God: “The Most High hath ordained husbandry,” saith the son of Sirach, *Eccles. vii. 15.*

The light of nature thus accords with the dictates of revelation, in ascribing to the goodness of the only wise God, the knowledge of this important art. It is he who gives the husbandman that wisdom and discretion, activity and perseverance, which the successful prosecution of his business requires; he plants the inclination in his bosom; he imparts the delight which sweetens his unceasing toil; he crowns his exertions with success. Happy for the cultivator, were his eye continually directed to the source of all his blessings; were he disposed with filial reverence, to depend on the divine wisdom and goodness, and thankfully to

\* See Aratus; \*ε δηπτον ανθρωποις, &c.

acknowledge the kindness and condescension of his instructor.

The oriental husbandman is compelled by the extreme heat of the climate, to prosecute his labours in the field, almost in a state of nudity. The ardour with which the farmer urged his labour, even under the milder sky of Italy, required the same precaution. "Plough naked, and sow naked," said Virgil; "Winter is an inactive time for the hind."

"Nudus ara, sere nudus: hiems ignava colono."

*Geor. b. 1. l. 299.*

Aurelius Victor informs us, that the Roman messengers, who were sent to Cincinnatus, from Atenutius, the consul, whom he had delivered from a siege, found him ploughing naked, beyond the Tiber. But the truth is, neither the Syrian nor Italian husbandman, pursued his labours in the field, entirely naked, but only stripped off his upper garments. An oriental was said to be naked, when these were laid aside. This enables us to understand the meaning of the charge, which our Lord gave his disciples: "Neither let him who is in the field, return back to take his clothes."\* The Israelitish peasant, when he proceeded to his work in the field, was accustomed to strip off his upper garments, and leave them behind in the house, and to resume them when his task was finished.

The various kinds of grain, which they commonly sow in the Holy Land, are frequently mentioned in the sacred volume; and the correctness of the statement is attested by modern historians. Oats are not cultivated near Aleppo; but Dr. Russel observed some fields of them about Antioch, and on the sea coast. The horses are fed universally with barley; but lucern is also cultivated for their use, in the spring. The earliest wheat is sown about the middle of October; other grain, among which are barley, rye, and Indian millet, continue to be sown till the end of January; and barley, even so late as the end of February.

In Italy, they used "harrows of unwieldy weight;"

\* Matth. xxiv. 18.



besides Arbutus hurdles.\* These, the didactic bard advises his countrymen to ply, while the ground is unmoistened with showers, and the clouds are yet suspended:

“Tempus humo tegere, et jamdudum incumbere aratri  
Dum sicca tellure licet, dum nubila pendent.” *Geor. b. 1. l. 213.*

But in Palestine the harrow is seldom used, the grain being covered by repassing the plough along the edge of the furrow; and in places where the soil is sandy, they first sow, and then plough the seed into the ground. It appears, from the prophecies of Isaiah, that besides the more valuable kinds of grain, several aromatic seeds were sown; as the sesamum, coriander, and cummin. These, the orientals sprinkled upon their bread, to give it a more agreeable flavour. Rice is trodden into the ground by the feet of oxen; a practice seemingly alluded to by the prophet, in these words: “Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass.”† This, according to Chardin, answers exactly the manner of planting rice; for they sow it upon the waters; and before sowing, while the earth is covered with water, they cause the ground to be trodden by oxen, horses, and asses, to prepare it for receiving the seed. As they sow the rice on the water, so they transplant in the water; for the roots of this plant must be kept continually moist, to bring the rice to maturity.

An Israelite was forbidden by the law of Moses, to sow his field with mingled seeds. Maimonides discovered a particular reason for this precept, in the idolatrous customs of the ancient Zabii, who not only sowed different seeds, and grafted trees of different kinds upon each other, in certain aspects of the planets, and with certain fumigations, but also used abominable practices at the moment of incision. The existence of these impure and idolatrous rites, he proves from a book, concerning the incision of an olive into a citron; and doubts not, that God forbade the people to sow with mingled seed, that he might root out the detestable idolatry and unnatural lusts, which abounded

\* *Geor. b. 1. l. 164.*

† *Isa. xxxii. 20.*



in those times. The person who was guilty of transgressing this law, in the opinion of the Jews, incurred the penalty of flagellation. To prevent this, on the first day of the month Adar, a proclamation was made, that every one should go forth to his field, and clear it of all heterogenous plants which they happened to find; and on the fifteenth of the same month, the magistrates sent messengers through the country, to see that their orders had been executed.

The seed time is attended with considerable danger to the husbandman, in Palestine and Syria; for, although the more peaceful Arabs apply themselves to agriculture, to supply their families with grain, many of the same wandering race choose rather to procure the corn they want by violence, than by tillage. So precarious are the fruits of the earth in Palestine, that the farmer is often seen sowing, accompanied by an armed friend, to prevent his being robbed of the seed. These vexations, and often desolating incursions, are described by the prophet in the following remarkable terms, when he denounced the judgments of God against the descendants of Ammon: "Behold, therefore, I will deliver thee to the men of the east for a possession, and they shall set their palaces in thee, and make their dwellings in thee: they shall eat thy fruit, and they shall drink thy milk."\* The practice of robbing the sower in the field, seems to have been very ancient; and is perhaps alluded to by the Psalmist, when he encourages the righteous man, to persevere in working out his salvation, in spite of the dangers to which he is exposed, by the complete success, which in due time shall assuredly crown his endeavours. "They that sow in tears," on account of the danger from the lurking and unfeeling Arabian, "shall reap in joy." "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."† It is much more natural to suppose, that these verses refer to such acts of violence, than to imagine, with all the commentators

\* Ezek. xxv. 4.

† Psa. cxxvi. 5, 6.

who have turned their attention to this circumstance, that they allude to the anxiety of a husbandman, who sows his corn in a time of great scarcity, and is afraid his hopes may be disappointed by the failure of the succeeding harvest. We nowhere read, that such fearful anticipations ever produced weeping and lamentation, although the orientals are very prone to violent expressions of grief. But, if we refer the passage to the danger which the farmer, in those parts of the world, often incurred, of losing his precious seed, the hope of his future subsistence, and even his life, in attempting to defend it, we have an adequate cause for his tears and lamentations. The passage contains a beautiful picture of the success, which, by the blessing of God, attended the efforts of his chosen people, to return from their captivity to the land of their fathers; and holds out a powerful encouragement to believers in Christ, to persevere in their heavenly course, notwithstanding the numerous and severe trials of this present life; for, in due time, they shall certainly enter into the rest which remains for the people of God.

But the danger of the husbandman is not over with the seed time; the Arabians often seize and carry off the corn, and other fruits of the earth, even before they have come to maturity. Egmont and Hayman, in their travels in Galilee, found a large plain bordering on the lake of Tiberias, which was sown with rice; but to which they perceived the Arabs had already paid a visit, although the greater part of the corn was not then ripe. They treat the fruit trees in the same manner; which obliges the inhabitants of those countries to watch their corn fields and orchards, or gather their fruits before they come to maturity. Maillet ascribes the deterioration of the wines, in some parts of Egypt, to their precipitation in gathering the grapes, to save them from the depredations of the Arabs. These circumstances lead to an easy and beautiful exposition of the promise, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed;

and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt;"\* that is, the days shall come, when the grain shall not be cut, nor the grapes gathered, as they were before, in a state of immaturity, for fear of the Arabian freebooters, or other plundering hordes; but they shall be suffered to remain till the time of ploughing, so perfect shall be the security of those times."††

Two bushels and a half of wheat or barley, are sufficient to sow as much ground as a pair of bees will plough in one day; which is, a little more or less, equal to one of our acres. Dr. Shaw could never learn, that Barbary afforded yearly more than one crop; one bushel yielding ordinarily from eight to twelve, though some districts may perhaps afford a much greater increase, for it is common to see one grain produce ten or fifteen stalks. Even some grains of the Murwany wheat, which he brought with him to Oxford, and sowed in the physic garden, threw out each of them fifty. But Muzeratty, one of the *kalecfas*, or viceroys of the province of Tlemsan, brought once with him to Algiers, a root that yielded fourscore, telling Dr. Shaw and his party, that in consequence of a dispute concerning the respective fruitfulness of Egypt and Barbary, the emir Hadge, or prince of the

\* Amos ix. 13.

† Harm. vol. 1, p. 144.

‡ The idea of the prophet seems rather to be : The productions of the earth shall be so abundant, that the people shall hardly be able to complete the harvest, before the season of ploughing return; and they shall hardly be able to finish the collecting of the grapes, and the making of the wine, before the seed time arrive. I. C.

☞ Read the following note after 'lamentations,' in l. 13, of the opposite page.

We are inclined to think, that the author attributes too much to the occasional acts of violence which may have been committed on the husbandman; for it is incredible, that in ordinary times, they were ever very common, while Palestine was possessed by the Israelites; and if they were, *danger*, we believe, is not apt to produce weeping. The Psalmist may be considered as introducing a proverbial saying, which taught, that *joy is accustomed to succeed sorrow*; as whatever anxieties, and whatever calamities, may oppress the poor husbandman while he sows, and excite his weeping, they shall pass away; and he shall rejoice in the season of harvest.

I. C.

western pilgrims, sent once to the bashaw of Cairo, one that yielded sixscore. Pliny mentions some that bore three or four hundred. It likewise happens, that one of these stalks will sometimes bear two ears, whilst each of these ears will as often shoot out into a number of lesser ones, affording by that means a most plentiful increase. And may not these large prolific ears, when seven are said to come up upon one stalk,\* explain what is mentioned of the seven fruitful years in Egypt, that the earth brought *them* forth by handfuls?†

It is a common practice in the east, to set the dry herbage on fire before the autumnal rains; which, for want of care, often occasions great damage. This was also the practice of Italian farmers, as Virgil attests:

“Sæpe etiam steriles incendere proficit agros,  
Atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis.”

*Geor. b. 1. l. 84.*

As fires of this kind were often very destructive, Moses has provided, by an express law, that reparation shall be made for the damage, whether it was occasioned by malice or neglect. “If fire,” says the law-giver, “break out and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field be consumed therewith, he that kindled the fire, shall surely make restitution.”‡

The season for consuming the dry herbage and under growth on the mountains, is in the latter end of July, when the clouds begin to appear from the south, and indicate the approach of rain. Chandler, from whose Travels this fact is stated, often saw the fire blazing in the winds, and volumes of smoke rolling along the sides of the hills. The necessity of a law to restrain and regulate this very common and dangerous practice, is verified by an incident to which that writer was an eye witness. Having been employed, the latter end of August, in taking a plan of Troas, one day after dinner, a Turk coming to them, emptied the ashes of his pipe, and a spark of fire fell unobserved in the grass, which was long parched by the

\* Gen. xli. 5.

† Shaw, vol. 1, p. 252.

‡ Exod. xxii. 6



sun, and inflammable as tinder. A brisk wind soon kindled a blaze, which withered in an instant the leaves of the bushes and trees in its way, seized the branches and roots, and devoured all before it, with prodigious crackling and noise. Chandler and his party were much alarmed, as a general conflagration of the country seemed likely to ensue. After exerting themselves for an hour, they at length extinguished the fire. This incident shows, that the law was not only proper, but also necessary, to secure the inhabitants of a scorching climate where every combustible substance is always near the point of ignition, from utter destruction.

Three months intervened between the seed time and the first reaping, and a month between this and the full harvest. Barley is in full ear all over the Holy Land, in the beginning of April; and about the middle of the same month, it begins to turn yellow, particularly in the southern districts; being as forward near Jericho in the latter end of March, as it is in the plains of Acre, a fortnight afterwards. The reaping continues till the middle of Sivan, or till about the end of May or beginning of June, which is the time of wheat harvest, and finishes this part of the husbandman's labours.

The heats in the time of harvest, appear to be very oppressive, and if not carefully guarded against, sometimes prove fatal to those that are exposed in the open air. It was on a harvest-day, that the Shunamite's son was struck with a sun beam, and died in a few hours. In Egypt, the harvest commences in the latter end of April, or the first days of May, two months, which Maillet represents as extremely hot. Dr. Pococke affirms, that Egypt is favoured with a double seed time and harvest. Rice and Indian wheat, are not sown and reaped at the same time with wheat, barley, and flax. The first are sown in March, before the Nile overflows the lands, and reaped about October; the wheat and barley are sown in November and December, as soon as the Nile is gone off, and reaped before May. Pococke's account has since been con-

firmed by Hasselquist, who found the rice at Assotta about three inches high, the third of May; and in another passage, mentions the month of October as the time of reaping it; which accords with the statement of Pococke. But Dr. Shaw seems not to have been aware of this; for he supposes, that rice was sown at the same time with flax, wheat, and barley; yet it is natural to suppose, that as wheat and barley are sown as soon as the inundation is over, and reaped before it returns, so, in like manner, those sorts of grain that require much water, should be sown before it begins, and reaped just about the time of its termination. Norden, accordingly, saw a great plain covered with Turkey wheat, nearly ripe, upon the twentieth of November; and upon the twenty-ninth of the same month, the Arabs cutting their harvest in a neighbouring plain. This fact accounts for the safety of the wheat and the rye, when Egypt was desolated by the plague of hail; they were involved in thick darkness, as the word literally signifies; that is, they were concealed, or, as our translators have justly rendered the term, they were not grown up. Parkhurst, following Dr. Shaw, gives a different translation: "But the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were (אפלוּת) aphiloth, hidden, that is, concealed or involved in the hose." To the same purpose, the Seventy render it *οψιμα* Vulg. *serotina*, late, backward. This was about the beginning of the month Abib, which answers nearly to our March, O. S.; and, accordingly, Dr. Shaw, speaking of Egypt, says, "Barley and wheat are usually ripe, the first about the beginning, the latter at the end of April." And again: "Now as wheat and rice are of a slower growth than flax and barley, it usually falls out in the beginning of March that the barley is in the ear, and the flax is bolted, when the wheat and the rice are not as yet grown up, or begin only to spindle." In the plague of hail, therefore, the stalks of barley become pretty hard and stiff, resisted its violence, and so were broken off; whereas, the wheat stalks, being tender and flexible, gently yielded to the stroke of the hail; and

so eluding its violence, preserved the wheat in the hose. But Mr. Harmer's view is preferable ; for it is evident from the text, that this terrible calamity came upon them towards the time of barley harvest ; which enables us to form a judgment of the month when it happened. We are told by modern travellers, that corn in Egypt is fit for reaping in March and April ; that is, the barley comes to maturity first, and is cut down in the former month, and the wheat in the latter. When Le Bruyn was in that country, the whole harvest was over at Cairo, upon the nineteenth of April. This agrees with the account given by the sacred writer, who says, that the barley was in the ear, though, as is intimated, not quite fit to be mowed ; but, "the wheat and the rye were not grown up." This judgment, therefore, must have happened about the beginning of March, before the precise time of harvest.\* But, according to Pococke, Indian wheat and rice are sown in March, before the Nile overflows the lands, and reaped about October. But the wheat that is sown in March, cannot be grown up, much less begun to spindle, in that month ; it must still be involved in deep darkness, or still concealed under the surface. The wheat of which Dr. Shaw speaks, must be the bearded kind, which is sown in Egypt nearly about the same time with barley, and is usually ripe at the end of April ; but the sacred historian alludes to quite a different species, which had not appeared above ground when the plague of hail descended, and so escaped its ravages.

The reapers in Palestine and Syria make use of the sickle, in cutting down their crops, and according to the present custom in this country, "fill their hand" with the corn, and those who bind up the sheaves, their "bosom."† When the crop is thin and short, which is generally the case in light soils, and with their imperfect cultivation, it is not reaped with the sickle, but plucked up by the root with the hand. By this mode of reaping, they leave the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had ever grown on them ; and

\* See Bryant on the Plagues of Egypt.

† Psa. cxxix. 7. Ruth ii. 5.

as no hay is made in the east, this is done, that they may not lose any of the straw, which is necessary for the sustenance of their cattle. The practice of reaping with the hand, is perhaps involved in these words of the Psalmist, to which reference has already been made: "Let them be as the grass upon the house tops, which withereth afore it groweth up; wherewith the mower filleth not his hand, nor he that bindeth sheaves, his bosom." The tops of the houses in Judea are flat, and being covered with plaster of terrace, are frequently grown over with grass. As it is but small and weak, and from its elevation exposed to the scorching sun, it is soon withered. To prevent this, they pluck it up for the use of their cattle, with the hand. A more beautiful and striking figure, to display the weak and evanescent condition of wicked men, cannot easily be conceived. They are every moment exposed to the judgments of God, like the grass on the house top, which is tossed by the breeze, and scorched by the sun, and to the grasp of Omnipotence, which, weak and defenceless as they are, they can neither avoid nor resist. The sudden destruction of the wicked is described by the same writer, under another figure, not less remarkable for its force and propriety: "I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself, like a green bay tree. Yet he passed away, and lo, he was not; yea, I sought him, but he could not be found"\*

The reapers go to the field very early in the morning, and return home betimes in the afternoon. They carry provisions along with them, and leathern bottles, or dried bottle gourds, filled with water. They are followed by their own children, or by others, who glean with much success; for a great quantity of corn is scattered in the reaping, and in their manner of carrying it.

The greater part of these circumstances, are discernible in the manners of the ancient Israelites. Ruth had not proposed to Naomi, her mother-in-law, to go to the field, and glean after the reapers; nor had the

\* *Psa.* xxxvii. 35.



servant of Boaz, to whom she applied for leave, so readily granted her request, if gleaning had not been a common practice in that country. When Boaz inquired who she was, his overseer, after informing him, observes, that she came out to the field in the morning; and that the reapers left the field early in the afternoon, as Dr. Russel states, is evident from this circumstance, that Ruth had time to beat out her gleanings before evening. They carried water and provisions with them; for Boaz invited her to come and drink of the water which the young men had drawn; and at meal-time, to eat of the bread, and dip her morsel in the vinegar. And so great was the simplicity of manners in that part of the world, and in those times, that Boaz himself, although a prince of high rank in Judah, sat down to dinner, in the field with his reapers, and helped Ruth with his own hand. Nor ought we to pass over in silence, the mutual salutation of Boaz and his reapers, when he came to the field, as it strongly marks the state of religious feeling in Israel at the time, and furnishes another proof of the artless, the happy, and unsuspecting simplicity, which characterized the manners of that highly favoured people. "And, behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said unto the reapers, The Lord be with you. And they answered him, The Lord bless thee."\* Such a mode of salutation continued among that people till the coming of Christ; for the angel saluted Mary in language of similar import: "Hail, highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women."†

It appears from the beautiful story of Ruth, that in Palestine, the women lent their assistance in cutting down and gathering in the harvest; for Boaz commands her to keep fast by his maidens:—the women in Syria shared also in the labours of the harvest; for Dr. Russel informs us, they sung the *Ziraleet*, or song of thanks, when the passing stranger accepted their present of a handful of corn, and made a suitable return. It was another custom among the Jews, to set a confidential servant over the reapers, to see that they

\* Ruth ii, 4.

† Luke i, 28.

executed their work properly, that they had suitable provisions, and to pay them their wages; the Chaldees call him *Rab*, the master, ruler, or governor, of the reapers. Such was the person who directed the labours of the reapers in the field of Boaz.

The right of the poor in Israel to glean after the reapers, was secured by a positive law, couched in these words: "And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy land; neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and the stranger; I am the Lord your God."\* It is the opinion of some writers, that although the poor were allowed the liberty of gleaning, the Israelitish proprietors were not obliged to admit them immediately into the field, as soon as the reapers had cut down the corn, and bound it up in sheaves, but when it was carried off; they might choose also among the poor, whom they thought most deserving, or most necessitous. These opinions receive some countenance from the request which Ruth presented to the servant of Boaz, to permit her to glean "among the sheaves;" and from the charge of Boaz to his young men, "let her glean even among the sheaves;" a mode of speaking, which seems to insinuate, that though they could not legally hinder Ruth from gleaning in the field, they had a right, if they chose to exercise it, to prohibit her from gleaning among the sheaves, or immediately after the reapers.

Rich and abundant as the harvests of Canaan generally were, the hopes of the husbandman were sometimes disappointed. The desolating storm and tempest not unfrequently received from incensed heaven, a commission, when gentler means had been tried in vain, to sweep the fields of an ungrateful or idolatrous people, and scatter destruction over the ripening harvests. To punish the stubborn heart of Pharaoh, who refused to let the people of Israel go, "the Lord

\* Lev. xix. 9.

sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground ; and the Lord rained hail upon the land of Egypt. So there was hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous, such as there was none like it in all the land of Egypt, since it became a nation. And the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt, all that was in the field, both man and beast ; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field ; and the flax and the barley were smitten ; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled."\* This, it must be admitted, was an extraordinary visitation ; yet it differs but little from the description of the storms, which occasionally desolate the harvests of Italy, from the pen of Virgil. "Often have I seen, when the farmer had just brought the reaper into the yellow fields, and was now binding up the barley with the brittle straw, often have I seen all the fierceness of the winds combine, which, far and wide, tore up the full loaded corn from the lowest roots, and tossed it up on high : just so with blackening whirlwind, a wintry storm would drive light straw, and flying stubble."† Such is the calamity which Jehovah threatened to inflict upon his rebellious people : "Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been mindful of the rock of thy strength ; therefore shalt thou plant pleasant plants, and shalt set it with strange slips ; in the day shalt thou make thy plant to grow, and in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish ; but the harvest shall be a heap in the day of grief, and of desperate sorrow."‡ The harvests of Canaan were exposed to the ravages of another enemy, still more destructive ; this was the locust, which, in overwhelming numbers, invaded the country, and with insatiable greediness, devoured every green thing ; but the ravages of this terrible insect have been already described. But these were only occasional visitations ; the God of nature, who, remembering his covenant with the seed time and the harvest, blessed the springing of the earth, for the most part crowned the year with his goodness,

\* Exod. ix. 24.

† Geor. b. 1. l. 316, &amp;c.

‡ Isa. xvii. 10, 11.



filled the barns of his chosen people with plenty, and caused their presses to burst out with new wine.\*

When the corn is reaped, it is carried on asses to the summit of the nearest rising ground or hill, where it is laid in a heap on a spot prepared for the purpose. The thrashing floor is carefully levelled with a huge cylindric roller, and wrought with the hand, and consolidated with chalk, that weeds may not spring up, and that it may not chap with drought. Such is the method which Virgil, in his first *Georgic*, recommended to the Italian farmer, and which he probably borrowed from the Grecian or eastern cultivator.

In Palestine, as in Greece and Italy, the floor was for the most part in the open air. Thus the thrashing floor of Gideon appears to have been an open uncovered space, upon which the dews of heaven fell without interruption: "I will put a fleece of wool in the floor, and if the dew be on the fleece only, and it be dry on all the earth beside, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou has said."† But a barn, or covered space, had been unfit for such an experiment. The thrashing floor of Araunah the Jebusite, seems also to have been an open area, else it had not been a proper place for erecting an altar, and offering sacrifice. In the prophecies of Hosea, the idolators of Israel are compared to the chaff that is driven with the whirlwind out of the floor.‡ Hence, it was designedly prepared in a place to which the wind had free access on all sides; and from this exposed situation it derived its name in the Hebrew. In Greece, the same kind of situation was chosen; for Hesiod advises his farmer to thrash his corn in a place well exposed to the wind. From this statement, it appears, that a thrashing floor (rendered in our translation, a void place) might well be formed near the gate of Samaria, which was built on the summit of a hill; and afford a very convenient place for the kings of Israel and Judah giving audience to the prophets.§

The method of thrashing out the grain, varied ac-

\* Prov. iii. 10.

† Hos. xiii. 8.

‡ Judg. vi. 37.

§ See 1 Kings xxii. 10. 2 Chron. xviii. 9



according to the species. Isaiah mentions four different instruments, the flail, the drag, the wain, and the feet of the ox. The staff, or flail, was used for the smaller seeds, which were too tender to be treated in the other methods. The drag consisted of a sort of strong planks, made rough at the bottom with hard stones or iron; it was drawn by oxen, or horses, over the corn sheaves spread on the floor, the driver sitting upon it. The wain, or cart, was much like the former, but had wheels, with iron teeth or edges like a saw. From the statement of different authors, it would seem that the axle was armed with iron teeth, or serrated wheels throughout. Niebuhr gives a description and print of such a machine; used at present in Egypt for the same purpose; it moves upon three rollers, armed with iron teeth or wheels to cut the straw. In Syria, they make use of the drag, constructed in the very same manner as before described. This not only forced out the grain, but also cut the straw in pieces, which is used in this state over all the east, as fodder for the cattle. Virgil also mentions the slow rolling wains of the Eleusinian mother, the planks and sleds for pressing out the corn, and harrows of unwieldy weight:

“Tardaque Eleusinæ matris volventia planstra,  
Tribulæque, traheæque, et iniquo pondere rastri.”

*Geor. b. l. l. 164.*

The Israelitish farmer, endowed with discretion from above, made use of all these instruments, in separating from the chaff the various produce of his fields: “For his God doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach him. For the fitches are not thrashed with a thrashing instrument, neither is a cart wheel turned about upon the cummin; but the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod. Bread corn is bruised; because he will not ever be thrashing it, nor break it with the wheel of his cart, nor bruise it with his horsemen. This also cometh forth from the Lord of hosts, who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working.”\*

\* Isa. xxviii. 26, 27, 28.

monwealth, however, these various methods, adapted to the different kinds of grain, were unknown; the husbandman employed the staff, or flail, in thrashing all his crop. When the angel of the Lord appeared to Gideon, he found him thrashing wheat by the wine press with a staff, for so the original term (חובט) signifies; and after Ruth had gleaned in the field till the evening, she beat out with a staff (וחרבט) what she had gleaned. The Seventy render the verb in both passages, by the Greek word *εσφριζειν*, to beat with a rod; but the natural sagacity of the human mind, directed by the finger of God, at last invented the other more efficacious implements, to which Isaiah so frequently refers in the course of his writings. He compares Moab, in the day of their overthrow, to straw which is trodden down under the wain;\* and he promises to furnish his oppressed people with the same powerful instrument, which we translate a new sharp thrashing instrument having teeth, that they may thrash the mountains, and beat them small, and make the hills as chaff; or, dropping the metaphor, he promises them complete victory over their numerous and powerful enemies, who should be given by the Lord of hosts as driven stubble to their bow, and swept away before the armies of Israel, as chaff before the whirlwinds of the south.

But one of the most common methods of thrashing, employed in the east, was by the feet of oxen, or other beasts of burden. The law of Moses, with its characteristic benevolence and attention to the feelings, even of the lower animals, provides for the sustenance and comfort of the ox, when engaged in this laborious service, by an express enactment: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, when he treadeth out the corn;"† and to this day, the cattle employed in the Syrian harvest are left unmuzzled at the heap, to feed at will on the bounties of nature, which their labour serves to procure. The prophet Jeremiah complains, that Chaldeia had been enriched by the spoils of Israel, and had

\* Isa. xxv. 10.

† Deut. xxv. 4.

become fat as a heifer (חֵרֶשֶׁת) treading out the corn;\* and Hosea compares the people of Israel to “an heifer that is taught, and loveth to tread out the corn.”† Nor can a doubt be entertained that Jehovah alludes to this custom in his invitation to the church: “Arise and thrash, O daughter of Zion, for I will make thine horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass; and thou shalt beat in pieces many people; and I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth.”‡ We learn from Cyril of Alexandria, that the Egyptians, having carried their sheaves from the field into the thrashing floor, send in oxen upon them, and lead them round to tread out the corn with their hoofs. This custom was followed in Greece from the earliest times, as Homer attests:

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τις ζευγὴ βοῶν ἀγείρας ἐγχευστάτες, &c. *Il. b. 20. l. 495.*

“As when one joins bulls with broad foreheads in the yoke, that in the circular area they may tread out the white barley, and under the feet of the lowing oxen, the grain may instantly become small.” It was still the practice of the Greeks, in the time of Xenophon, who says, that cattle tread out the corn when they are stimulated; and further, that persons are appointed to conduct the oxen, to turn the sheaves, and subject those which are not sufficiently trodden again to the feet of the cattle, that the more refractory spikes may be equally thrashed, and the whole work more speedily accomplished. This is a much quicker way than our method of beating out the corn with the flail, but less cleanly; for, as it is performed in the open air, upon any round level plat of ground, daubed over with cow dung, to prevent as much as possible the earth, sand, or gravel from rising, a great quantity of them all, notwithstanding these precautions, must unavoidably be taken up with the grain; at the same time, the straw, which is their only fodder, is by this means shattered to pieces. To this circumstance, the sacred historian alludes, with great force and propriety, in his brief description of the wretched state to which the kingdom of the ten tribes had been reduced by the

\* Jer. v. 11.

† Hos. x. 11.

‡ Micah iv. 13.



arms of Hazael king of Syria : “ Neither did he leave of the people to Jehoram but fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen ; for the king of Syria had destroyed them, and had made them like the dust by thrashing.”\*

After the grain is trodden out, they winnow it, by throwing it up against the wind with a shovel ; the το πλυνον of the gospels according to Matthew and Luke, there rendered a fan, which is too cumbersome a machine to be intended by the evangelist. The text should rather run, whose shovel or fork, the οργανον οδοντικον, (which is a portable instrument) is in his hand, agreeably to the practice recorded by Isaiah, who mentions both the shovel and the fan : “ The oxen likewise, and the young asses that ear the ground, shall eat clean provender, which hath been winnowed with the shovel and with the fan.”†

The image of thrashing is frequently used by the Hebrew poets, with great elegance and effect, to express the punishments of wicked, and the trials of righteous men, or the utter dispersion and ruin of those who continue in their sins. “ How often,” cried Job, “ is the candle of the wicked put out ! And how oft cometh their destruction upon them ! God distributeth sorrows in his anger. They are as stubble before the wind, and as chaff that the storm carrieth away.”‡ The Psalmist uses the same figure in the first Psalm : “ The ungodly are not so ; but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.” To finish the picture of entire dispersion, the prophet Isaiah joins with it another figure, equally beautiful and striking, taken from the cloud of very small dust, which rises from the thrashing floor by the action of the machines, or the feet of the cattle, and is so light and attenuated that it is dispersed by the gentlest breath of wind : “ Moreover, the multitude of thy strangers shall be like small dust, and the multitude of the terrible ones shall be as chaff that passeth away ; yea, it shall be at an instant suddenly.”§ In another passage, he addresses his nation in these encouraging terms : “ Thou shalt thrash

\* 2 Kings xiii. 7. † Isa. xxx. 24. ‡ Job xxi. 18. § Isa. xxix. 5.



the mountains, and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff. Thou shalt fan them, and the wind shall carry them away, and the whirlwind shall scatter them.”\* The prophet Hosea warned his people, that if they turned aside to the worship of false gods, they “should be as the morning cloud, and as the early dew, which passeth away; as the chaff that is driven with the whirlwind out of the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney.”† Alluding to the same circumstance, the prophet Daniel compares the broken pieces of Nebuchadnezzar’s image, to the chaff of the summer thrashing floor carried away by the wind.

These circumstances clearly illustrate some of the details in the book of Ruth. Boaz, for example, was a person of considerable wealth and high rank in the tribe of Judah; for he was descended in a direct line from Naason, the prince of that powerful family; yet he seems, after the fatigues of the day, to have laid himself down to sleep on the barn floor, an area in the open air at some distance from his dwelling, at the end of the heap of barley which he had been winnowing; such was the simplicity of manners in those days, even among the nobles of Judah.

As the sheep-shearing was enlivened with rural festivities in the east, so was the thrashing out and winnowing of the corn; for Naomi directs her daughter-in-law to wash and anoint herself, and put on her raiment, and go down to the floor, but not to make herself known to the man, till he should have done eating and drinking; and, accordingly, it is noted in a subsequent verse, “That when Boaz had eaten and drunk, and his heart was merry, he went to lie down at the end of the heap of corn.” Such entertainments were, perhaps, different from the feast of ingathering, which closed the labours of the year; for in Palestine, the barley harvest is ten days or a fortnight before the wheat harvest, and therefore this feast could not be the feast of ingathering, but a previous entertainment.

After the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in subterraneous magazines, as was formerly the custom of

\* Isa. xli. 15.

† Hos. xiii. 3.

other nations; two or three hundred of these receptacles are sometimes to be found together, the smallest holding four hundred bushels. These grottoes are dug in the form of an oven, gradually enlarging towards the bottom, with one round opening at top; and this being close shut when the magazine is full, is covered over with earth, so as to remain perfectly concealed from an enemy. These magazines are sometimes discovered in the midst of a ploughed field; sometimes on the verge, and even in the middle of the highway. The same kind of granaries is used in Palestine as in Syria. Le Bruyn speaks of a number of deep pits at Rama, which he was told were designed for corn: and Rauwolf, of three very large vaults at Joppa, where the inhabitants laid up their corn, when he was in that country. The treasures in the field, consisting of wheat and of barley, of oil and of honey, which were offered to Ishmael, as a ransom for the lives of his captives, were undoubtedly laid up in the same kinds of repositories.\* In dangerous and unsettled times, like those of Jeremiah, it is quite common, even at present, for the Arabs to secure their corn and other effects, which they cannot carry along with them, in deep pits or subterraneous grottoes. Sir John Chardin, in a note upon this very passage of the prophet, says, "The eastern people in many places hide their corn in these concealments." To these various customs, the Baptist alludes in his solemn warning to the multitudes concerning Christ: "Whose fan (rather whose shovel) is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but the chaff will be burn with unquenchable fire."† And our Lord himself, in his parable of the good seed: "Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn."‡

The corn which they reserve for daily use, they keep in long earthen jars; because, when kept in sacks or barrels, it is liable to be eaten by worms. This is confirmed by Norden, who tells us, that when he was tra-

\* Jer. xli. 8.

† Matth. iii. 12.

‡ Matth. xiii. 30.

velling in Upper Egypt, one of the natives opened a great jar, in order to show him how they preserved their corn there. In some regions of the East Indies, the paddy, or rice in the husk, is also preserved in large earthen jars, that are kept in the house; or in small cylindrical stores, which the potters make of clay; the mouth is covered with an inverted pot; and the paddy is drawn out of a hole at the bottom, as it is wanted.

It seems to have been in one of these earthen jars, that the woman of Zarephath kept her corn, of which she had only enough left, when the prophet Elijah applied to her for a morsel of bread, to make a handful of meal. In our translation, the original term (כד) chad, is rendered barrel; but a barrel, properly speaking, it could not be, because a vessel of that sort is never used for holding corn in those regions. Neither could it be a chest, although this is often used in the east for preserving corn; because the Hebrew term is quite different. In the second book of Kings, it is stated, that "Jehoiada the priest took (ארון) aron, a chest, and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar."\* The same word is employed by Moses, to denote a coffin; but most generally, to signify the chest, or ark of the testimony, on which the cherubim stood, in the holy of holies. This term, among the Hebrews, therefore, properly signified a chest made of wood; never a vessel for holding water. But (כד) chad they commonly used, to signify a jar or pitcher for holding water; which was made of earth, never of wood. It is the same word in the original, which the sacred historian employs, to denote the vessels in which Gideon's army concealed their torches, and which they brake with a clashing, terrific noise, when they blew with their trumpets. Both these circumstances suppose they were vessels of earth, which are employed in the east, for the double purpose of preserving corn, and holding water. The (כד) chad was also the vessel with which Rebecca went out to fetch water from the well; which, in our translation, is rendered pitcher.



But the orientals never carried a barrel to the fountain, nor drew water with a wooden vessel. Hence, the barrel in which the woman of Zarephath kept her corn, was in reality, an earthen jar. The four barrels of water, then, which Elijah commanded his attendants to pour on the sacrifice,\* should have been translated four jars or pitchers; for the original word is the same in all these instances.†

In temperate latitudes, the fields are generally covered with durable verdure; but in Asia, gramineous plants of all kinds are extremely perishable. The wonderful rapidity of their growth, is celebrated by every traveller into the east. Sir Thomas Roe says, that when the ground has been destitute of rain nine months together, and looks all of it like the barren sands, in the deserts of Arabia, where there is not one spire of green grass to be found, within a few days after those fat enriching showers begin to fall, the face of the earth there (as it were by a new resurrection) is so revived, and throughout so renewed, as that it is presently covered all over with a pure green mantle.‡ Dr. Russell, in the same admiring terms, describes the springing of the earth as a resurrection of vegetable nature.§ To the powerful influence of the rain upon the face of oriental nature, Moses compares, with singular beauty and force, the effect which the lessons of heavenly wisdom produce in the human mind: “My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass.|| Even the dews, which are most copious in those regions, produce a change so beneficial and sudden, that Solomon compares to their energy, the influence of royal favour, which, in oriental courts, frequently raises in one day, a person from the lowest condition, to the highest ranks of life: ‘The king’s “favour is as a dew upon the grass.”¶ But such extraordinary quickness of growth is incompatible with strength and permanence: the feeble and sickly blade yields as quickly to the burning heat, and

\* 1 Kings xviii. 35. † See Harmer’s Obs. ‡ Voyage to the East Indies, p. 360  
§ Hist. of Aleppo. || Deut. xxxii. 2. ¶ Prov. xix. 11.



vanishes away. To this rapid change, the Psalmist compares the short-lived prosperity of wicked men : \* his own evanescent comforts ; † the swift progress of his days , ‡ and of time in general . § So soon are the powers of nature exhausted , that the grass does not always come to maturity , even in the best soils ; in the language of ancient prophecy , “ it is blasted before it be grown up . ” ||

This may be one reason , that hay is seldom or never made in the east . In our version , indeed , the Psalmist foretold , that the blessings of the promised Messiah shall come down like rain upon the “ mown grass ; ” and the prophet Amos , describing the judgment of the grasshoppers , expresses himself in this manner : “ Thus hath the Lord God showed unto me ; and , behold , he formed grasshoppers in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth ; and , lo , it was the latter growth , after the king’s mowings . ” ¶ But the contradiction is in our translation , not in the original Scriptures , which perfectly correspond with the fact . The Hebrew terms ( 1 ) gez , and ( 2 ) gizze , of which the first is rendered in our own version mown , and the last , mowings , come from a root which signifies to take off , or take away ; applied to corn or grass , to cut down , or to cut short , particularly by the teeth of animals ; it signifies , therefore , to browse or feed ; and , in the first instance , seems rather to mean grass that has been eaten down , which is precisely the view given of the word in the Targum , grass eaten down by the locusts ; and in the second , may be rendered feedings or grazings , that is , the time , which was probably in March , when the king’s cattle were led out to graze in the common pastures of Judea . The vision of Amos represented to him the coming of locusts to eat up the pastures , as soon as the king’s horses were withdrawn , and the inhabitants hoped to enjoy the plenty of April and May , before the scorching heat of summer burnt up the grass . \*\*

\* Psal. xxxvii. 2.

† Psal. cii. 4.

‡ Ver. 11.

§ Psal. xc. 5.

¶ 2 KINGS xix. 26. Isa. xxxvii. 27. Psal. cxxix. 6.

\* Amos vii. 1.

\*\* See Harmer’s Obs. vol. 4. p. 394

If these observations be just, our version of that proverb must be improper: "The *hay* appeareth, and the tender grass sheweth itself, and herbs of the mountains are gathered."\* The gross impropriety, indeed, appears from the very arrangement imputed to the inspired writer; for, with what justice can hay, which is grass cut and dried after it has come to maturity, be made to precede, or even be associated with the tender grass, which is but just beginning to shew itself? It is certainly the design of Solomon, in this passage, which is highly poetical, to describe the beautiful progress of vegetation, which must have filled an eastern beholder, whose aching eye had wandered so long over a bare and sterile waste, with equal joy and wonder. Taylor, therefore, proposes another version, which accords at once with the fact stated by travellers, and the purpose of the royal preacher: "*The tender risings of the grass are in motion; and the buddings of grass* (grass in its early state, as is the peculiar import of דֶּשֶׁא DE-SHA) *appear, and the tufts of grass proceeding from the same root, collect themselves together, and by their union begin to clothe the mountain tops with a pleasing verdure.*"†

In the language of the Hebrews, every place where plants and trees were cultivated with greater care than in the open field, was called a garden. The idea of such an enclosure, was certainly borrowed from the garden of Eden, which the bountiful Creator planted for the reception of his favourite creature. The garden of the Hesperides, in eastern fables, was protected by an enormous serpent; and the gardens of Adonis, among the Greeks, may be traced to the same origin; for the terms "*horti Adonides*," the gardens of Adonis, were used by the ancients to signify gardens of pleasure, which corresponds with the name of Paradise, or the garden of Eden, as *horti Adonis* answers to the garden of the Lord. Besides, the gardens of primitive nations, were commonly, if not in every instance, devoted to religious purposes. In these shady retreats were celebrated, for a long succession of ages,

\* Prov. xxvii. 25.

† Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

the rites of Pagan superstition. Thus Jehovah calls the apostate Jews, "a people that provoketh me continually to anger to my face, that sacrificeth in gardens."\* And in a preceding chapter, the prophet threatens them in the name of the Lord, "They shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the gardens which ye have chosen." The inspired writer not only mentions these gardens, but also makes a clear allusion to the tree of life, or rather of knowledge, both of which were placed in the midst of Paradise: "They that sanctify themselves and purify themselves in the gardens, behind one (tree) in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, shall be consumed together, saith the Lord." The garden of Eden was planted by Jehovah, for the accommodation of the first pair, but chiefly for religious purposes. It was meant as a school of religious instruction, wherein the external and sensible objects around them, and particularly in the seals of his covenant, the tree of knowledge and the tree of life, they might read the character of their God; might contemplate the variety and loveliness of his perfections, the purity of his nature, the riches of his bounty, the minuteness of his care, the watchfulness of his providence, and the ineffably higher delights which awaited them in his immediate presence, if they persevered in their obedience.

The oriental gardens were either open plantations, or enclosures defended by walls or hedges. Rauwolf found, about Tripoli, many gardens and vineyards, enclosed for the most part with hedges, and separated by shady walks. Some fences in the Holy Land, in later times, are not less beautiful than our living fences of white thorn; and perfectly answer the description of ancient Jewish prophets, who inform us, the hedges in their times consisted of thorns, and that the spikes of these thorny plants were exceedingly sharp. Doubdan found a very fruitful vineyard, full of olives, fig trees, and vines, about eight miles south-west from Bethlehem, enclosed with a hedge; and that part of it

\* Isa. lxy. 3.



adjoining to the road, strongly formed of thorns and rose bushes, intermingled with pomegranate trees of surpassing beauty and fragrance. A hedge, composed of rose bushes and wild pomegranate shrubs, then in full flower, mingled with other thorny plants, adorned in the varied livery of spring, must have made at once a strong and beautiful fence. The wild pomegranate tree, the species probably used in fencing, is much more prickly than the other variety; and, when mingled with other thorny bushes, of which they have several kinds in Palestine, some whose prickles are very long and sharp, must form a hedge very difficult to penetrate. These facts illustrate the beauty and force of several passages in the sacred volume: thus, in the Proverbs of Solomon, "The way of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns;"\* it is obstructed with difficulties, which the sloth and indolence of his temper represent as galling or insuperable; but which a moderate share of resolution and perseverance would easily remove or surmount. In the prophecies of Hosea, God threatens his treacherous and idolatrous people with many painful embarrassments and perplexities, which would as effectually retard or obstruct their progress in the paths of wickedness, as a hedge of thorny plants stretching across the traveller's way, the prosecution of his journey: "Therefore, behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and make a wall, that she shall not find her paths."† In the days of Micah, the magistrates of Judah had become exceedingly corrupt: "the best of them is a brier; the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge;" to appear before their tribunal, or to have any dealings with them, was to involve one's self in endless perplexities, to expose one's self to galling disappointments, if not to certain destruction. They resembled those thorny plants, which are twisted together, whose spines point in every direction, and are so sharp and strong, that they cannot be touched without danger, and so entangling, that when the traveller has with much pain and exertion freed himself from one, he is instantly

\* Prov. xv. 19.

† Hos. ii. 6.



seized by another: "But the sons of Belial," said the king of Israel, "shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands: But the man that shall touch them, must be fenced with iron, and the staff of a spear; and they shall be utterly burned with fire in the same place."\* The armies of Assyria that came up against the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Hezekiah, are compared also to thorns, because they entangled one another, exasperated one another's passions, inflamed their mutual hatred of God and his chosen people, confirmed their mutual insensibility and hardness of heart; and therefore Jehovah declares, "they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry;" since they cannot be disentangled nor touched with safety, they shall be consumed together, as a thicket of thorny plants in the raging flame.

Other enclosures have fences of loose stones, some of them very low, which often furnish a retreat to venomous reptiles. To this circumstance, the royal preacher alludes, in his observations of wisdom and folly; "He that diggeth a pit, shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him."† The term which our translators render hedge in this passage, they might with more propriety have rendered wall, as they had done in another part of the writings of Solomon: "I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down."‡

The land of promise has been from the earliest ages an unenclosed country, with a few spots defended by a hedge of thorny plants, or a stone wall built without any cement. At Aleppo, most of the vineyards are fenced with stone walls; for in many parts of Syria, a hedge would not grow, for want of moisture. But, as their various esculent vegetables are now not unfrequently planted in the open fields, both in Syria and Palestine, so Chardin, in his manuscript, seems to suppose they were often unfenced in ancient times; and.

\* 2 Sam. xxiii. 6.

† Eccl. x. 8.

‡ Prov. xxiv. 30.

on this account, those lodges and booths, to which Isaiah refers, in the first chapter of his prophecy, were built: "The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers."\* These temporary structures were formed of sods, straw, and leaves; in which the gardener watched over the fruits of his plantation, when they began to ripen, and where he also exposed them to sale. If such watch houses were necessary in those gardens which were defended by walls or hedges, some of which, indeed, it was not difficult to get over, they must have been still more necessary, in those which were perfectly open. Several travellers have mentioned such improved spots, which they met with in their progress, and have expressly specified the cucumber as one of the plants cultivated in such exposed places; which throws an additional light on the words of the prophet: the daughter of Zion is deserted as a mean and temporary booth, in a garden of cucumbers, which had neither wall nor hedge, but lay exposed on all sides to the depredations of evil doers. Besides a variety of esculent vegetables, the vine was frequently to be seen in these cultivated patches loaded with its richest produce; which must be doubly welcome to those who travel in a thinly peopled, or desolate country. To these inviting clusters, the prophet Hosea seems to refer, in the following declaration: "I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness." The meaning is not, I found Israel when they were in the wilderness, pleasant to me as grapes; but, as grapes found in the wilderness, are exceedingly pleasing to the hungry or parched traveller, so has Israel been to me. In Arabia, and probably in other parts of the east, instead of a solitary watchman in the middle of the plantation, they place guards at certain distances round the whole field, increasing or diminishing their numbers according to the supposed danger. This custom furnishes a clear and easy explanation of a passage in the prophecies of Jeremiah, where he solemnly warns his people of their approaching calamities: "As keepers of a field, are they against her

round about ; because she hath been rebellious against me, saith the Lord.”\*

The oriental garden displays little method, beauty, or design ; the whole being commonly no more than a confused medley of fruit trees, with beds of esculent plants, and even plots of wheat and barley sometimes interspersed. The garden belonging to the governor of Eleus, a Turkish town, on the western border of the Hellespont, which Dr. Chandler visited, consisted only of a very small spot of ground, walled in, and containing only two vines, a fig, and a pomegranate tree, and a well of excellent water. And it would seem, the garden of an ancient Israelite could not boast of greater variety ; for the grape, the fig, and the pomegranate, are almost the only fruits which it produced. This fact may perhaps give us some insight into the reason of the sudden and irresistible conviction which flashed on the mind of Nathaniel, when the Saviour said to him, “ When thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee.” The good man seems to have been engaged in devotional exercises, in a small retired garden, walled in, and concealed from the scrutinizing eyes of men. The place was so small, that he was perfectly certain no man but himself was there ; and so completely defended, that none could break through, or look over the fence ; and, by consequence, that no eye was upon him, but the all-seeing eye of God ; and, therefore, since Christ saw him there, Nathaniel knew he could be no other than the Son of God, and the promised Messiah.

The gardens mentioned in the Song of Solomon, were stored with a much greater variety of plants ; but then it is to be remembered, these belonged to a prince remarkable for his curiosity, for his knowledge of natural history, and for his magnificence. These royal gardens appear to have been at a distance from the palace ; while the miniature gardens of the ancient Jews, in common life, were adjoining to their houses.

Water, in the absence of which every plant is burnt up, during the raging heats of an oriental summer, is

\* Jer. iv. 7. See Chardin and Harmer



indispensable in their gardens. All those near Aleppo are on the banks of the river, which refreshes that city and the surrounding fields, or on the sides of the rill which supplies their aqueduct; the rest of the country is converted, by the scorching beams of the summer sun, into an arid waste; the gardens only retaining their verdure, on account of the moisture supplied from the river. A garden without a refreshing stream, is quickly deprived of its shade, stripped of its vegetation, and converted into a joyless desert. This will enable us to form a clear and vivid idea of the energy with which the following declaration of Isaiah would fall on the ear of a Jew: "For ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water."\* So necessary is a sufficient supply of water for the cultivation, and even for the preservation and existence of a garden in those regions, that not one is to be found unprovided with a certain supply, either from some neighbouring river, or from a reservoir, collected from springs, or filled with rain water in the proper season, in sufficient quantity to afford an ample store for the rest of the year. The necessity of an abundant supply, is evident from the emphatical manner in which the sacred historian states, concerning the seat of primeval innocence, that "a river went out of Eden, to water the garden." The habitation of upright man was formed by the unsparing hand of Jehovah himself, and stored with every plant and tree that was pleasant to the sight, and good for food; but the circumstance of its being well supplied with water, seemed necessary to complete the picture of a garden, in the eye of an oriental. This idea is confirmed and illustrated by the management of the gardens which enclose the city of Damascus, described in the first part of this work. The finest object which met the eye of Maundrell, at the palace of the emir of Beroot, (ancient Berytus,) and the most deserving of remembrance, was the orange garden. It contains a large quadrangular plat of ground, divided into sixteen smaller squares four in a row, with walks between them. The walks are

\* Isa. i. 30.



shaded with orange trees, of a large spreading size. Every one of these sixteen smaller squares was bordered with stone; and in the stone work were troughs, contrived with great art, for conveying the water all over the garden; little outlets being cut at every tree, for the stream as it passed by, to flow out and water it.\* The royal gardens at Ispahan, according to Kempfer's description, are watered precisely in the same manner.

These statements give us a clear idea of the (פלגים) Palgay maim, mentioned in the first Psalm, and other places of Scripture, the divisions of waters; or the waters distributed in artificial canals. The prophet Jeremiah has imitated and elegantly amplified the figure used by the Psalmist: "He shall be like a tree planted by the water side, and which sendeth forth her roots to the aqueduct; she shall not fear when the heat cometh; but her leaf shall be green; and in the year of drought she shall not be anxious, neither shall she cease from bearing fruit."† It gives us also the true meaning of that beautiful proverb: "The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord, as the small streams, or canals of water: He turneth it whithersoever he will."‡ The direction, even of the king's heart, is in the hand of Jehovah. as the distribution of water through the garden by different canals, is at the will of the gardener.§

Such distant imitations of the garden of Eden, were numbered among the pleasures in which Solomon indulged, and which he mentions as works on which he set a particular value: "I made me great works: I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards; I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits; I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees."|| The supposed remains of these magnificent undertakings, have been described by more travellers than one, who visited and examined them in the course of their wanderings. The reservoirs, which still bear

\* See Maundrell's Journey.

† Jer. xvii. 8.

‡ Prov. xxi. 1.

§ Lowth on Isaiah, vol. 2. p. 22, 23.

|| Eccl. ii. 4, 5, 6.

the name of the powerful and splendid monarch by whom they were probably constructed, are three in number, lying in a row above each other, being so disposed, that the waters of the uppermost may descend into the second, and those of the second into the third. Their figure is quadrangular; the breadth is the same in all, amounting to about ninety paces: in their length there is some difference between them; the first being a hundred and sixty paces long; the second, two hundred; the third, two hundred and twenty. They are lined with stone, and plastered, and contain a great depth of water.\*

From these facts, it may be seen with what peculiar force and beauty our Lord compares his people, on account of their inherent purity, the work of his own Spirit, and the blessings they are the means of diffusing wherever they come, "to a fountain of gardens,"† so indispensable to the verdure and fruitfulness of a garden in those parts of the world. Nor is it with less propriety Jehovah promises to his ancient people: "Thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not;"‡ lovely, rich, and flourishing in holy dispositions, and in works of righteousness; the delight of God, the glory of Christ, the admiration of angels, the joy of the whole earth. The prophet Jeremiah has adopted the figure in predicting the restoration of Israel, to express the high prosperity which they were to attain under the protection, and by the favour of Heaven: "Their soul shall be as a watered garden, and they shall not sorrow any more at all."§

Though the oriental garden has few pretensions to design or elegance, still some attention is discovered in the arrangement of the plots, and in their cultivation. At Aleppo, the whole extent of their gardens, which are separated from each other by low stone walls, is subdivided into square or oblong fields, irregularly bordered with dwarf trees, flowering shrubs, and trees of taller growth; among which the plane, the weeping willow, the ash, and the white poplar, make a conspi-

\* Maundrell's Journey. † Song iv. 5. ‡ Isa. lviii. 11. § Jer. xxxi. 12.

cuous figure. Within some of these enclosures, are cultivated apples, melons, and cucumbers, together with a variety of esculent roots, greens, and legumes, for the kitchen; in others, cotton, tobacco, sesamum, palma Christi, and lucern; and some are sown with barley, to be cut green for the use of the horses in the spring.

Interspersed among the kitchen enclosures, are large plantations of pomegranate, of plum, or of cherry trees; and sometimes groves composed of the various fruit trees which the country produces. All these trees are standards; and though sometimes planted in rows, they are for the most part crowded close together with little regard to symmetry, forming wild and impervious thickets. In other parts of the grounds, a more complete shade is formed by tufts of lofty trees, which, uniting their branches at top, give shelter to roses of different sorts, and to a profusion of wild aromatic herbs, which, thus protected from the sun, long retain their fragrance. To such a mode of arrangement, the inspired writers more than once allude. Thus, the prophet Ezekiel, in his parable of the two eagles and the vine: "There was also another great eagle, with great wings, and many feathers; and behold, this vine did bend her roots towards him, and shot forth her branches toward him, that he might water it by the furrows of her plantations. It was planted in a good soil, by great waters, that it might bring forth branches, and that it might bear fruit, that it might be a goodly vine."\*

The extensive gardens in various parts of Syria, described by Russel and other travellers, will enable us to form a tolerably correct idea of the gardens and orchards of Solomon, in whose fragrant and umbrageous retreats, he seems to have so greatly delighted. That magnificent prince appears to have had a range of such enclosures, appropriated to the cultivation of particular fruits; in which he was imitated by the succeeding kings of Israel and Judah. In allusion to this arrangement, our Lord says to the church, "Thy plants are

\* Ezek. xvii. 7.



an orchard of pomegranates with pleasant fruits.—I went down into the garden of nuts, to see the fruits of the valley.”\* The prophet Isaiah compares the daughter of Zion to a garden of cucumbers; and Ahab desired to have the vineyard of Naboth for a garden of herbs.†

But the people of Israel, and other oriental nations of those days, appear to have bestowed particular attention on the cultivation of the vine. The site of the vineyard was carefully chosen in fields of a loose crumbling soil, on a rich plain, or on a sloping hill rising with a gentle ascent; or, where the acclivity was very steep, on terraces supported by masonry, and turned as much as possible from the setting sun. The plot was enclosed with a wall; the stones and other encumbrances were removed, and the choicest plants were selected to form the plantation. Within the vineyard, low walls were sometimes raised for the purpose of supporting the vines; a practice which seems to have been adopted before the days of Jacob; for in the blessing of Joseph, he speaks of it in a manner which shows that it was quite familiar to the vine-dresser: “Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well; whose branches run over the wall.”‡

The wine-press, constructed for expressing the juice of the grapes, does not seem to be a moveable implement in the east; and our Lord, in the parable of the vineyard, says expressly, that it was formed by digging. Chardin found the wine-press in Persia was made after the same manner; it was a hollow place dug in the ground, and lined with mason work. Besides this, they had what the Romans called *lacus*, the lake, a large open place or vessel, which, by a conduit or spout, received the must from the wine-press. In very hot countries it was perhaps necessary, or at least convenient, to have the lake under ground, or in a cave hewed out of the rock for coolness, that the heat might not cause too great a fermentation, and sour the must.

To these circumstances, the prophet Isaiah distinctly refers, in the beginning of the fifth chapter: “My well-

\* Song iv. 13. and vi. 11.

† 1 Kings xxi. 1.

‡ Gen. xlix. 22.



beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill : and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof ; and planted it with the choicest vine ; and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein ; and he looked that it should bring forth grapes ; and it brought forth wild grapes.” The tower which the prophet mentions, and which our Lord also introduces into one of his parables, is generally explained by commentators, as designed for the keepers of the vineyard to watch and defend the fruits. But, for this purpose, it was usual to make a little temporary hut, called in the first chapter, not a tower, but a cottage, which might serve for the short season while the grapes were ripening, and was afterwards removed. The tower, therefore, according to Lowth, means a building of a more permanent nature and use ; the farm of the vineyard, as we may call it, containing all the offices and implements, and the whole apparatus necessary for cultivating the vineyard, and making the wine. To this image in the allegory, the situation, the manner of building, the use, and the whole service of the temple exactly answered.\* They have still such towers for pleasure or use, in their gardens in the oriental regions ; for Marcus Saanuns informs us, that, in the thirteenth century, the inhabitants of Ptolemais beat down the towers of their gardens to the ground, and removed the stones of them, together with those of their burying places, on the approach of the Tartars. The gardens of Damascus are furnished with the same kind of edifices.† In most of the gardens near Aleppo, summer houses are built for the reception of the public. In others, at a greater distance, are tolerably commodious villas, to which the Franks resort in the spring, as the natives do in the summer.‡ “ To a tower, or building of this kind, it is to be supposed,” says Russel, “ our Lord refers in the parable ; for it is scarcely to be imagined that he is speaking of the slight and unexpensive buildings in a vineyard ; which, indeed, are sometimes so slight, as to consist only of four poles, with a floor on the top of them, to which they

\* Lowth on Isaiah.

† Maundrell's Journey.

‡ Russel's Hist

ascend by a ladder: but rather of those elegant turrets erected in gardens, where the eastern people of fortune spend some considerable part of their time." But this excellent writer expressly admits, that in all the orchards near Aleppo, a small square watch house is built for the accommodation of the watchmen in the fruit season, or in their stead, temporary bowers are constructed of wood, and thatched with green reeds and branches. It is more probably to the substantial watch tower that the Saviour alludes, than either to the offices of the vineyard, or the commodious summer house.

The vineyard has been in all ages, and in every part of the world, adapted to the culture of the vine, a scene of joy and singing. While employed in checking the loose straggling boughs, clearing away the superfluous leaves, and laying open the swelling grapes to the sun, the vine dresser beguiles his labours with a song.

"Hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras." *Vir. 1st Ecl.*

And when the labours of the year are finished, when the vines are tied, and the vineyard lays aside the pruning-hook, now, says the same bard, the exhausted vintager salutes in song his utmost rows:

"Jam vincetæ vites; jam falcem arbustia reponunt;  
Jam canit extremos effectus vinitor antes." *2d Geor.*

Not less delighted with the pleasing labours of the vineyard, the Syrian vine dresser gave vent also to his joyous feelings in the same manner; for in describing the desolations of Moab, the prophet Isaiah foretold, that "the song shall cease from the vineyard; gladness is taken away, and joy out of the plentiful field; and in the vineyard there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting. The treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses; I have made their vintage shouting to cease."\*

Ripe grapes begin to appear in the market of Aleppo in September, but the height of the vintage is not till November:† and it seems to happen about the same time in Palestine. But if the fruit of the vine come

\* Isa. xvi. 10.

† Russel's Hist.

to maturity at Aleppo and Jerusalem nearly about the same time, it must have been the latter end of July, or rather the beginning of August, that the spies were sent by Moses to search out the promised land. He says they received their instructions at the time of the first ripe grapes, and after forty days, they returned and brought with them a large bunch of grapes, pomegranates, and figs; which proves that these fruits ripen at the same time. This agrees with Dr. Shaw's account, that grapes begin to ripen in Barbary the latter end of July, and are ready for the vintage in September; the kermes, or fig, properly so called, which they preserve and make up into cakes, is rarely ripe before August, the month which produces the ripe pomegranates. The spies, then, received their instructions about the beginning of August, and returned in the middle of September; and their observations concerning the fatness of the land, must have related to the figs, grapes, and other fruits of the country, rather than to the corn, which had been long before gathered in, and lay concealed in the secret repositories.\*

The juice of the grape, it is well known, is expressed in the east by treading; an operation, which Dr. Chandler had an opportunity of seeing near Smyrna. Black grapes were spread on the ground in beds, and exposed to the sun, to dry for raisins; while in another part, the juice was expressed for wine; a man with feet and legs bare, treading the fruit in a kind of cistern, with a hole or vent near the bottom, and a vessel beneath it, to receive the liquor. When a few clusters of grapes are to be squeezed, it may be done commodiously enough by the hand; in this way, Pharaoh's butler supposed he took the grapes and pressed them into his master's cup. This, it is true, was only a visionary scene, but we must suppose it was agreeable to the custom of the country. But when a large quantity of juice was required, the grapes were subjected in the wine-press to the feet of a treader. Oil of olives was expressed in the same manner, before the invention of mills. The existence of this practice in Pa-

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 1. p. 146. 459

lestine, is ascertained by that threatening in the prophecies of Micah : "Thou shalt sow, but thou shalt not reap ; thou shalt tread the olives, but shalt not anoint thee with oil ; and sweet wine, but shalt not drink wine."\* But unequivocal traces of it may be discovered in ages long anterior to the days of that prophet ; for in the blessing of Asher, we find Moses praying : "Let Asher dip his foot in oil."† Whether any preparation was used in those ancient times to facilitate the expression of the juice, we are not informed ; but it is certain, that mills are now used for pressing and grinding the olives which grow in the neighbourhood of Athens, and probably in other eastern countries. These mills are in the town, and not on the spot where the olives grow ; and seem to be used in consequence of its being found, that the mere weight of the human body is insufficient for the purpose of effectually extracting the oil.

The treading of grapes and olives is a custom to which frequent reference is made by the inspired writers. The glorious Redeemer of the church appeared in vision to the prophet, in the garb and mein of a mighty conqueror returning in triumph from the field of battle, and drew from him this admiring interrogation : "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah ? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength ?" To which the Saviour answers : "I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save." The prophet resumes : "Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine fat ?" And Jehovah Jesus replies : "I have trodden the winepress alone ; and of the people there was none with me ; for I will tread them in mine anger, and trample them in my fury ; and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment."‡ As the raiment of the treader was sprinkled with the blood of the grapes, so were the garments of the Redeemer with the blood of his enemies, that were as effectually and easily crushed by his almighty power, as

\* Micah vi. 15.

† Deut. xxxiii. 24.

‡ Isa. lxiii. 1, &c



are the clusters of the vine when fully ripe, beneath the feet of the treader. The same figure is employed in the book of Revelation, to express the decisive and fearful destruction which awaits the man of sin and his coadjutors, that refuse to turn from the error of their way: "And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great wine-press of the wrath of God. And the wine-press was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-press even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs."\*

The vintager cuts down the grapes from the vine with a sharp hook or sickle; for the command to the destroying angel in the Revelation is: "Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, for her grapes are fully ripe." But the olive was sometimes beaten off the tree, and sometimes shaken. The former method is mentioned by Moses in one of his precepts: "When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow."† The latter is marked by the prophet Isaiah: "Yet gleaning grapes shall be left in it, as the shaking of an olive tree; two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof, saith the Lord God of Israel."‡ It occurs again in a denunciation of divine judgments, by the same prophet: "When thus it shall be in the midst of the land among the people, there shall be as the shaking of an olive tree, and as the gleaning grapes when the vintage is done."§ The conjecture of Harmer on these quotations, in which the shaking of the olive tree is connected with the gleaning of grapes, is not improbable, "that the shaking of the olive tree does not indicate an improvement made in after times on the original mode of gathering

\* Rev. xiv. 18.

† Deut. xxiv. 20.

‡ Isa. xvii. 6.

§ Isa. xxiv. 13.

them ; or different methods of procedure by different people in the same age and country, who possessed olive yards ; but rather expressed the difference between the gathering of the main crop by the owners, and the way in which the poor collected the few olive berries that were left, and which, by the law of Moses, they were permitted to take.

The custom of beating the olive with long poles, to make the fruit fall, is still followed in some parts of Italy. This foolish method, besides hurting the plant, and spoiling many branches that would bear the year following, makes the ripe and unripe fruit fall indiscriminately, and bruises a great deal of both kinds, by which they become rancid in the heaps, and give an ill-flavoured oil. Such is the statement of the abbot Fortis, in his account of Dalmatia ; we are not then to wonder, that in the time of Moses, when the art of cultivation was in so simple and unimproved a state, beating should have been the common way of gathering olives by the owners, who were disposed to leave, we may suppose, as few as possible, and were forbidden by their law to go over the branches a second time. But shaking them appears to have been sufficient, when they had hung till they were fully ripe ; and was therefore practised by the poor, or by strangers, who were either not provided with such long poles as the owners possessed, or did not find them necessary. Indeed it is not improbable, that the owners were well aware of the injury done to the olive trees by beating, although they practised it, because it was the most effectual way of gathering the fruit with which they were acquainted ; and might therefore prohibit the poor and the stranger to collect the gleanings in that manner : they were on that account, reduced to the necessity of shaking the olive berries from the tree, how ineffectual soever might be the method, or remain without them. The main crop, then, seems to have been taken from the olive by beating, and the gleanings uniformly by shaking. Under this conviction, Dr. Lowth has, with great judgment, translated the sixth verse of the se-

venteenth chapter of Isaiah: A gleaning shall be left in it, as in the shaking of the olive tree.\*

In peaceful times, the press in which the grapes and olives were trodden, was constructed in the vineyard; but in time of war and danger, it was removed into the nearest city. This precaution, the restored captives were reduced to take for their safety, at the time they were visited by Nehemiah. In a state of great weakness themselves, without an efficient government or means of defence, they were exposed to the hostile machinations of numerous and powerful enemies. For this reason, many of the Jews brought their grapes from the vineyards, and trod them in Jerusalem, the only place of safety which the desolated country afforded. "In those days," said Nehemiah, "saw I in Judah, some treading wine-presses on the sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses; and also wine grapes and figs, and all manner of burthens which they brought into Jerusalem on the sabbath day."† Had these wine-presses been at a distance from Jerusalem, Nehemiah, who so strictly observed the precept of resting on that day, would not have seen the violation of which he complains.

Our translators, in Mr. Harmer's opinion, seem to have been guilty of an oversight in the interpretation of this verse, which plainly supposes, that sheaves of corn were brought into Jerusalem at the very time men were treading the wine-presses. This, he observes, is a strange anachronism, since the harvest there was finished in or before the third month, and the vintage was not till the seventh.

But it may be replied, in favour of our translators, that by Mr. Harmer's own admission, they have at present a species of corn in the east which is not ripe till the end of summer; which made Rauwolf say, it was the time of harvest when he arrived at Joppa, on the thirteenth of September. But if they have such a species of corn now, it is more than probable they had it then; for the customs and management of the orientals, suffer almost no alteration from the lapse of time,

\* See Harmer's Obs.

† Neh. xiii. 15.

and change of circumstances. If this be admitted, the difficulty vanishes ; and there is nothing incongruous or absurd in supposing, that Nehemiah might see his countrymen bringing this late grain in sheaves from the field, to tread it out in the city, for fear of their numerous and malicious foes, who might have set upon them, had they not taken this precaution, as the Arabs frequently do on the present inhabitants, and seized the heaps on the barn floor. Mr. Harmer translates the Hebrew term, parcels of grapes ; but as the word signifies a heap of any thing, it may with equal propriety be rendered parcels or sheaves of corn, especially as grapes are mentioned afterwards. It is true, our author makes them dried grapes, but for the word *dried*, he has no authority from the original text ; there is no good reason, therefore, to find fault with our translators in this instance.

In the gardens around Aleppo, commodious villas are built for the use of the inhabitants, to which they retire during the oppressive heats of summer.\* Here, amid the wild and almost impervious thickets of pomegranate, and other fruit-bearing trees, the languid native, and exhausted traveller, find a delightful retreat from the scorching beams of the sun. A similar custom of retiring into the country, and taking shelter in the gardens at that season, appears to have been followed in Palestine in ages very remote ; for in the Song of Solomon, this invitation from the church to the Redeemer occurs : “ Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field ; let us lodge in the villages ; let us get up early to the vineyards ; let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grape appear, and the pomegranates bud forth ; there will I give thee my loves.”† In another passage, she says to her companions : “ My beloved has gone down into his garden, to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lilies ;”‡ and in another, she addresses her beloved in these appropriate terms : “ ‘Thou that dwellest in the gardens, the companions hearken to thy voice.’ ”

The exquisite pleasure which an oriental feels, while

\* Russel's Hist. of Aleppo.

† Song vii. 11, 12.

‡ Song vi. 3.



he reclines under the deep shade of the pomegranate, the apple, and other fruitful trees in the Syrian gardens, which, uniting their branches over his head, defend him from the glowing firmament, is well described by Russel: "Revived by the freshening breeze, the purling of the brooks, and the verdure of the groves, his ear will catch the melody of the nightingale, delightful beyond what is heard in England; with conscious gratitude to heaven, he will recline on the simple mat, and bless the hospitable shelter. Beyond the limits of the gardens, hardly a vestige of verdure remains; the fields are turned into a parched and naked waste." One almost feels the scorching beam, and sickens under its irresistible force, in perusing the description of nature's bard:

" 'Tis raging noon, and vertical the sun  
Darts on the head direct his forceful rays.  
O'er heaven and earth, far as the ranging eye  
Can sweep, a dazzling deluge reigns, and all  
From pole to pole is undistinguished blaze.  
In vain the sight dejected, to the ground  
Stoops for relief; thence hot ascending steams  
And keen reflection pain."

But attend the oriental to the refreshing shade of his garden, and then,

"Cool through the nerves his pleasing comfort glides;  
The heart beats glad; the fresh expanded eye  
And ear resume their watch; the sinews knit;  
And life shoots swift through all the lighten'd limbs."

Not only the actual enjoyment of shade and water diffuses the sweetest pleasure through the panting bosom of an oriental, but what is almost inconceivable to the native of a northern clime, even the very idea, the simple recurrence of these gratifications to the mind, conveys a lively satisfaction, and a renovating energy to his heart, when ready to fail him in the midst of the burning desert. "He who smiles at the pleasure we received," says Lichtenstein, "from only being reminded of shade, or thinks this observation trivial, must feel the force of an African sun, to have an idea of the value of shade and water."\*

\* Trav. in Africa, p. 104.

These descriptions will enable us to form a more correct notion of the inexpressible delight which the longing Christian feels, when he is admitted to fellowship "with the Father, and with his son Jesus Christ." The very conception of such fellowship, revives his fainting soul; the sure expectation, kindles a holy ardour in his bosom; and the actual possession fills his heart with "joy unspeakable, and full of glory." "I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste; stay me with flaggons, comfort me with apples, for I am sick of love."\*

Parties of pleasure frequently repair to the Syrian gardens, in the spring and summer, to regale themselves with the fruits, or to gather flowers; a custom to which the royal preacher alludes in several parts of the Song. Thus, the spouse, after inviting the refreshing breezes to awake, and blow upon her garden, that the spices, which adorned and enriched it, might exhale their fragrance, addresses her Lord: "Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits;" let him regard with complacency, the delightful effects of his grace, produced in the hearts, or displayed in the lives of his people. And to her invitation, he replies: "I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse: I have gathered my myrrh with my spice; I have eaten my honey-comb with my honey; I have drunk my wine with my milk; eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved."† In allusion to the same custom, she presents, in the seventh chapter, another supplication: "Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field; let us lodge in the villages; let us get up early to the vineyards; let us see if the vine flourish; whether the tender grape appear, and the pomegranates bud forth; there will I give thee my loves." Like those that, weary of the bustle and noise of the crowded city, and exhausted with the increasing heats of the rising year, long for the tranquil pleasures of the garden, or the fruitful field, the reviving coolness of the shade, and the murmur of the streaming rill,—the heaven-born soul desires to

\* Song ii.

† Song iv. 16. and v. 1.

leave for a while, the cares and hurry of this world, to enjoy, in secret retirement or with fellow believers, the presence and smiles of his Lord; to mark the growth of divine grace in his heart; and whether the fruits of righteousness are advancing to maturity; whether new dispositions of holiness are beginning to appear, and new resolutions to expand, which require the skill and care of the Great Husbandman, to defend and cherish. And while he requests the presence of his Redeemer, in the ordinances of his grace, he promises him the best affections of his heart; the renewed professions of his love; the ardent breathings of holy desire, kindled and sustained by the smiles of his favour; he engages to entertain him with a display of all the fruits of the Spirit, which are valuable and lovely as the mandrake, and numerous as the products of the varied year, devoted to his service, reserved for his honour, and exhibited for his glory.

---

### CHAP. III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE HOUSES,  
CITIES, WALLS, AND TOWERS OF THE EAST.

**T**HE aboriginal inhabitants of those regions, appear to have taken up their abodes in caves, in dens, and in holes of the rocks, the excavations of nature or art, of which many remain to the present times, and afford occasional shelter to the wandering shepherd and his flock, and in times of danger, to the trembling fugitive and his family. But as their flocks and herds multiplied, the Syrian shepherds were compelled to go in quest of distant pastures, from which they found it impossible to return at night to their immoveable retreats. Necessity, the mother of the arts, taught them to construct the tent, which they might carry along with them in their wanderings, and set up and take down

at their pleasure. But as the number of the people daily increased, and the necessity of applying themselves to the cultivation of the soil became obvious, they found the tent an incommodious habitation, and their fields often lay at a considerable distance from the cavern; while the division of property, which was introduced at a very early period, and the natural desire in every family to live by themselves, suggested the idea of houses, constructed of more durable materials than the tent, which admitted of being placed sufficiently near for mutual assistance, and at the same time furnished the comfort which they so much desired, of living by themselves, and securing their own interests.

In the opinion of Pliny, the oriental barbarian took the hint of building a house for himself and his family, from the swallow; and in imitation of his feathered instructor, made his first essay in mud. The Kabyles, on the coast of Barbary, raise their dwellings with hurdles daubed over with mud, with square cakes of clay baked in the sun, or stones from some adjacent ruin. The roofs are covered with straw or turf, supported by reeds or branches of trees. The largest of them has rarely more than one chamber, which serves for a kitchen, dining-room, and bed-chamber; besides one corner of it, which is reserved for their foals, calves, and kids. As these hovels are always fixed and immoveable, they are undoubtedly what the ancients called *magalia*; and therefore, Carthage itself, before the time of Dido, was nothing more than a cluster of mud-built hovels:\*

“Miratur molem *Æneas*, *magalia* quondam.” *Æn. b. 1. l. 425.*

The houses of the lower orders in Egypt are in like manner constructed of unburnt bricks, or square pieces of clay, baked in the sun, and only one story high; but those of the higher classes, of stone, and generally two, and sometimes three stories high. These facts are at once a short and lively comment on the words of the prophet: “All the people shall know, even Ephraim, and the inhabitants of Samaria, that say, in

\* Dr. Shaw's Trav. vol. 1. p. 400



the pride and stoutness of heart, the bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stone; the sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars.\* Bricks dried in the sun, are poor materials for building, compared with hewn stone, which, in Egypt, is almost equal to marble; and forms a strong contrast between the splendid palace, and mud-walled cabin. And if, as is probable, the houses of the higher orders in Israel were built with the same species of costly and beautiful stone, the contrast stated by the prophet, places the vaunting of his wealthier countrymen in a very strong light. The boastful extravagance of that people, is still further displayed by the next figure: "The sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars;" the forests of sycamore, the wood of which we have been accustomed to employ in building, are cut down by the enemy, but instead of them we will import cedars, of whose fragrant and beautiful wood we will construct and adorn our habitations. The sycamore grew in abundance, in the low country of Judea, and was not much esteemed; but the cedar was highly valued; it was brought at a great expense, and with much labour, from the distant and rugged summits of Lebanon, to beautify the dwellings of the great, the palaces of kings, and the temple of Jehovah. It was, therefore, an extravagant boast, which betrayed the pride and vanity of their depraved hearts, that all the warnings, threatenings, and judgments of the living God, were insufficient to subdue or restrain.

In Judea, and some of the neighbouring countries, where rain often falls in winter in very copious and violent showers, instead of earth and straw, they make use of wood in constructing the walls of their dwellings. In this manner was the wall originally built, which enclosed the court of the temple at Jerusalem; and it was re-constructed of the same materials, wood and stone, when the Jews returned from their long and painful captivity, by the direction of the Persian monarch. It is evident, that the walls of their fortified

\* Isa. ix. 9, 10.

cities were partly constructed of combustible materials ; for the prophet, denouncing the judgments of God upon Syria and other countries, declares : “ I will send a fire on the wall of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof.”\* The walls of Tyre and Rabbah seem to have been of the same perishable materials ; for the prophet adds : “ I will send a fire on the wall of Tyrus, which shall devour the palaces thereof ;” and again : “ I will kindle a fire in the walls of Rabbah, and it shall devour the palaces thereof, with shouting in the day of battle.”† The more durable materials of wood and stone, were preferred by the inhabitants of Canaan from the earliest times ; for Moses, in the law concerning the leprous house, proceeds on the supposition that their houses were built of these : “ Then the priest shall command that they take away the stones in which the plague is.”‡ The greater durability and beauty of such edifices have not, however, prevailed on the lower orders of the east to abandon their mud-walled habitations, even in those places where stone may be procured in abundance. At Damascus, for example, they continue to build with mud and slime, though they have plenty of stones near the city.§ In the time of Job, and probably for a long succession of ages, the houses of all ranks in the land of Uz were built of mud ; for he charges the adulterer with digging through the walls of his neighbour’s house, with the view of gratifying his vile propensities : “ In the dark,” said the sorrowful and indignant patriarch, “ they dig through houses which they had marked for themselves in the day time : they know not the light.”|| These walls of dried clay, when moistened with copious showers, must have been liable to accidents of this kind ; and as the walls of eastern houses are made very thick, in order to shelter the inhabitants more effectually from the oppressive heats, the term digging, as applied to them, is peculiarly expressive.

The short duration of mud-walled buildings is not

\* Amos i. 7.                      † Verses 10, 14.  
§ Maundrell’s Journey.

‡ Lev. xiv. 40.  
|| Job xxiv. 16.

the only objection to the use of unburnt brick; for in windy weather, the streets are incommoded with dust, and with mire in time of rain. At Damascus, when a violent rain happens to fall, the whole city, by the washing of the houses, becomes as it were a quagmire. So great is the quantity of dust and mire which sometimes accumulates in the streets of an eastern city, that the prophet Zechariah borrows a figure from it of great force and significancy in the ear of an oriental, to denote the immense riches of Tyre: "Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets."\* The beauty of the figure is lost, if we attempt to judge of it by the state of an occidental city in modern times; but it will not be easy to conceive one more strikingly appropriate, if the streets of an eastern city, choaked with mire, or suffocated with dust, are considered. Dr. Shaw directs the attention of his readers to the same circumstance, the dissolution of oriental buildings upon a shower, and supposes it may illustrate what Ezekiel observes respecting untempered mortar.† When that traveller was at Tozer, in the month of December, they had a small drizzling shower, which continued for the space of two hours; and so little provision was made against accidents of this kind, that several of the houses, which, as usual, were built only with palm branches, mud and tiles baked in the sun, fell down by imbibing the moisture of the shower. Nay, provided the drops had been either larger, or the shower of a long continuance, he was persuaded the whole city would have dissolved, and dropt to pieces. In his opinion, the phrase "untempered mortar," refers to the square pieces of clay of which the wall is constructed; but on looking at the text, it is evident that it refers to the plaster which is used in the east for covering the walls after they are built. The words of the prophet are: "And one built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar--- Lo, when the wall is fallen, shall it not be said unto you, Where is the daubing wherewith ye have daubed it?"† The

\* Zech. ix. 3.

† Ezek. xiii. 11.



view which Chardin gives of this text, is therefore, to be preferred. According to that intelligent traveller, the mud walls fall down in consequence of the rain dissolving the plaster. This plaster hinders the water from penetrating the bricks; but when it has been soaked with wet, the wind cracks it, by which means the rain, in some succeeding shower, gets between and dissolves the whole mass. To this external coating of plaster, the prophet certainly refers, and not to the bricks, of which the wall is constructed; for these, however tempered, never can be supposed to resist the action of violent rains. The ruinous effects of stormy winds and heavy rains upon such frail structures, is well described in the thirteenth verse, and exactly corresponds with the accounts of modern travellers: "Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, I will even rend it with a stormy wind in my fury; and there shall be an overflowing shower in mine anger, and great hailstones in my fury to consume it. So will I break down the wall that ye have daubed with untempered mortar, and bring it down to the ground, so that the foundation thereof shall be discovered, and it shall fall, and ye shall be consumed in the midst thereof: and ye shall know that I am the Lord." The same allusion is involved in the prediction of Amos, where he denounces the judgments of God against a profligate and refractory people: "For, behold, the Lord commandeth, and he will smite the great house with breaches, and the little house with clefts."\* The palaces of the great, and the cottages of the poor, seem to have been constructed of the same fragile material; for they were affected by the storm and the tempest in the same manner, and when the cup of iniquity is full, are dissolved by the same shower.

In Africa, by the testimony of Dr. Shaw, they beat their mortar with mallets: but in Canaan and the surrounding regions, they tread it with their feet. To this last custom, the prophet clearly refers in his challenge to the heathen gods, to prove their title to divine honours, by disclosing the secrets of futurity: "I

\* Amos vi. 11.



have raised up one from the north, and he shall come; from the rising of the sun shall he call upon my name; and he shall come upon princes as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay."\* The allusion is still more clearly made by the prophet Nahum, in his address to Nineveh: "Draw thee waters for the siege, fortify thy strong holds; go into clay, and tread the mortar, make strong the brick kiln."† To the same custom, although in more obscure terms, the prophet Malachi may be supposed to refer: "Ye shall tread down the wicked; for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet."‡ In the opinion of some expositors, the wicked are here compared to ashes, because the prophet had been speaking of their destruction under the figure of burning. But the sacred writers, having a much higher object in view than to exemplify the rules of the rhetorician, do not always keep close to the figures with which they set out; and if they did, Malachi would not have expressed himself in such terms, unless the custom of treading ashes in making mortar or cement, had prevailed in these times.

The general style of building in the east, seems to have continued from the remotest ages down to the present times, without alteration or any attempt at improvement. Large doors, spacious chambers, marble pavements, cloistered courts, with fountains sometimes playing in the midst, are certainly conveniences well adapted to the circumstances of these hotter climates. All the windows of their dwellings, if we except a small latticed window or balcony, which sometimes looks into the street, open into their respective courts or quadrangles; an arrangement, probably dictated by the jealousy which unceasingly disturbs the repose of an oriental householder. It is only during the celebration of some public festival, that these houses, and their latticed windows or balconies, are left open.

The streets of an oriental city, the better to shade the inhabitants from the sun, are commonly narrow, with sometimes a range of shops on each side. The entrance from these into one of the principal houses,

\* Isa. xli. 25.

† Nahum iii. 14.

‡ Mal. iv. 5.

is through a porch or gateway, with benches on each side, where the master of the family receives visits, and despatches business; few persons, not even the nearest relations, having further admission, except upon extraordinary occasions.\* The door of the porch by which a person enters the court, is very small; sometimes not above three feet high. The design of such low and inconvenient doors is, to prevent the Arabs from riding into the houses to plunder them; for these freebooters, who are almost centaurs, seldom think of dismounting in their excursions; and therefore, the peaceable inhabitants find such small entrances the easiest and most effectual way of preventing their violence. To this singular practice, the royal preacher may be supposed to refer: "He that exalteth his gate, seeketh destruction."† It can hardly be supposed, that Solomon mentions the loftiness of the gate, rather than other circumstances of magnificence in a building, as the wideness of the house, the airiness of the rooms, the cedar ceilings, and the vermilion paintings, which the prophet Jeremiah specifies, as pieces of grandeur, without some particular meaning. But if bands of Arabs had taken the advantage of large doors, to enter into houses in his territories, or in the surrounding kingdoms, the apothegm possesses a singular propriety and force. We have the more reason to believe that Solomon had his eye on the insolence of the Arabs, in riding into the houses of those they meant to plunder, because the practice seems not to have been unusual in other countries; and is not now peculiar to those plunderers.‡ The Armenian

\* Shaw's Trav. vol. 1. p. 374.

† Prov. xvii. 19.

‡ To say nothing of the objections to which our author's interpretation is liable, it is sufficient to observe, that the passage easily admits, and the connexion evidently requires, another explanation. What is rendered *his gate* (פֶּתָחוֹ) is properly his door, or rather, *his opening*; and it may be considered an abbreviated mode of expressing *the opening of his lips*; (Prov. viii. 6.) and thus it comes to mean his mouth, and then his speech. Now the parallelism, which prevails remarkably in the verses before and after the one under consideration, suggests the propriety of reading this in the

merchants at Julfa, the suburb of Ispahan, in which they reside, find it necessary to make the front door of their houses in general small, partly to hinder the Persians, who treat them with great rigour and insolence, from entering them on horseback, and partly to prevent them from observing the magnificent furniture within.

From the gate of the porch, one is conducted into the quadrangular court, which, being exposed to the weather, is paved with stone, in order to carry off the water in the rainy season. The principal design of this quadrangle, is to give light to the house, and admit the fresh air into the apartments; it is also the place where the master of the house entertains his company, which are seldom or never honoured with admission into the inner apartments. This open space bears a striking resemblance to the *impluvium* or *cavaedium* of the Romans, which was also an uncovered area, from whence the chambers were lighted. For the accommodation of the guests, the pavement is covered with mats or carpets; and as it is secured against all interruption from the street, is well adapted to public entertainments. It is called, says Dr. Shaw, the middle of the house, and literally answers to the *το μεσον* of the Evangelist, into which the man afflicted with the palsy was let down through the ceiling, with his couch, before Jesus.\* Hence, he conjectures that our Lord was at this time instructing the people in the court of one of these houses; and it is by no means improbable, that the quadrangle was to him and his apostles a favourite situation, while they were engaged in disclosing the mysteries of redemption. To defend the company from the scorching sun-beam, or “windy storm and tempest,” a veil was expanded upon ropes from the one side of the parapet wall to the other, which might

---

following manner: He that loveth transgression, loveth strife; he that exalteth his mouth, (i. e. speaketh haughtily) seeketh destruction. I. C.

\* Luke v. 19.



be folded or unfolded at pleasure. The Psalmist seems to allude either to the tents of the Bedoweens, or to some covering of this kind, in that beautiful expression of spreading out the heavens like a veil or curtain.\* We have the same allusion in the sublime strains of Isaiah: "It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in."†

"The court is for the most part surrounded with a cloister, over which, when the house has a number of stories, a gallery is erected of the same dimensions with the cloister, having a ballustrade, or else a piece of carved or latticed work, going round about, to prevent people from falling from it into the court." The doors of the enclosure round the house, as already mentioned, are made very small, to defend the family from the insolence and rapacity of Arabian plunderers; but the doors of the houses very large, for the purpose of admitting a copious stream of fresh air into their apartments. The windows which look into the street, are very high and narrow, and defended by lattice work; as they are only intended to allow the cloistered inmate a peep of what is passing without, while he remains concealed behind the casement. This kind of window the ancient Hebrews called *arubah*, and is the same term which they used to express those small openings, through which pigeons passed into the cavities of the rocks, or into those buildings which were raised for their reception. Thus, the prophet demands: Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves (אל-ארובהם) *el arubothem*, to their small or narrow windows. The word is derived from a root which signifies to lie in wait for the prey; and is very expressive of the concealed manner in which a person examines through that kind of window an external object. Irwin describes the windows in Upper Egypt, as having the same form and dimensions; and says expressly, that one of the windows of the house in which they lodged, and through which they looked into the street.

\* Psa. civ. 2.

† Isa. xl. 22



more resembled a pigeon hole, than any thing else. But the sacred writers mention another kind of window, which was large and airy; it was called (חלון) halon, and was large enough to admit a person of mature age being cast out of it; a punishment which that profligate woman, Jezebel, suffered by the command of Jehu, the authorized exterminator of her family.

These large windows admit the light and the breeze, into spacious apartments of the same length with the court, but which seldom or never communicate with one another. In the houses of the fashionable, and the gay, the lower part of the walls is adorned with rich hangings of velvet or damask, tinged with the liveliest colours, suspended on hooks, or taken down at pleasure. A correct idea of their richness and splendour, may be formed from the description which the inspired writer has given of the hangings in the royal garden at Shushan, the ancient capital of Persia: "Where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple, to silver rings and pillars of marble."\* The upper part of the walls is adorned with the most ingenious wreathings and devices in stucco and fret-work. The ceiling is generally of wainscot, painted with great art, or else thrown into a variety of pannels with gilded mouldings. In the days of Jeremiah the prophet, when the profusion and luxury of all ranks in Judea were at their height, their chambers were ceiled with fragrant and costly wood, and painted with the richest colours. Of this extravagance, the indignant seer loudly complains: "Woe unto him that saith, I will build me a wide house and large chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it is ceiled with cedar, and painted with vermilion."† The floors of these splendid apartments were laid with painted tiles, or slabs of the most beautiful marble. A pavement of this kind is mentioned in the book of Esther; at the sumptuous entertainment which Ahasuerus made for the princes and nobles of his vast empire, "the beds," or couches, upon which they reclined, "were of gold and silver, upon a pave-

\* Esth. i. 6.

† Jer. xxii. 14.

ment of red and blue, and white and black marble.\* Plaster of terrace is often used for the same purpose; and the floor is always covered with carpets, which are for the most part, of the richest materials. Upon these carpets, a range of narrow beds, or mattresses, is often placed along the sides of the wall, with velvet or damask bolsters, for the greater ease and convenience of the company. To these luxurious indulgences, the prophets occasionally seem to allude: Ezekiel was commanded to pronounce a "woe to the women that sew pillows to all arm holes;"† and Amos denounces the judgments of his God against them "that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall."‡ At one end of each chamber is a little gallery, raised three or four feet above the floor, with a ballustrade in front, to which they go up by a few steps. Here they place their beds; a situation frequently alluded to, in the holy Scriptures: Thus Jacob addressed his undutiful son, in his last benediction: "Thou wentest up to thy father's bed, --- he went up to my couch."§ The allusion is again involved in the declaration of Elijah to the king of Samaria: "Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord, thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die."¶ And the Psalmist swore unto the Lord, and vowed unto the mighty God of Jacob, "Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed, --- until I find out a place for the Lord."|| This arrangement may likewise illustrate the circumstance of Hezekiah's "turning his face to the wall, when he prayed," that the greatness of his sorrow, and the fervour of his devotion, might as much as possible, be concealed from his attendants.¶ The same thing is related of Ahab, although we have no reason to think it was upon a religious account, but in order to conceal from those about him the anguish he felt, for his late disappointment; or, perhaps, by so great a show of sorrow, to provoke

\* Ezek. xiii. 8.

‡ 2 Kings i. 4. 16.

† Amos vi. 4.

|| Psalm cxxxii. 9.

‡ Gen. xlix. 4.

¶ 2 Kings xx. 2.

them to devise some means to gratify his wishes: "And he laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face, and would eat no bread."\*

The eastern beds consist merely of two thick cotton quilts, one of which, folded double, serves as a mattress, the other as a covering. Such was the bed of David, which could easily be carried, with himself in it, to the presence of Saul: "Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him:"† and that on which the paralytic was let down,‡ seemed to be of the same kind. It was, therefore, no difficult task which our Lord imposed upon the latter, to take up his bed and go into his house; nor, when properly explained, does it present to our minds an absurd or incongruous idea. No doubt, however, can be entertained, that the number of their mattresses and coverlets was increased or diminished, as more or less warmth might be required, and the proprietors could afford. An eastern bed occasionally consists of four or five parts, richly ornamented. Baron de Tott describes one in which he was expected to sleep, which had neither bedstead nor curtains; but consisted of many mattresses of quilted cotton, about three inches thick, placed one upon another, covered with a sheet of Indian linen, a coverlet of green satin, adorned with gold embroidery, in embossed work; two large pillows of crimson satin, covered with similar embroidery, and a profusion of gold and spangles, resting on two cushions, which served as a back, and were intended to support the head. The harlot's bed, of which she vaunted so greatly, was adorned after this manner: "I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved work, with fine linen of Egypt; I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon."§

When the houses were not contiguous, the staircase, according to the description of some travellers, was conducted along the outside of the house; but when they were built close together, it was placed in the porch, or at the entrance into the court, and continued through one corner of the gallery, or another, to the top of the

\* 1 Kings xxi. 4.

† 1 Sam. xix. 15.

+ Luke v. 19.

§ Prov. vii. 16.



house. For the sake of greater privacy, and to prevent the domestic animals from daubing the terrace, and by that means, spoiling the water which falls from thence into the cisterns below the court, a door was hung on the top of the stair, and kept constantly shut. This door, like most others to be met with in those countries, is hung, not with hinges, but by having the jamb formed at each end into an axle-tree or pivot; of which the uppermost, which is the longest, is to be received into a correspondent socket in the lintel, whilst the other falls into a similar cavity in the threshold. The stone door, so much admired by Mr. Maundrell, is exactly of this fashion, and very common in most places. "The staircase is uniformly so contrived, that a person may go up or come down by it, without entering into any of the offices or apartments; and, by consequence, without disturbing the family, or interfering with the business of the house. In allusion to this method of building, our Lord commands his disciples, when the Roman armies entered Judea, to "flee to the mountains;" and adds, "Let him that is on the house top, not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take any thing out of his house."\* They were commanded to flee from the top of the house to the mountains, without entering the house; which was impossible to be done, if the stairs had not been conducted along the outside of it, by which they could escape.

The roof is always flat, and to defend it from the injuries of the weather, to which it is peculiarly exposed in the rainy season, it is covered with a strong plaster of terrace. It is surrounded by a wall breast high, which forms the partition with the contiguous houses, and prevents one from falling into the street on the one side, or into the court on the other. This answers to the battlements which Moses commanded the people of Israel to make for the roof of their houses, for the same reason: "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement (מִקְדָּה) for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence."† Instead of the parapet wall, some ter-

\* Mark xiii. 15. and Matth. xxiv. 17.

† Deut. xxii. 8.



races are guarded, like the galleries, with ballustrades only, or latticed work. Of the same kind, probably, was the lattice or net, as the term (שֶׁבַע) shebaca seems to import, through which Ahaziah, the king of Samaria, fell down into the court.\* This incident proves the necessity of the law which Jehovah graciously dictated from Sinai, and furnishes a beautiful example of his paternal care and goodness; for the terrace was a place where many offices of the family were performed, and business of no little importance was occasionally transacted. Rahab concealed the spies on the roof, with the stalks of flax which she had laid in order to dry;† the king of Israel, according to the custom of his country, rose from his bed, and walked upon the roof of his house, to enjoy the refreshing breezes of the evening;‡ upon the top of the house, the prophet conversed with Saul, about the gracious designs of God respecting him and his family;§ to the same place, Peter retired to offer up his devotions;|| and in the feast of tabernacles, under the government of Nehemiah, booths were erected, as well upon the terraces of their houses, as in their courts, and in the streets of the city.¶ In Judea, the inhabitants sleep upon the tops of their houses during the heats of summer, in arbours made of the branches of trees, or in tents of rushes. When Dr. Pococke was at Tiberias in Galilee, he was entertained by the sheik's steward, and with his company supped upon the top of the house for coolness, according to their custom, and lodged there likewise, in a sort of closet of about eight feet square, formed of wicker work, plastered round towards the bottom, but without any door, each person having his cell.\*\*

It is extremely probable, that Saul, in like manner, was lodged upon the roof of Samuel's house, when he went to consult him about his father's asses; for it appears from the preceding statement, that the inhabitants of Galilee were accustomed to entertain and lodge a stranger whom they respected, upon the top of the

\* 2 Kings i. 2.      † Josh. ii. 6.      ‡ 2 Sam. xi. 2,      § 1 Sam. ix. 25  
 ¶ Acts x. 9.      ¶ Neh. viii. 16.      \*\* Harmer, vol. 1. p. 150, &c.

house. Our translators, indeed, understood the passage differently ; for they make Samuel invite Saul a second time to the roof of the house, before he sent him away : their version runs in these words : “ And they rose early ; and it came to pass about the spring of the day, that Samuel called Saul to the top of the house, saying, Up, that I may send thee away.” But the particle *to*, may be rendered *on* ; and the phrase will then be read, He called Saul on the top of the house, where he had slept all night, in an arbour, or closet of wicker work, and which he had not yet left. In this light, the Septuagint also seem to have understood the passage ; for they translate it : “ And they spread a bed for Saul upon the house top, and he slept.” Samuel might naturally enough wish to converse with his future sovereign a second time, before he allowed him to depart, upon a subject so interesting to them both, and to all the tribes of Israel ; but it will appear, from a careful inspection of the text, that they did not go up a second time to the roof of the house, for the moment “ Saul arose, they went out both of them, he and Samuel abroad.” But a Hebrew never expresses himself in this manner, when he means that one goes up to the roof : the words of the record plainly mean, they left the house, and did so without delay. This is confirmed by the next circumstance mentioned in the narrative, which followed immediately : “ As they were going down to the end of the city, Samuel said to Saul, Bid the servant pass on before us.” Every circumstance forcibly suggests the idea that, instead of going up to the terrace, they went into the street, and walked down to the end of the city, where the prophet had resolved to impart unto Saul the important message he had received from heaven. Hence, the future king of Israel slept on the roof of Samuel’s house, and there was called up at the dawn of the day, by the faithful servant of the Lord, to receive his inauguration, and return to his father.\*

But how pleasant soever the arbour, or wicker closet, upon the roof, may be during the burning heats of

summer, it must be very disagreeable in the rainy season. They who lodge in either at that time, must be exposed continually to the storm beating in upon them from every quarter. In allusion, perhaps, to this uncomfortable situation, Solomon observes: "It is better to dwell in a corner of the house top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house;"\* in a corner formed with boughs or rushes into a little arbour, which, although cool and pleasant in the dry and sultry months of summer, is a cold and cheerless lodge when the earth is drenched with rain, or covered with snow. The royal preacher, in another proverb, compares the contentions of a wife to the continual dropping of an arbour, placed upon the house top, in the rainy season, than which it is not easy to conceive any thing more disagreeable: "The contentions of a wife are a continual dropping;" an incessant and unavoidable cause of uneasiness or vexation." Instructed probably by his own feelings, harassed and goaded, as was meet, by the daily quarrels of his seraglio, he returns in a succeeding apophthegm to the subject: "A continual dropping in a very rainy day, and a contentious woman are alike."† It appears from these proverbs, that the booths were generally constructed in the corner, where two walls met, for greater safety; for, on the middle of the roof, they had been too much exposed to the storm. This is confirmed by Dr. Russel, who remarks in a manuscript note, that these booths in Syria are often placed near the walls: so minutely correct are even the most incidental observations of the inspired writers.

The custom of walking upon the roof in the cool of the day, to inhale the refreshing breeze, and to survey the surrounding scenery, may serve to explain another scripture incident of considerable interest, which does not appear to have been generally understood. It is thus recorded in the prophecies of Daniel: "At the end of twelve months, he (Nebuchadnezzar) walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon."‡ The true sense of the original is, "he walked upon the palace;" but this interpretation our translators have placed in

\* Prov. xxi. 9.      † Prov. xix. 13. and xxvii. 15.      ‡ Dan. iv. 29.



the margin, as more doubtful than the other. If Nebuchadnezzar walked in some apartment of his palace, it is not easy to account for the proud and rapturous exclamation which suddenly burst from his mouth—we can see no proper excitement, no adequate cause; but if we suppose him walking upon the roof of his palace, which proudly rose above the surrounding habitations, and surveying the vast extent, the magnificence, and the splendour, of that great city, the mistress of the world—its walls of prodigious height and thickness—its hanging gardens, reputed one of the most astonishing efforts of art and power—its glittering palaces—the Euphrates rolling his majestic flood through the middle of the place, shut in on both sides by strong bulwarks and doors of brass; it was quite natural for such a man to feel elated with the sight, and indulge his pride and arrogance in the manner described by the prophet.\*

When an oriental city is built upon level ground, one may pass along the tops of the houses from one end of it to the other, and escape into the country without coming down into the street; for the partition walls being only breast high, may be climbed over with ease. This peculiar structure of the eastern houses, affords another illustration, both of the propriety and practicability of that direction which our Lord gave his disciples, to flee to the mountains, without entering their houses, when the Roman armies invaded their country.

These statements enable us to explain, in a satisfactory manner, an incident in the history of our Redeemer, which has sometimes excited the profane mirth of unbelievers. It is thus described by the sacred writer: “And they came unto him, bringing one sick of the palsy, which was borne of four. And when they could not come nigh unto him for the press, they uncovered the roof where he was; and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed wherein the sick of the palsy lay.”† Among other pretended difficulties and absurdities relating to this fact, it has been

\* See Harmer's Obs. vol. 1. p. 275.

† Mark ii. 3, 4.



urged, that, as the uncovering or breaking up of the roof, as mentioned by Mark, or the letting a person down through it, as recorded by Luke, supposes the breaking up of tiles, spars, rafters, &c.: "So," says the infidel, "it was well, if Jesus, and his disciples, escaped with only a broken pate, by the falling of the tiles, and if the rest were not smothered with dust." But if the construction of an oriental dwelling be recollected, we shall find nothing in the conduct of these men either absurd in itself, or hazardous to others. Dr. Shaw contends, that no violence was offered to the roof, and that the bearers only carried the paralytic up to the top of the house, either by forcing their way through the crowd up the staircase, or else by conveying him over some of the neighbouring terraces, and these, after they had drawn away the *σέγγη*, or veil, let him down along the side of the roof (through the opening, or *impluvium*) into the midst of the court before Jesus. But this ingenious explanation is encumbered with several important difficulties. The natural and obvious idea which the text suggests to the mind, is, that the roof of the house was actually opened, and the paralytic let down through the tiling, or roof, into the upper apartment, where Jesus was sitting, while an elaborate process of criticism is necessary to elicit the sense of the learned author; this is a circumstance strongly in favour of the common exposition. Besides, he has produced no proof that *σέγγη* ever signifies a veil, for which the sacred writers, in particular, employ other words, as *Καλυμμα*. *Καταπετασμα*; but its usual meaning is the roof, or flat terrace of the house, and by an easy transition, the house itself.\* Nor has he assigned a sufficient reason for the use of the strong term *εξορυσαντες*, by which he is evidently embarrassed. He endeavours, in the first place, to get rid of it altogether, by observing that it is omitted in the Cambridge manuscript, and not regarded in the Syriac and other versions. But, conscious it could neither be expunged, nor disregarded upon such authority, he thinks "it may be considered as further explanatory of *ωστες εγχαπαν:*

\* Parkhurst.

or, as in the Persian version, referred either to the letting down of the bed, or preparatory thereto, to the making holes in it for the cords to pass through." But the word cannot, with propriety, be considered as a further explanation of ἀπεσπαραν; for it has quite a different meaning: it signifies to dig out, to break up, or pluck out; and always involves the idea of force and violence; but no violence, and but very little exertion was necessary, to fold back the veil, which was expanded by cords over the court. Nor can it be referred to the removal of other obstructions, for when the veil was removed, no further obstruction remained. It cannot, in this place, signify to tie the four corners of the bed or bedstead with cords, for it bears no such meaning in any other part of the holy Scriptures, or in any classic author: and since it is more naturally constructed with εἶναι than with κραδέναι, it ought to be referred to the former.

Pearce, in his *miracles of Jesus vindicated*, offers another solution: according to him, they opened the trap door, which used to be on the top of the houses in Judea, and which lying even with the roof, was a part of it when it was let down and shut. But, with regard to this exposition, Parkhurst justly observes, that the most natural interpretation of ἀποσπαραζειν, is to unroof, break up the roof, and that the verb is twice used by Strabo, as cited by Elsner and Wetstein, in this sense; which also best agrees with the following word ἐξορυσσάντες\*. The history, as recorded by the evangelists Mark and Luke, seems to be this: Jesus, after some days' absence, returned to Capernaum, and to the house where he used to dwell. And when it was reported that he was there, the people crowded to the square court, about which the house was built, in such numbers that there was no room for them, even though they filled the porch. The men who carried the paralytic, endeavoured to bring him into the court among the crowd; but, finding this impossible, they went up the staircase which led from the porch (or possibly came from the terrace of a neighbouring house,)

\* See also Schleusneri Lexicon.

to the flat roof of the house, over the upper room in which Jesus was, *καὶ ἐξορύξαντες*; and having forced up as much both of the tiles or plaster, and of the boards on which they were laid, as was necessary for the purpose, they let down the paralytic's mattress, *διὰ τῶν κεραμῶν*, through the tiles or roof, into the midst of the room before Jesus.\* This operation, under the careful management of these men, who must have been anxious not to incommode the Saviour and his auditory, could be attended with no danger. The tiles or plaster might be removed to another part of the flat roof, and the boards likewise, as they were broken up; and as for the spars, they might be sufficiently wide to admit the narrow couch of the sick man, without moving any of them from their places. It may be even inferred from the silence of the two evangelists, that the company suffered not the least inconvenience; and the infidel can produce the testimony of no writer in support of his insinuations. But though we are unable to remove the objection, or silence the ridicule of the unbeliever, it is in every respect better to abide by the natural and obvious sense of the passage.

To most of these houses, a smaller one is annexed, which sometimes rises one story higher than the house; and at other times it consists of one or two rooms only, and a terrace; while others that are built, as they frequently are, over the porch or gateway, have, if we except the ground floor, which they want, all the conveniences that belong to the house itself. They communicate with the gallery of the house by a door, and by another door, which opens immediately from a privy stair, with the porch or street, without giving the least disturbance to the house. In these back houses, as they may be called, strangers are usually lodged and entertained; and to them likewise the men are wont to retire from the hurry and noise of their families, to be more at leisure for meditation or amusement; and at other times, they are converted into wardrobes and magazines.

This annexed building is in the holy Scriptures

\* Parkhurst.



named (עליה) aliah; and we have reason to believe, that the little chamber which the Shunamite built for the prophet Elisha, whither, as the text informs us, he retired at his pleasure, without breaking in upon the private affairs of the family, or being in his turn interrupted by them in his devotions, was a structure of this kind. It is thus described by the Shunamite herself: "Let us make a little chamber, I pray thee, on the wall; and let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick; and it shall be that when he cometh to us, that he shall turn in thither."\* The internal communication of this chamber with the Shunamite's house, may be inferred, as well from its being built upon the wall which enclosed her dwelling, as from her having so free access to it, and at the second invitation, standing in the door while the prophet announced to her the birth of a son. The summer chamber of Eglon, seems to have been a structure of the same kind; whose communication with the street by a private staircase, is clearly ascertained from the unobserved escape of Ehud, after he had revenged Israel of that foreign oppressor: "And Ehud came unto him (Eglon), and he was sitting in a summer parlour, which he had for himself alone.---Then Ehud went forth through the porch, and shut the doors of the parlour upon him, and locked them.---And Ehud escaped while they tarried, and passed beyond the quarries, and escaped unto Seirath."† Such also was the chamber over the gate whither David withdrew, for the greater privacy to weep for Absalom, the door of which opened immediately down into the porch. On that mournful occasion, "David sat between the two gates; and the watchman went up to the roof over the gate, unto the wall." When the king received the distressing news of Absalom's death, "he was much moved, and went up to the chamber, over the gate, and wept."‡ To these may be added, the upper chamber, upon whose terrace Ahaz erected his idolatrous altars; and the inner chamber likewise, or, as it is better expressed in the original, a *chamber*

\* 2 Kings iv. 10. . . . † Judg. iii. 20.

‡ 2 Sam. xviii. 24, 33.



*within a chamber*, where the young man anointed Jehu.\* These were all structures of the like nature and contrivance with the Aleas, or back houses annexed to the dwellings of the wealthier and more fashionable inhabitants.

The method of building in the east, may assist us in accounting for the particular structure of the temple or house of Dagon, and the great number of people that were buried in its ruins, by pulling down the two principal pillars upon which it rested.† About three thousand persons crowded the roof, to behold while the captive champion of Israel made sport to his triumphant and unfeeling enemies. Samsom, therefore, must have been in a court or area beneath; and, consequently, the temple will be of the same kind with the ancient *τεμεν*, or sacred enclosures, which were only surrounded, either in part or on all sides, with some plain or cloistered buildings. Several palaces and *douwanas*, as the halls of justice are called in these countries, are built in this fashion, in whose courts, wrestlers exhibit for the amusement of the people, on their public festivals and rejoicings; while the roofs of these cloisters are crowded with spectators, that behold their feats of strength and agility. When Dr. Shaw was at Algiers, he frequently saw the inhabitants diverted in this manner, upon the roof of the dey's palace; which, like many more of the same quality and denomination, has an advanced cloister *over against the gate of the palace*,‡ made in the form of a large pent house, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else in the centre. In such open structures as these, the great officers of state distribute justice, and transact the public affairs of their provinces. Here, likewise, they have their public entertainments, as the lords of the Philistines had in the temple of their god. Supposing, therefore, that in the house of Dagon, was a cloistered building of this kind, the pulling down of the front or centre pillars, which supported it, would alone be attended with the catastrophe which happened to the Philistines.Δ

\* 2 Kings xxiii. 12. and ix. 2.

† Esth. v. 1.

‡ Judg. xvi. 26, 27.

Δ Shaw's Trav. vol. 1. p. 392

The extreme heat of the climate, obliged the orientals to fall upon various devices, to ventilate and cool their apartments. For this purpose, they made their doors large and their chambers spacious; but they soon found that such simple contrivances were insufficient, and that other methods of cooling their habitations were necessary. At Aleppo, this is accomplished by means of kiosks, which are a sort of wooded divans or stages, which project a little way from their other buildings, and hang over the street; they are raised about a foot and a half higher than the floor of the room, to which they are quite open; and by having windows in front and on each side, a great draught of air is produced, which makes them cool in the summer, the advantage chiefly intended by their construction. Another method of cooling their apartments is by ventilators.\*

The summer parlour, or, as Mr. Harmer translates it, the chamber of cooling, in which Eglon the king of Moab was sitting, when Ehud arrived with his present, was refrigerated, by some of these contrivances; and it may naturally be supposed, that the ventilators, the cupola, and other devices for producing a current of air in their chambers, were first employed in the palaces of kings and princes, and probably introduced at a very remote period. They were certainly known in the time of Eglon, as the name of his apartment, the chamber of cooling, clearly shews.

In the oriental regions, the oppressive heat requires the members of the same family, in general, to occupy each a separate bed. This, according to Maillet, is the custom in Egypt; where, not only the master and the mistress of the family sleep in different beds in the same apartment, but also their female slaves, though several lodge in the same chamber, have each a separate mattress. Yet Solomon seems to intimate, that a different custom prevailed in Canaan, and one which the extreme heat of the climate seems positively to forbid: "If two lie together, then they have heat, but how can one be warm alone?"† Mr. Harmer endeavours to solve the difficulty, by supposing, that two

\* Russel's Hist.

† Eccl. iv. 12.

might sometimes occupy one bed for medicinal purposes. It is certain that, in the case of David, it was thought a very efficacious method of recalling the vital warmth, when it was almost extinguished. But it is probable, that the royal preacher alludes rather to the nipping cold of a Syrian winter, when the earth is bound with frost and covered with snow, than to the chilling rigours of extreme old age. The cold in winter is very severe during the night in that country. Even in the day time it is so keen, that Jehoiakim, the king of Judah, had a fire burning before him on the hearth, when he cut the scroll in which the prophecies of Jeremiah were written, and committed it to the flames. This accounts in the most satisfactory manner for the remark of Solomon; for nothing surely can be more natural, than for two to sleep under the same canopy during the severe cold of a wintry night. The same desire of comfort, one would think, which induces them to separate in the summer, will incline them, at least occasionally, to cherish the vital heat by a nearer approximation, than sleeping in the same room. It is usual, through the east, for a whole family to sleep in the same room, especially in the lower ranks of life, laying their beds on the ground. To this custom our Lord alludes in the parable: "He from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not; the door is now shut, and my children are now with me in bed;" that is, my whole family are now a-bed in the same room with me: "I cannot rise to give thee."\*

The houses in the east were, from the remotest antiquity, lighted with lamps; and hence it is so common in Scripture to call every thing which enlightens the body or mind, which guides or refreshes, by the name of a lamp. These lamps were sustained by a large candlestick set upon the ground.† The houses of Egypt, in modern times, are never without lights; they burn lamps all the night long, and in every occupied apartment. So requisite to the comfort of a family is this custom reckoned, or so imperious is the power which it exercises, that the poorest people would

\* Luke ii. 17.

† Fleury's Manners, &c. p. 80.



rather retrench part of their food than neglect it. If this custom prevailed in Egypt and the adjacent regions of Arabia and Palestine in former times, it will impart a beauty and force to some passages of Scripture which have been little observed. Thus, in the language of Jeremiah, to extinguish the light in an apartment, is a convertible phrase for total destruction; and if it was the practice in Judea, as in modern Egypt, which can scarcely be doubted, to keep a lamp continually burning in an occupied apartment, nothing can more properly and emphatically represent the total destruction of a city, than the extinction of the lights: "I will take from them the light of a candle; and this whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment." Job describes the destruction of a family among the Arabs, and the desolation of their dwellings, in the very language of the prophet: "How oft is the candle of the wicked put out, and how oft cometh their destruction upon them."\* Bildad expresses the same idea, in the following beautiful passage: "Yea, the light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire shall not shine."† The light shall be dark in his tabernacle, and his candle shall be put out with him."‡ A burning lamp is, on the other hand, the chosen symbol of prosperity, a beautiful instance of which occurs in the complaint of Job: "Oh that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me, when his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light, I walked through darkness."§ When the ten tribes were taken from Rehoboam, and given to his rival, Jehovah promised to reserve one tribe, and assigns this reason, "that David my servant may have a light alway before me in Jerusalem."§

The orientals, in fitting up their houses, were by no means inattentive to the comfort and satisfaction arising from order and method. Their furniture was scanty and plain; but they were careful to arrange the few household utensils they needed, so as not to encumber the apartments to which they belonged. Their devices for this purpose, which, like every part of the struc-

\* Job xxi. 17.

† Job xviii. 5, 6.

‡ Job xxix. 4.

§ 1 Kings xi. 26.



ture, bore the character of remarkable simplicity, may not correspond with our ideas of neatness and propriety; but they accorded with their taste, and sufficiently answered their design. One of these consisted in a set of spikes, nails, or large pegs fixed in the walls of the house, upon which they hung up the moveables and utensils in common use, that belonged to the room. These nails they do not drive into the walls with a hammer or mallet, but fix them there when the house is building; for if the walls are of brick, they are too hard, or if they consist of clay, too soft and mouldering, to admit the action of the hammer. The spikes, which are so contrived as to strengthen the walls, by binding the parts together, as well as to serve for convenience, are large, with square heads like dice, and bent at the ends so as to make them cramp irons. They commonly place them at the windows and doors, in order to hang upon them when they choose, veils and curtains, although they place them in other parts of the room, to hang up other things of various kinds.\* The care with which they fixed these nails, may be inferred, as well from the important purposes they were meant to serve, as from the promise of the Lord to Eliakim: "And I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place."† Pins and nails, Dr. Russel observes in a manuscript note, are seldom used (at Aleppo) for hanging clothes or other articles upon, which are usually laid one over the other, on a chest, or particular kind of chair. This intelligent writer does not refuse that they are occasionally used in modern times; and it is evident, from the words of the prophet, that it was common in his time to suspend upon them the utensils belonging to the apartment: "Will men take a pin of it to hang any vessel thereon?"‡ The word used in Isaiah for a nail of this sort, is the same which denotes the stake, or large pin of iron, which fastened down to the ground the cords of their tents. These nails, therefore, were of necessary and common use, and of no small importance in all their apartments; and if they seem to us mean and insignificant, it is because they

\* Chardin's Trav.

† Isa. xxii. 23.

‡ Ezek. xv. 3.

are unknown to us, and inconsistent with our notions of propriety, and because we have no name for them but what conveys to our ear a low and contemptible idea. It is evident, from the frequent allusions in Scripture to these instruments, that they were not regarded with contempt or indifference by the natives of Palestine. "Grace has been shewed from the Lord our God," said Ezra, "to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place;"\* or, as explained in the margin, a constant and sure abode. The dignity and propriety of the metaphor, appears from the use which the prophet Zechariah makes of it: "Out of him cometh forth the corner, out of him the nail, out of him the battle bow, out of him every oppressor together."† The whole frame of government, both in church and state, which the chosen people of God enjoyed, was the contrivance of his wisdom, and the gift of his bounty; the foundations upon which it rested; the bonds which kept the several parts together; its means of defence; its officers and executors, were all the fruits of distinguishing goodness; even the oppressors of his people were a rod of correction in the hand of Jehovah, to convince them of sin, and restore them to his service.

Fires in winter are used but for a little while at Aleppo, which is considerably farther to the north than Jerusalem; and some there use none at all. The inhabitants of Egypt warm their houses in the same way. The use of charcoal in brasiers, to warm their large apartments, is rather confirmed by the circumstance mentioned in the gospel of John, that the servants and officers of the high priests, when Christ stood before the council, had made a fire of coals (for it was cold), and they warmed themselves; for this, it seems, was a fire of charcoal, not of wood. Chardin, agreeably to this idea, supposes that the fire which was burning before king Jehoiakim, in which he burnt Jeremiah's roll, was a pan of coals. In this way, persons of quality warm themselves in Persia, and particularly in Media, and wherever wood is easily ob-

\* Ezra ix. 8.

† Zech. i. 4.

tained. The manner in which they sit, will not allow them to be near a chimney; therefore in those places of the east, they have great brasiers of lighted coals.\* This, Mr. Harmer thinks, is the more probable, that the term (πρ) which the prophet uses, occurs no where else in the sacred volume, denoting a hearth. The Seventy render it εσχαρα; in the Vulg. arula, a little altar, a portable grate or brasier. Such contrivances were in use among the ancient Greeks, and are called by Homer λαμπτήρες in the Odyssey, where he says that Penelope's maids "threw the embers out of the brasiers upon the floor, and then heaped fresh wood on them, to afford both light and warmth."

But the words of the prophet are more favourable to the opinion of Dr. Russel, that it was a hearth, and not a brasier, near which the Jewish monarch was sitting; otherwise, the burning of the wood must have filled the house with smoke. Persons of quality at Aleppo, says that historian, have small winter chambers, which have a chimney and a hearth raised about a foot from the floor; and they even place their charcoal in a pan there, to avoid the deleterious effects of its fumes in a close place. Their mode of sitting is no impediment; the divan, or alcove is formed in the usual manner.

The natives of those countries, are careful to decorate their habitations with the choicest products of the vegetable kingdom. The quadrangular court in front of their houses, is adorned with spreading trees, aromatic shrubs, and fragrant flowers, which are continually refreshed by the crystal waters of a fountain playing in the middle. To increase the beauty of the scene, they cover the stairs which lead to the upper apartments with vines, and have often a lattice work of wood raised against the dead walls, upon which climbs a vine, or other mantling shrub.† This pleasing custom justifies Doddridge in supposing the occasion of our Lord's comparing himself to a vine, might be his standing near a window, or in some court by the side of the house, where the sight of a vine creeping

\* Chardin.

† Russel's Hist.



upon the staircase on the wall, might suggest this beautiful simile. This kind of ornament seems to have been very common in Judea, and may be traced to a very remote antiquity. From the familiar manner in which the Psalmist alludes to it, we may suppose it was one of the decorations about the royal palace : “Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine, by the sides of thine house : thy children like olive plants round about the table. Behold, that thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord.”\* Kimchi, a celebrated Jewish writer explains the psalm in the same way ; and observes, that a wife is compared to a vine, because that alone of all trees, can be planted in a house. In confirmation of Kimchi’s remark, Dr. Russel says, “It is generally true, if fruit bearing trees be intended, as the vine is almost the only fruit tree which is planted in the houses ; pomegranates are another.”

But the orientals were attentive to safety, not less than to convenience and pleasure. To secure their dwellings from the depredations of hostile tribes, that scoured their country in all directions in quest of plunder, they were forced to surround them with lofty walls. This mode of defence seems to have been adopted at a very remote period ; for the spies whom Moses sent into Canaan to view the country, reported that the cities were great, and walled up to heaven. The height of these walls, which by a bold oriental figure, dictated by the pusillanimous fears of the spies, are said to reach up to heaven, must have appeared to the people of Israel, unaccustomed as they were to warfare of that kind, and totally unprovided with the means necessary for besieging fortified places, a very serious obstacle to the accomplishment of their wishes. But the magnitude of it may be illustrated with the greatest advantage, from the accounts which modern travellers have given us of the present inhabitants of those deserts, who are much in the same circumstances as the people of Israel were when they came out of Egypt, whose attacks are effectually repelled by the lofty walls of one or two Christian monasteries.

\* Psal. cxxviii. 3.



The great monastery of mount Sinai, Thevenot says, is well built of good free stone, with very high smooth walls; on the east side there is a window, by which those that were within, drew up the pilgrims into the monastery with a basket, which they let down by a rope that runs by a pulley, to be seen above at the window, and the pilgrims went into it one by one, and so were hoisted up. These walls are so high, that they cannot be scaled, and without cannon that place cannot be taken.

The monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt, says Maillet, is a vast enclosure, with good walls, raised so high, as to secure this place from the insults of the Arabs. There is no entrance into it but by a pulley, by means of which people are hoisted up on high, and so conveyed into the monastery. No warlike apparatus which the Arabian freebooters possess, are sufficient for the reduction of these fortified places. The Israelites, not better provided for besieging strong holds, hastily concluded that the walled cities of Canaan, of which they heard such discouraging accounts, must oppose an unsurmountable barrier to their progress.\*

It is not to be supposed, that the descendants of Canaan, like the timid monks of Sinai, walled up their gates on the approach of danger, and permitted none to enter the place, but by means of a pulley; but if their gates had not been well secured, the precaution of raising their walls so high had been in vain. One method of securing the gates of fortified places, among the ancients, was to cover them with thick plates of iron; a custom which is still used in the east, and seems to be of great antiquity. We learn from Pitts, that Algiers has five gates, and some of these have two, some three other gates within them, and some of them plated all over with thick iron. The place where the apostle was imprisoned, seems to have been secured in the same manner; for, says the inspired historian, "When they were past the first and second ward, they came unto the iron gate, that leadeth into the city, which opened to them of its own ac-

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 1. p. 527

cord.”\* Pococke, speaking of a bridge not far from Antioch, called the iron bridge, says, there are two towers belonging to it, the gates of which are covered with iron plates, which he supposes is the reason of the name it bears. Some of their gates are plated over with brass; such are the enormous gates of the principal mosque at Damascus, formerly the church of John the Baptist. To gates like these, the Psalmist probably refers in these words: “He hath broken the gates of brass;”† and the prophet, in that remarkable passage, where God promises to go before Cyrus his anointed, and “break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron.”‡

But the locks and keys which secure these iron and brazen doors, by a singular custom, the very reverse of what prevails in the west, are of wood.§ The bolts of these wooden locks, which are also of wood, are made hollow within, which they unlock with wooden keys, about a span long, and about the thickness of a thumb. Into this key, they drive a number of short nails, or strong wires, in such an order and distance, that they exactly fit others within the lock, and so turn them as they please. The locks and keys which shut the doors and gates in countries adjacent to Syria, are fabricated of the same materials, and in the same form. But those cities which were fortified with more than ordinary care, had sometimes bars of brass or iron. In describing the superior and almost impregnable strength of Babylon, which Cyrus was chosen by the Almighty to subdue, the prophet particularly mentions the gates of brass and bars of iron. According to this view, the emphasis of the following passage is much greater perhaps than is commonly apprehended: “A brother offended, is harder to be won than a strong city; and their contentions are like the bars of a castle,” that are extremely difficult to be removed, both on account of their size, and of the strong and durable materials of which they are made.

In the capital of Egypt, also, all their locks and keys are of wood: they have none of iron, not even for

\* Acts xii. 10.

† Psal. cvii. 16.

‡ Isa. xlv. 2.

§ Russel's Hist.

their city gates, which may with ease be opened without a key. The keys or bits of timber, with little pieces of wire, lift up other pieces of wire that are in the lock, and enter into certain little holes, out of which the ends of the wires that are in the key have just expelled the corresponding wires; upon which the gate is opened. But to accomplish this, a key is not necessary: the Egyptian lock is so imperfectly made, that one may without difficulty open it with his finger, armed with a little soft paste. The locks in Canaan, at one time, do not seem to have been made with greater art, if Solomon allude to the ease with which they were frequently opened without a key: "My beloved put in his hand by the hole of the door, and my bowels were moved for him."\*

But, conscious that all these precautions were insufficient for their security, the orientals employed watchmen to patrol the city during the night, to suppress any disorders in the streets, or to guard the walls against the attempts of a foreign enemy. To this custom, Solomon refers in these words: "The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the wall took away my veil from me."† This custom may be traced to a very remote antiquity; so early as the departure of Israel from the land of Egypt, the morning watch is mentioned, certainly indicating the time when the watchmen were commonly relieved. In Persia, the watchmen were obliged to indemnify those who were robbed in the streets; which accounts for the vigilance and severity which they display in the discharge of their office, and illustrates the character of watchmen given to Ezekiel, who lived in that country, and the duties he was required to perform. If the wicked perished in his iniquities without warning, the prophet was to be accountable for his blood; but if he duly pointed out his danger, he delivered his own soul.‡ These terms, therefore, were neither harsh nor severe; they were the common appointments of watchmen in Persia.§ They were also charged to

\* Song v. 4.    † Song v. 7.    ‡ Ezek. xxxiii. 2.    § Calmet, vol. 3.



announce the progress of the night to the slumbering city: "The burden of Dumah; he calls to me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night? watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, the morning cometh, and also the night."\* This is confirmed by an observation of Chardin, upon these words of Moses: "For a thousand years in thy sight, are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night;" that as the people of the east have no clocks, the several parts of the day and of the night, which are eight in all, are announced. In the Indies, the parts of the night are made known, as well by instruments of music, in great cities, as by the rounds of the watchmen, who, with cries and small drums, give them notice that a fourth part of the night is past. Now, as these cries awaked those who had slept all that quarter part of the night, it appeared to them but as a moment. There are sixty of these people in the Indies by day, and as many by night; that is, fifteen for each division.

It is evident the ancient Jews knew, by means of some public notice, how the night watches passed away; but, whether they simply announced the termination of the watch, or made use of trumpets, or other sonorous instruments, in making the proclamation, it may not be easy to determine; and still less what kind of chronometers the watchmen used. The probability is, that the watches were announced with the sound of a trumpet; for the prophet Ezekiel makes it a part of the watchman's duty, at least in time of war, to blow the trumpet and warn the people.†

The watchman, in a time of danger, seems to have taken his station in a tower, which was built over the gate of the city. We may form a tolerably distinct idea of the ancient towers in Palestine, from the description which the sacred historian gives us of one, in the entrance of Mahanaim: "And David sat between the two gates, and the watchman went up to the roof over the gate unto the wall, and lift up his eyes and looked, and beheld a man running alone. The

\* Isa. xxi. 11.

† Ezek. xxxiii. 5. Harmēr's Obs. vol. 1. p. 33.



watchman cried and told the king; and the king said, If he is alone, there is tidings in his mouth. And the watchman saw another man running; and the watchman called unto the porter, and said, Behold, another man running alone; and the king said, He also bringeth tidings.\* When the tidings were announced, the historian observes, "the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate and wept." It is afterwards added, "Then the king arose and sat in the gate; and they told unto all the people, saying, Behold, the king doth sit in the gate; and all the people came before the king, for Israel had fled every man to his tent."

From this description, it appears, that the tower in the entrance of Mahanaim, had two pair of gates, at some distance from each other; in a small room, which was often found by the side of these fortified gates, the door of which opened into the passage between them, sat the king, waiting in fearful suspense, the issue of the contest, for it cannot be supposed he sat in the passage itself, which had been at once unbecoming his dignity, and incommodious to the passengers entering or leaving the city. We find a watchman stationed on the top of this tower, to which he went up by a staircase from the passage, which, like the roof of their dwelling houses, was flat, for the purpose of descrying at a distance, those that were approaching the place, or repelling the attacks of an enemy. The observations made by the watchman were not communicated by him immediately to the king, but by the intervention of a warder at the outer gate of the tower; and it appears, that a private staircase led from the lower room in which the king was sitting, to the upper room over the gateway; for by that communication, he retired to give full vent to his sorrow. The only circumstance involved in any doubt, is, in what part of this building he sat, (for it is evident he continued in some part of the gate,) when he returned his thanks to the army, for their exertions in his favour; or, in the language of the historian, "spake to the hearts of his

\* 2 Sam. xviii. 24. and xix. 8.

servants," and received their congratulations. It is somewhat uncertain, whether he gave audience to his people in the upper room, where he lamented in strains so affecting, the death of Absalom, or in the little chamber between the two gates, where he waited the arrival of the messengers, or in some other part of the building. The ancient custom of sitting in the gate on solemn occasions, rather favours the opinion, that David went down from the apartment above the gate, to the chamber in the side of the passage. This custom, which may be traced to the remotest antiquity, is still observed in the east; for when Pococke returned from viewing the town of ancient Byblus, the sheik and the elders were sitting in the gate of the city, after the manner of their ancestors.

The fortified cities in Canaan, as in some other countries, were commonly strengthened with a citadel, to which the inhabitants fled, when they found it impossible to defend the place. The whole inhabitants of Thebes, unable to resist the repeated and furious assaults of Abimelech, retired into one of these towers, and bid defiance to his rage: "But there was a strong tower within the city, and thither fled all the men and women, and all they of the city, and shut it to them, and gat them up to the top of the tower." The extraordinary strength of this tower, and the various means of defence which were accumulated within its narrow walls, may be inferred from the violence of Abimelech's attack, and its fatal issue: "And Abimelech came unto the tower, and fought against it, and went hard unto the door of the tower, to burn it with fire. And a certain woman cast a piece of millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all to break his skull"\* The city of Shechem had a tower of the same kind, into which the people retired, when the same usurper took it and sowed it with salt.† These strong towers, which were built within a fortified city, were commonly placed on an eminence, to which they ascended by a flight of steps. Such was the situation of the city of David, a strong tower, upon a high eminence at Je-

\* Judg. ix. 51.

† Verse 46.

rusalem ; and the manner of entrance, as described by the sacred writer : “ But the gates of the fountain repaired Shallum, unto the stairs that go down from the city of David.”\* It is extremely probable, that Ramoth Gilead, a frontier town belonging to the ten tribes, and in the time of Jehu, in their possession, was strengthened by one of these inner towers, built on an eminence, with an approach of this nature. If this conjecture be well founded, it throws light upon a very obscure passage, where the manner in which Jehu was proclaimed king of Israel is described.† His associates were no sooner informed that the prophet had anointed him king over the ten tribes, than “ they hasted and took every man his garment, and put it under him on the top of the stairs, and blew with trumpets, saying, Jehu is king.” Hence, the stairs were not those within the tower, by which they ascended to the top ; but those by which they ascended the hill, or rising ground on which the tower stood ; the top of the stair will then mean the landing place in the area before the door of the tower, and by consequence the most public place in the whole city. As it was the custom of those days to inaugurate and proclaim their kings in the most public places, no spot can be imagined more proper for such a ceremony, than the top of the steps, that is, the most elevated part of the hill, upon which stood the castle of Ramoth Gilead, in the court of which, numbers of people might be assembled, waiting the result of a council of war which was sitting at the time, deliberating on the best method of defending the city against the Syrians, in the absence of their sovereign.

Some of these towers, or citadels, were connected with idolatry, having a temple within them, or some apartment devoted to the worship of heathen gods ; or, perhaps the whole structure was committed to the patronage and protection of the tutelar deity of the place ; or, it might be used as a safe depository, where they laid up the votive offerings made to the idol. The strong hold in the tower of Shechem certainly had

\* Neh. iii. 15.

† 2 Kings ix.



some relation to Baal Berith, for it is stated by the historian, "When all the men of the tower of Shechem heard that (the city was taken) they entered into an hold of the house of the god Berith."

In the writings of Jeremiah and Amos, a distinction is made between winter and summer houses. Russel thinks they may refer to different apartments in the same house; but if the customs of Barbary resemble those of Palestine in this respect, it is better to understand them of different houses. The hills and valleys round about Algiers, according to Dr. Shaw, are all over beautified with gardens and country seats, whither the inhabitants of better fashion retire during the heat of the summer season. They are little white houses, shaded with a variety of fruitful trees and ever-greens, which, besides the shade and retirement, afford a gay and delightful prospect toward the sea. The gardens are all of them well stocked with melons, fruit, and pot herbs of all kinds; and what is chiefly regarded in those hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water. This account furnishes an easy exposition of a passage in the prophecies of Amos: "I will smite the winter house," the palaces of the great in fortified towns, "with the summer house," the small houses of pleasure, used in the summer, to which any foe can have access; "and the houses of ivory shall perish; and the great houses shall have an end, saith the Lord,"\* those that are distinguished by their amplitude and richness, built as they are in their strongest places, yet all of them shall perish like their country seats, by the irresistible stroke of almighty power.

To mitigate the burning rays of a vertical sun, the orientals endeavour to shade their dwellings with the branches and foliage of a spreading tree. When Sir Thomas Row went ambassador to Delhi, he found the dwellings of the inhabitants encircled with tall trees, under whose broad and deep shadow, they enjoyed a degree of coolness unknown to those in more exposed situations. In some places, their cities had the appearance of being situate in the midst of a forest, whose ir-

\* Amos iii. 19.



regular plantations, reared by the hand of nature, seem to retain almost all their native wildness. The houses in Egypt are sheltered in the same manner; every village is shaded by a small wood of palm trees; and in Barbary, the country seats are screened from the sun, by a variety of fruitful trees and evergreens.\* From several hints in Scripture, it appears, that the same custom of pitching their tents, or building their houses under the shade of a tree, prevailed in Palestine from the earliest times. Deborah the prophetess had her dwelling under the palm tree, between Ramah and Bethel; and Jericho was called the city of palm trees, because it was encircled with extensive plantations of that species; while perhaps every vacant spot within the walls, as in many cities of Hindostan, was crowded, and every street and alley lined, with that beautiful and valuable tree. But the frequent use of the expression, to dwell every man under his vine and under his fig tree, seems to intimate, that these species of trees were most commonly preferred by the people of Israel, for shading their dwellings. We may discover, perhaps, a reason for this preference, in the peculiar circumstances of that people. The whole surface of Canaan, which was not very extensive, was, by the command of God, surveyed and divided into small inheritances, the produce of which could do little more than furnish to each family a frugal supply of necessaries. It therefore became an object of great importance, to multiply and increase the means of subsistence as much as possible; to suffer no waste ground, but to make every corner put forth to the utmost, its productive powers. For this reason, the chosen people, formed, by that wise and gracious arrangement, to permanent habits of frugality and diligence, raised their habitations under the shade of the palm tree; or when the nature of the soil was more favourable to the cultivation of the vine and the fig, beneath their covert, where they found at once a delightful shelter and a delicious repast.

\* See de Tott, and Dr. Shaw.

## CHAP. IV.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE DRESS OF  
THE ORIENTALS.

**T**HE dress of oriental nations, to which the inspired writers often allude, has undergone almost no change from the earliest times. Their stuffs were fabricated of various materials; but wool was generally used in their finer fabrics; and the hair of goats, camels, and even of horses, was manufactured for coarser purposes, especially for sackcloth, which they wore in time of mourning and distress. Sackcloth of black goats' hair, was manufactured for mournings; the colour and the coarseness of which, being reckoned more suitable to the circumstances of the wearer, than the finer and more valuable texture which the hair of white goats supplied. This is the reason that a clouded sky is represented in the bold figurative language of Scripture, as covered with sackcloth and blackness, the colour and dress of persons in affliction. In Egypt and Syria, they wore also fine linen, cotton, and byssus, probably fine muslin from India, in Hebrew (כִּטְוָה) bouts, the finest cloth known to the ancients. In Canaan, persons of distinction were dressed in fine linen of Egypt; and, according to some authors, in silk, and rich cloth, shaded with the choicest colours, or as the Vulgate calls it, with feathered work, embroidered with gold. The beauty of their clothes consisted in the fineness and colour of the stuffs; and it seems, the colour most in use among the Israelites, as well as among the Greeks and Romans, was white, not imparted and improved by the dyer's art, but the native colour of the wool, being most suited to the nature of their laws, which enjoined so many washings and purifications. The general use of this colour, seems to be recognized by Solomon in his direction: "Let thy garments be al

ways white.”\* But garments in the native colour of the wool, were not confined to the lower orders ; they were also in great esteem among persons of superior station, and are particularly valued in Scripture, as the emblem of knowledge and purity, gladness and victory, grace and glory. The priests of Baal were habited in black ; a colour which appears to have been peculiar to themselves, and which few others in those countries, except mourners, would choose to wear. Blue was a sky colour in great esteem among the Jews, and other oriental nations. The robe of the ephod, in the gorgeous dress of the high priest, was made all of blue ; it was a prominent colour in the sumptuous hangings of the tabernacle ; and the whole people of Israel were required to put a fringe of blue upon the border of their garments, and on the fringe a riband of the same colour. The palace of Ahasuerus, the king of Persia, was furnished with curtains of this colour, on a pavement of red, and blue, and white marble ; a proof it was not less esteemed in Persia, than on the Jordan. And from Ezekiel we learn, that the Assyrian nobles were habited in robes of this colour : “ She doated on the Assyrians her neighbours, which were clothed with blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men.” It is one of the most remarkable vicissitudes in the customs of the east, that this beautiful colour, for many ages associated in their minds with every thing splendid, elegant, and rich, should have gradually sunk in public estimation, till it became connected with the ideas of meanness and vulgarity, and confined to the dress of the poor and the needy. In modern times, the whole dress of an Arabian female of low station, consists of drawers, and a very large shift, both of blue linen, ornamented with some needlework of a different colour. And if credit may be given to Thevenot, the Arabs between Egypt and mount Sinai, who lead a most wretched life, are clothed in a long blue shirt. To solve this difficulty, Mr. Harmer supposes, that “ the art of dyeing blue, was discover-

\* Eccl. ix. 8.



ed in countries more to the east or south than Tyre; and that the dye was by no means become common in the days of Ezekiel, though some that were employed in the construction of the tabernacle, and some of the Syrians in the time of Solomon, seem to have possessed the art of dyeing with blue. These blue cloths were manufactured in remote countries; and to them that wore scarcely any thing but woollens and linens of the natural colour, these blue calicoes formed very magnificent vestments. It does not appear, however, that the Jews ever wore garments wholly of this colour; and perhaps they abstained from it as sacred and mysterious, than which none was more used about the tabernacle and the temple, in the curtains, veils, and vestments belonging to these sacred edifices."

The Jewish nobles and courtiers, upon great and solemn occasions, appeared in scarlet robes, dyed, not as at present, with madder, with cochineal, or with any modern tincture, but with a shrub, whose red berries give an orient tinge to the cloth. Crimson or vermillion, a colour, as the name imports, from the blood of the worm, was used in the temple of Solomon, and by many persons of the first quality; sometimes they wore purple, the most sublime of all earthly colours, says Mr. Harmer, having the gaudiness of red, of which it retains a shade, softened with the gravity of blue. This was chiefly dyed at Tyre, and was supposed to take the tincture from the liquor of a shell fish, anciently found in the adjacent sea; though Mr. Bruce in his travels, inclines to the opinion, that the murex, or purple fish at Tyre, was only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal, as, if the whole city of Tyre had applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year. The children of wealthy and noble families, were dressed in vestments of different colours. This mark of distinction may be traced to the patriarchal age; for Joseph was arrayed by his indulgent and imprudent father, in a coat of many colours. A robe of divers colours, was anciently reserved for the king's



daughters who were virgins; and in one of these was Tamar, the virgin daughter of David arrayed, when she was deflowered by her own brother.

In these parts of the world, the fashion is in a state of almost daily fluctuation, and different fashions are not unfrequently seen contending for the superiority; but in the east, where the people are by no means given to change, the form of their garments continues nearly the same from one age to another. The greater part of their clothes are long and flowing, loosely cast about the body, consisting only of a large piece of cloth, in the cutting and sewing of which, very little art or industry is employed. They have more dignity and gracefulness than ours, and are better adapted to the burning climates of Asia. From the simplicity of their form, and their loose adaptation to the body, the same clothes might be worn with equal ease and convenience by many different persons. The clothes of those Philistines whom Samson slew at Askelon, required no altering to fit his companions; nor the robe of Jonathan, to answer his friend. The arts of weaving and fulling, seemed to have been distinct occupations in Israel, from a very remote period, in consequence of the various and skilful operations which were necessary to bring their stuffs to a suitable degree of perfection; but when the weaver and the fuller had finished their part, the labour was nearly at an end; no distinct artisan was necessary to make them into clothes; every family seems to have made their own. Sometimes, however, this part of the work was performed in the loom; for they had the art of weaving robes with sleeves all of one piece; of this kind was the coat which our Saviour wore during his abode with men. These loose dresses, when the arm is lifted up, expose its whole length: To this circumstance, the prophet Isaiah refers: "To whom is the arm of the Lord revealed"—uncovered—Who observes that he is about to exert the arm of his power?\*

The chosen people were not allowed to wear clothes

\* Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

of any materials or form they chose; they were forbidden by their law, to wear a garment of woollen and linen. This law did not prevent them from wearing many different substances together, but only these two; nor did the prohibition extend to the wool of camels and goats (for the hair of these animals they called by the same name), but only to that of sheep. It was lawful for any man, who saw an Israelite dressed in such a garment, to fall upon him and put him to death. The design of Moses, according to some writers, was to preserve the chosen and holy people from the horrid confusion, by incestuous and unnatural mixtures, which prevailed among the heathen. But, in the opinion of Maimonides, it was principally intended as a preservative from idolatry; for the heathen priests of those times, wore such mixed garments of woollen and linen, in the superstitious hope, it was imagined, of having the beneficial influence of some lucky conjunction of the planets or stars, to bring down a blessing upon their sheep and their flax.

The second restraint referred to the sexes, of which one was not to wear the dress appropriated to the other. This practice is said to be an abomination to the Lord; which plainly intimates, that the law refers to some idolatrous custom, of which Moses and the prophets always spake in terms of the utmost abhorrence. Nothing, indeed, was more common among the heathen, in the worship of some of their false deities, than for the males to assist in women's clothes, and the females in the dress appropriated to men; in the worship of Venus, in particular, the women appeared before her in armour, and the men in women's apparel; and thus the words literally run in the original Scriptures, "Women shall not put on the armour of a man, nor a man the stole of a woman." Maimonides says, he found this precept in an old magical book, "That men ought to stand before the star of Venus in the flowered garments of women, and women to put on the armour of men before the star of Mars." But whatever may be in these observations, it is certain, if there were no

distinction of sexes made by their habits, it would be in danger of involving mankind in all manner of licentiousness and impurity.\*

The ancient Jews very seldom wore any covering upon their head, except when they were in mourning, or worshipping in the temple, or in the synagogue. To pray with the head covered, was, in their estimation, a higher mark of respect for the majesty of heaven, as it indicated the conscious unworthiness of the suppliant to lift up his eyes in the divine presence. To guard themselves from the wind or the storm, or from the still more fatal stroke of the sun beam, to which the general custom of walking bare-headed particularly exposed them, they wrapped their heads in their mantles, or upper garments. But during their long captivity in Babylon, the Jews began to wear turbans, in compliance with the customs of their conquerors; for Daniel informs us, that his three friends were cast into the fiery furnace with their hats, or, as the term should be rendered, their turbans. It is not, however, improbable, that the bulk of the nation continued to follow their ancient custom; and that the compliance prevailed only among those Jews who were connected with the Babylonish court; for many ages after that, we find Antiochus Epiphanes introducing the habits and fashions of the Grecians among the Jews; and, as the history of the Maccabees relates, he brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat. Their legs were generally bare, and they never wore any thing upon the feet, but soles fastened in different ways according to the taste or fancy of the wearer.

The Talmudists enumerate eighteen several garments, which belonged to the full dress of an ancient Jew. A woollen shirt was worn next the skin, although some had shirts of linen in which they slept, because these were more cleanly and wholesome. But this part of their dress is to be distinguished from the *caftetan*, or shirt, which the bridegroom and the bride sent to each other; which they wore over their clothes

\* Lewis' Heb. Antiquities.

at their solemn festivals, and in which they were at last buried. Next to it was the coat, which reached to their feet, and was accounted a modest and honourable article of dress. This greatly aggravated the indignity which the king of Ammon offered to the ambassadors of David, by cutting off their garments in the middle to their buttocks: he insulted them, by spoiling the most esteemed part of their dress; he exposed them to shame, by uncovering their nakedness, as they seem to have worn no breeches under their upper garments. The tunic was the principal part of the Jewish dress; it was made nearly in the form of our present shirt. A round hole was cut at top, merely to permit the head to pass through. Sometimes it had long sleeves, which reached down to the wrists; at other times short sleeves, which reached to the elbow; some had very short sleeves, which reached only to the middle of the upper arm, and some had no sleeves at all. The tunic was nearly the same with the Roman stola; and was, in general, girded round the waist, or under the breast, with the zona or girdle. Descending to the ground, and floating round the feet, it was, in the days of our Lord, a distinguishing badge of the proud Pharisee: "Beware of the scribes," said he, "who love to walk in long robes;" in tunics at full length, and reaching to the ground. These coats were collared at the neck, and fringed at the bottom. Over the tunic they wore a blanket, which the Arabs call a hyke, and is the very same with the plaid of the Scotch Highlanders. These hykes are of different sizes, and of different quality and fineness. They are commonly six yards long, and five or six feet broad; serving the Kabyle and Arab for a complete dress in the day; and "as they sleep in raiment," like the Israelites of old, it serves likewise for their bed and covering by night.\* It is a loose, but troublesome garment, frequently discomposed, and falling upon the ground; so that the person who wears it, is every moment obliged to tuck it up, and fold it anew about his body. This shows the great use of a girdle whenever

\* Dent. xxiv. 18



they are concerned in any active employment, and by consequence, the force of the Scripture injunction, alluding to that part of the dress, to have our loins girded,\* in order to set about it with any reasonable prospect of success. The method of wearing these garments, and the use they are put to at other times in serving as coverlets to their beds, should induce us to take the finer sorts of them, at least such as are worn by the ladies and persons of distinction, to be the *peplus* of primitive times. Ruth's veil, which held six measures of barley, might be of a similar fashion, and have served, upon extraordinary occasions, for the same use; as were also the clothes, or upper garments, worn by the Israelites,† in which they folded up their kneading troughs, as the Arabs and others do to this day, things of similar burden and incumbrance, in their hykes. It is very probable, likewise, that the loose folding garment, the *toga* of the Romans, was of this kind; for if we may form our opinion from the drapery of their statues, this is no other than the dress of the Arabs, when they appear in their hykes.

Instead of the fibula, that was used by the Romans, the Arabs join together with thread, or with a wooden bodkin, the two upper corners of this garment; and after having placed them first over one of their shoulders, they then fold the rest of it about their bodies. The outer fold serves them frequently instead of an apron, in which they carry herbs, loaves, corn, and other articles, and may illustrate several allusions made to it in Scripture: Thus, "One of the sons of the prophets went out into the field, to gather herbs, and found a wild vine, and gathered thereof wild figs, *his lap full.*"‡ And the Psalmist offers up his prayer, that Jehovah would "render unto his neighbours seven-fold into their bosom their reproach."§ The same allusion occurs in our Lord's direction to his disciples: "Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom."|| It was also

\* Luke xvii. 8.  
§ Psal. lxxix. 12.

† Exod. xii. 13.  
|| Luke vi. 38.

‡ 2 Kings iv. 39.

the fold of this robe which Nehemiah shook before his people, as a significant emblem of the manner in which God should deal with the man who ventured to violate his oath and promise, to restore the possessions of their impoverished brethren: "Also, I shook my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out, and emptied."\*

Among the Arabs, a burnoose, which answers to our cloak, is often, for warmth, worn over these hykes. It is wove in one piece, strait about the neck, with a cape or Hippocrates' sleeve, for a cover to the head, and wide below, like a cloak. Some of them are fringed round the bottom; those without the cape seem to answer to the Roman pallium; and with it, to the *bardeneullus*. The cloak was also a common article of dress among the Jews, and is occasionally mentioned in the New Testament.

If we except the cape of the burnoose, which is only used in a shower of rain, or in very cold weather, several Arabs and Kabyles go bare-headed all the year long, as Cicero states Masinissa did, equally regardless of the summer's heat, or winter's cold: *Nullo frigore adducti, ut capite operto sit.*† To prevent their locks from being troublesome, they bound their temples with a narrow fillet; which is of the same fashion, and serves the same purpose, as the ancient diadem. But the Moors and Turks, with some of the principal Arabs, wear upon the crown of the head, a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth, round the bottom of which, the turban, as they call a long narrow web of linen, silk or muslin, is folded. The diadem was also a part of the Jewish head dress, and is mentioned by the prophet: "In that day, shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people."‡ The (מִצְנֶפֶת) mitsne-pheth, or turban, was used in the east as early as the days of Job; for the afflicted man declares: "I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe, and a diadem," or turban.§ In the prophe-

\* Neh. ix. 13.

† Cicero de Senectute.

‡ Isa. xxviii. 5.

§ Job xxix. 4.

cies of Ezekiel it denotes the turban of the king: "Thus saith the Lord God, Remove the diadem, and take away the crown," or turban; in Exodus, it signifies the turban of the high priest, in our translation, his mitre.\*

These cloaks and plaids they usually throw off, when they engage in any labour or exercise, and remain only in their tunics. Thus, when our Lord laid aside his upper garments, in order to wash the disciples' feet, he retained his coat or tunic, which he girded about his body with a towel, to prevent it from incommoding him during the operation. The apostle Peter, also, when he went a fishing, appears to have laid aside his upper garments, and prosecuted his labours in his shirt and tunic; for when he heard from the beloved disciple, that it was Jesus who stood on the shore, he girt his fisher's coat unto him, for he was naked, that is, without his hyke and burnoose; or what the same person, at the command of the angel, might have girded upon him, before he was enjoined to resume his garment. Now the hyke or burnoose, or both, being probably at that time the proper dress, clothing, or habit of the eastern nations, as they still continue to be of the Kabyles and Arabs, when they laid them aside, or appeared without one or the other, they might very probably be said to be undressed or naked, according to the eastern manner of expression. The king of Israel was said to be naked, although he was girded with a linen ephod; and among the Romans, a person was represented as naked who had laid aside his upper garment: *Rejecta veste superiore*.†

The girdle is an indispensable article in the dress of an oriental: it has various uses; but the principal one is to tuck up their long flowing vestments, that they may not incommode them in their work, or on a journey. The Jews, according to some writers, wore a double girdle, one of greater breadth, with which they girded their tunic when they prepared for active exertions: the other they wore under their shirt, around their loins. This under girdle they reckoned necessa-

\* Exod. xxviii. 4.

† Shaw's Trav. vol. 1. p. 403, &c.

ry to distinguish between the heart, and the less honourable parts of the human frame. The upper girdle was sometimes made of leather, the material of which the girdle of John the Baptist was made; but it was more commonly fabricated of worsted, often very artfully woven into a variety of figures, and made to fold several times about the body; one end of which being doubled back, and sewn along the edges, serves them for a purse, agreeably to the acceptance of *ζωνη* in the Scriptures, which is translated purse in several places of the New Testament.\* The ancient Romans, in this, as in many other things, imitated the orientals; for their soldiers, and probably all classes of the citizens, used to carry their money in their girdles. Whence, in Horace, *qui zonam perdidit*, means one who had lost his purse; and in Aulus Gellius, C. Gracchus is introduced, saying, those girdles which I carried out full of money when I went from Rome, I have at my return from the province, brought again empty.† The Turks make a further use of these girdles, by fixing their knives and poniards in them; while the writers and secretaries suspend in them their inkhorns; a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel, who mentions “a person clothed in white linen, with an inkhorn upon his loins.”‡ That part of the inkholder which passes between the girdle and the tunic, and receives their pens, is long and flat; but the vessel for the ink, which rests upon the girdle, is square, with a lid to clasp over it.§

To loose the girdle and give it to another, was among the orientals, a token of great confidence and affection. Thus, to ratify the covenant which Jonathan made with David, and to express his cordial regard for his friend, among other things, he gave him his girdle. A girdle curiously and richly wrought was among the ancient Hebrews, a mark of honour, and sometimes bestowed as a reward of merit; for this was the recompense which Joab declared he meant to bestow on the man who put Absalom to death: “Why didst thou

\* Matth. x. 9. and Mark vi. 8.  
Ezek. ix. 2.

† See Burder *in loc.*  
§ Shaw, vol. 1. p. 410.



not smite him there to the ground, and I would have given thee ten shekels of silver, and a girdle.”\* The reward was certainly meant to correspond with the importance of the service which he expected him to perform, and the dignity of his own station as commander in chief: we may, therefore, suppose it was not a common one of leather, or plain worsted, but of costly materials and richly adorned; for people of rank and fashion in the east, wear very broad girdles, all of silk, and superbly ornamented with gold and silver, and precious stones, of which they are extremely proud, regarding them as the tokens of their superior station, and the proof of their riches.

Many of the Arabian inhabitants of Palestine and Barbary wear no shirts, but go almost entirely naked, or with only a cloth cast about their bodies, or a kind of mantle. It is not improbable, that the poorer inhabitants of Judea were clothed in much the same manner as the Arabs of those countries in modern times, having no shirts, but only a sort of mantle to cover their naked bodies. If this be just, it greatly illustrates the promise of Samson to give his companions thirty sheets, or, as it is more properly rendered in the margin of our bibles, thirty shirts, if they could discover the meaning of his riddle. It cannot easily be imagined they were what we call sheets, for Samson might have slain thirty Philistines near Ashkelon, and not have found one sheet; or if he slew them who were carrying their beds with them on their travels, as they often do in present times, the slaughter of fifteen had been sufficient; for in the east, as in other countries, every bed is provided with two sheets; but he slew just thirty, in order to obtain thirty *sedinim* or shirts. If this meaning of the term be admitted, the deed of Samson must have been very provoking to the Philistines; for since only persons of more easy circumstances wore shirts, they were not thirty of the common people that he slew, but thirty persons of figure and consequence. The same word is used by the prophet Isaiah, in his description of the splendid and costly dress in which

\* 2 Sam. xviii. 11.

people of rank and fashion then delighted, rendered in our translation fine linen; which seems to place it beyond a doubt that they were persons of rank that fell by the hand of Samson on that occasion.

But it is by no means improbable, that these sheets were the hykes or blankets already described, which are worn by persons of all ranks in Asia. Pococke, who gives a description of this vestment, and of the manner in which it is wrapped about the body, which does not materially differ from the account of it in a preceding section, particularly observed that the young people, and the poorer sort about Faïume, had nothing on whatever, but this blanket; hence, it is probable, that the young man was clothed in this manner who followed our Saviour when he was taken, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body. "When the young men," (who came to apprehend Jesus,) "laid hold of" him, "he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked;" but this language by no means requires us to suppose that he was absolutely naked, but only that he chose rather to quit his hyke or plaid, than run the risk of being made a prisoner, although by doing so he became unduly exposed. This view is confirmed by the observations formerly made on the hyke and tunic; and by the state of the weather, which was so cold, that the servants of the high priest were compelled to kindle a fire in the midst of the hall to warm themselves. It is very improbable, that he would go into the garden on such a night so thinly clothed; and we have no reason to think he was so poor, that this linen cloth was the only article of clothing in his possession. But Mr. Harmer, and other expositors, considering that the apostles were generally poor men, and that the poor in those countries had often no other covering than this blanket, rather suppose, that the terrified disciple fled away in a state of absolute nudity. But if it was the apostle John, where was he furnished with clothes to appear almost immediately after in the high priest's hall? This difficulty Mr Harmer endeavours to remove, by supposing, that from the garden he might go to his usual place of residence in

the city, and clothe himself anew before he went to the palace.\*

The orientals always cast their mantle or cloak over them when they go abroad; and it has been observed already, that they use it as a blanket or coverlet when they go to sleep. For this reason, although Jehovah permitted his people to receive the upper garments of their neighbour in pawn, because he could do without them during the day; yet he commanded them in express terms, to restore such a pledge at night, because, said the lawgiver "It was his covering only, the raiment for his skin, wherein he slept."†

Their legs, it has been already observed, were generally bare; but some of them wore a sort of buskins, which were laced about the ankle, and reached up to the calf of the leg. Upon their feet they wore sandals, which were merely soles fastened with straps, made at first of raw hides, but afterwards of leather. When the sandals were taken off, the strings were of course untied, which it was the proper business of servants to do. John the Baptist alluded to this menial office, when he announced to the multitude the coming of Christ: "One mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose;" that is, I am not worthy to do the meanest office about the Messiah. When the sandals were untied, the feet were washed, to remove the impurities which this very imperfect contrivance could not prevent, and anointed with oil, to counteract the hurtful effects of heat.

Shoes were also in use among the natives of Asia; but their precise form cannot easily be ascertained. The difference between the sandal and the shoe is thus stated by the Talmudists: Shoes were of more delicate use, sandals were more ordinary and fitter for service; a shoe was of softer leather, a sandal of harder: There were sandals also whose sole or lower part was of wood, the upper of leather; and these were fastened together with nails. Some sandals also were made of rushes, or of the bark of palm trees, and they were all open both ways, so that one might put in his foot

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 4. p. 344, &c.

† Exod. xxii. 26.



either before or behind. Those of a violet or purple colour were most valued, and worn by persons of the first quality and distinction.

The use of shoes may be traced to the patriarchal age : Abraham protested to the king of Sodom, after his victory over Amraphel and his associates, " I have lifted up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread, even to a shoe latchet."\* And when the Lord appeared to Moses in the bush, he commanded him to put off his shoes from his feet, for the place on which he stood was holy ground.† In imitation of this memorable example, the priests officiated in the temple barefoot ; and all the orientals, under the guidance of tradition, put off their shoes when they enter their holy places. The learned Bochart is of opinion, that the Israelites used no shoes in Egypt ; but being to take a long journey, through a rough and barren wilderness, God commanded them to eat the passover with shoes on their feet ; and those very shoes which they put on at that festival, when they were ready to march, he suffered not to decay during the whole forty years they traversed the desert ; and, to increase the miracle, Grotius adopts the idle conceit of some Jewish writers, that their clothes enlarged as they grew up to maturity, and their shoes also underwent a similar enlargement. This was not impossible, but it seems to have been quite unnecessary ; for the clothes and shoes of those that died, might serve their children when they grew up ; and it was sufficiently wonderful, without such an addition, that their clothes should not decay, nor their shoes wear, nor their feet swell, by travelling over hot and sandy deserts for the long period of forty years.

It only remains to be observed, on this part of the subject, that no covering for the foot can exclude the dust in those parched regions ; and, by consequence, the custom of washing and anointing the feet, which is, perhaps, coeval with the existence of the human race, is not to be ascribed to the use of sandals. Whatever

\* Gen. xiv. 23.

† Exod. iii. 5.



covering for the foot may be used, Chardin declares, it is still necessary to wash and anoint the feet after a journey. It is also the custom every where among the Asiatics, to carry a staff in their hand, and a handkerchief to wipe the sweat from their face. The handkerchiefs are wrought with a needle; and to embroider and adorn them, is one of the elegant amusements of the other sex.

Persons devoted to a life of austerity, commonly wore a dress of coarser materials. John the Baptist, we are told in the sacred volume, was clothed in a garment of camel's hair, with a broad leathern girdle about his loins. It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that the finest and most elegant shawls, which constitute so essential a part of the Turkish dress, and are worn by persons in the highest ranks of life, are fabricated of camel's hair. These unquestionably belonged to the "soft raiment" worn by the residents in the palaces of eastern kings. But it is evident that the inspired writer intends, by the remark on the dress of John, to direct our attention to the meanness of his attire: "What went ye out for to see? a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that are in kings' houses wear soft clothing;" but the garments of John were of a very different kind. It is, indeed, sufficiently apparent, that the inhabitants of the wilderness, where John spent his days before he entered upon his ministry, and other thinly settled districts, manufactured a stuff, in colour and texture somewhat resembling our coarse hair cloths, of the hair which fell from their camels, for their own immediate use, of which the raiment of that venerable prophet consisted. In the same manner, the Tartars of modern times work up their camel's hair into a kind of felt, which serves as a covering to their tents, although their way of life is the very reverse of easy and pompous. Like the austere herald of the Saviour, the modern dervishes wear garments of the same texture, which they too, gird about their loins with great leathern girdles.\* Elijah, the Tishbite, seems to have worn a habit of camel's hair,

\* Chardin's Trav.

equally mean and coarse; for he is represented in our translation as a "hairy man," which perhaps ought to be referred to his dress, and not to his person. A garment of hair cloth was, in those times, the costume of a prophet; and was assumed occasionally by impostors, to enable them with greater ease and success to deceive their credulous neighbours: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he hath prophesied; neither shall they wear a rough," or hairy, "garment, to deceive."\* The prophet Isaiah was clothed in the same stuff, for God required him to "loose the sackcloth from off" his "loins."† Sackcloth of hair was deemed a badge of humiliation and self denial; and was probably, for this reason, selected as the most proper material for the official habiliments of an ancient prophet. Joel, accordingly, commands the priests and Levites: "Come, lie all night," or constantly, "in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God."‡ In allusion to the same mode of thinking, it is said, "the sun became black as sackcloth of hair."§ And Isaiah declares in the name of the Lord: "I clothe the heavens with blackness, I make sackcloth their covering."|| These statements throw light on that expression: "My two witnesses shall prophesy, clothed in sackcloth:"¶—arrayed in the official dress of ancient prophets, and like them, humble and self denied, but very jealous for the Lord God of hosts, and fearless in the discharge of their duty.

The habit of eastern females was also suited to their station; and women of all ages and conditions appeared in dresses of the same fashion; only a married woman wore a veil upon her head, in token of subjection; and a widow had a garment which indicated her widowed state. The daughters of a king, and ladies of high rank, who were virgins, wore a garment of many colours, reaching, as is supposed, to the heels or ankles, with long sleeves down to the wrists, which had a border at the bottom, and a facing at the hands, of a colour different from the garment: it was likewise em-

\* Zech. xiii. 4. † Isa. xx. 3. ‡ Joel i. 13. § Rev. vi. 12. || Isa. i. 3. ¶ Rev. xi. 3.

broidered with flowers, which, in ancient times, was reckoned both splendid and beautiful. Before the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, their wives and daughters had arrived at the greatest degree of extravagance in dress. The prophet Isaiah gives a long list of the vestments, trinkets, and ornaments in use among the ladies of Israel, in that remote age; the greater part of which, it is extremely difficult to describe. A common prostitute among the Jews was known, as well by the peculiar vesture she wore, as by having no covering upon her head, and her eyebrows painted with stibium, which dilated the hair, and made the eyes look black and beautiful. In the days of Jacob, the harlot seemed to have been distinguished by her veil, and by wrapping herself in some peculiar manner; for these are the circumstances that induced Judah to consider Tamar his daughter-in-law, as a woman of this character: "She put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a veil, and wrapped herself and sat in an open place, which is by the way to Timnath."\* When Judah saw her, he thought her to be a harlot, because she had covered her face. It may be justly inferred from this passage, that modest women did not constantly wear a veil in these days. Rebecca, indeed, put a veil upon her face when she met Isaac in the field; but it was a part of the marriage ceremony to deliver the bride covered with a veil from head to foot; and Rebecca, in this instance only followed the established custom of her country. Had it been the practice of modest women in that age to cover their faces, in the presence of the other sex, she would not have needed to veil herself when her future husband met her in the field. She seems to have had no veil when Abraham's servant accosted her at the well; nor, for any thing that can be discovered, was Rachel veiled at her first interview with Jacob; or if they did appear in veils, these prevented not a part of the face from being seen. The practice of wearing veils, except at the marriage ceremony, must, therefore, be referred to a

\* Gen. xxxviii. 14

later period, and was perhaps not introduced till after the lapse of several ages.\* These observations may serve to illustrate the address of Abimelech to Sarah: "Behold, he is to thee a *covering of the eyes*, unto all that are with thee; and with all other."† Sarah, you have not been used to wear the veil constantly when at home, as a person of your beauty and accomplishments should do, and by that circumstance we were tempted: but now I insist that you wear a covering, which, by concealing your beautiful countenance, may prevent such desires; and henceforward be *correct*, as the word may be rendered, that is, *circumspect*, and do not show yourself; or, as in our translation, thus she was *corrected, reprov'd*, by a very handsome compliment paid to her beauty, and a very handsome present paid to her brother, as Abraham is sarcastically termed by Abimelech."‡

In modern times, the women of Syria never appear in the streets without their veils. These are of two kinds, the *furrugi* and the common Aleppo veil; the former being worn by some of the Turkish women only, the latter indiscriminately by all. The first is in the form of a large cloak, with long strait sleeves, and a square hood hanging flat on the back; it is sometimes made of linen, sometimes of shawl or cloth. This veil reaching to the heels, conceals the whole of the dress, from the neck downwards; while the head and face are covered by a large white handkerchief over the head dress and forehead, and a smaller one tied transversely over the lower part of the face, hanging down on the neck. Many of the Turkish women, instead of the smaller handkerchief, use a long piece of black crape stiffened, which, sloping a little from the forehead, leaves room to breathe more freely. In this last way, the ladies are completely disguised; in the former, the eyes and nose remaining visible, they are easily known by their acquaintances.

The *radid* is a species of veil which Taylor supposes is worn by married women, as a token of their submission and dependance, and descends low down on

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 4. p. 253.

† Gen. xx. 16. Taylor's Calmet, vol. 1.

‡ Gen. xx. 16. Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.



the person. To lift up the veil of a virgin, is reckoned a gross insult; but to take away the veil of a married woman, is one of the greatest indignities that she can receive, because it deprives her of the badge which distinguishes and dignifies her in that character, and betokens her alliance to her husband, and her interest in his affections. This is the reason why the spouse so feelingly complains: "They took away my veil (ררר) from me."\* When it is forcibly taken away by the husband, it is equivalent to divorce, and justly reckoned a most severe calamity; therefore God threatened to take away the ornamental dresses "of the daughters of Zion," including the radidim, the low descending veils: "In that day, the Lord will take away --- the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils."†

The ordinary Aleppo veil is a linen sheet, large enough to cover the whole habit from head to foot, and is brought over the face in a manner to conceal all but one eye.‡ This custom is alluded to by the bridegroom, in these words: "Thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes."§ "Thy slightly opened veil, my consort, suffers only a part of thy fair countenance to be seen; yet that small part, though it be but a cheek or an eye, ravishes my heart: yea, when the still slenderer opening of thy veil, suffers but a single link of thy necklace to appear, that single link attracts my kindest regard, on account of the beauteous neck which it adorns."||

In Barbary, when the ladies appear in public, they always fold themselves up so closely in their hykes, that even without their veils, one can discover very little of their faces. But, in the summer months, when they retire to their country seats, they walk abroad with less caution; though even then, on the approach of a stranger, they always drop their veils. as Rebecca did on the approach of Isaac.¶ But, although they are so closely wrapped up, that those who look at them cannot even see their hands, still less their face, yet

\* Song v. 7.

† Isa. iii. 18, &c.

‡ Russel's Hist.

§ Song iv. 9.

¶ Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

¶ Shaw's Trav. vol. 1. p. 412.

it is reckoned indecent in a man to fix his eyes upon them; he must let them pass without seeming at all to observe them. In allusion to this rigorous custom, Job says, "I made a covenant with mine eyes; why then should I think upon a maid?" When a lady of distinction, says Hanway, travels on horseback, she is not only veiled, but has generally a servant, who runs or rides before her, to clear the way; and on such occasions, the men, even in the market places, always turn their backs till the women are past; it being thought the highest ill manners to look at them. Their ideas of decency, on the other hand, forbid a virtuous woman to lay aside, or even to lift up her veil in the presence of the other sex. She who ventures to disregard this prohibition, inevitably ruins her character. From that moment she is noted as a woman of easy virtue, and her act is regarded as a signal for intrigue. Pitts informs us, that in Barbary the courtesan appears in public without her veil; and in the book of Proverbs, the harlot exposed herself in the same indecent manner: "So she caught him and kissed him, and with an *impudent face*," a face uncovered and shameless, "said unto him, I have peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my vows."\*

The eastern females wear their hair, which the prophet emphatically calls the "instrument of their pride," very long, and divided into a great number of tresses. In Barbary, the ladies all affect to have their hair hang down to the ground, which, after they have collected into one lock, they bind and plait with ribands; a piece of finery which the apostle marks with disapprobation: "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel." Not that he condemns in absolute terms, all regard to neatness and elegance in dress and appearance, but only an undue attention to these things; his meaning plainly is: "Whose adorning, let it not chiefly consist in that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, but rather let it be the hidden man of the heart; in that which is

\* Prov. vii. 13, 14.

not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.”\* The way in which the apostle uses the negative particle in this text, is a decisive proof that this is his true meaning; it extends to every member of the sentence; and, by consequence, if it prohibit the plaiting of hair, it equally prohibits the putting on of apparel. But it never could be his design to forbid women to wear clothes, or to be decently and neatly dressed: therefore, the negative must have only a comparative sense, instructing us in the propriety and necessity of attending more to the dispositions of the mind, than to the adorning of the body. And as one inspired writer cannot, in reality, contradict another, the command of Paul must be explained in the same way, not as an absolute, but comparative prohibition: “In like manner, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shame-facedness and sobriety, not with,” or, according to this view, rather than with “broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.”† Where nature has been less liberal in its ornaments, the defect is supplied by art, and foreign is procured to be interwoven with the natural hair. The males, on the contrary, shave all the hair of their heads, excepting one lock; and those who wear their hair are stigmatized as effeminate. The apostle’s remark on this subject, corresponds entirely with the custom of the east, as well as with the original design of the Creator: “Does not even nature itself teach you, that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering.”‡ The men in the east, Chardin observes, are shaved; the women nourish their hair with great fondness, which they lengthen by tresses, and tufts of silk down to the heels. But this distinction, which the inspired apostle pronounces a dictate of nature, Mr. Harmer thinks was not uniformly observed, nor perhaps always regarded as of so much importance; for long hair was esteemed a beauty in Absalom; the words of the sacred record are: “And

\* 1 Pet. iii. 3.

† 1 Tim. ii. 9.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 14.

when he polled his head, (for it was at every year's end that he polled it; because the hair was heavy upon him, therefore he polled it), he weighed the hair of his head at two hundred shekels, after the king's weight."\* That the distinction was not uniformly observed, cannot be denied; for the effeminate in all ages refused to submit to it. But it will not follow, that it rose into greater importance under the pen of the apostle; rather, it was in the eye of nature's God of sufficient importance from the beginning, to merit the attention of his rational creatures; but it had been long forgotten, particularly among the heathen, who indulged, before their conversion to the Christian faith, in every sinful pleasure, and in every effeminate and unmanly practice. The apostle, therefore, by the direction of the Spirit, interposed his authority to restore it to the rank it was intended to hold, among the decencies and proprieties of life; and to its practical utility in distinguishing between the sexes. Mr. Harmer is incorrect in supposing, that the inspired historian mentions the length and weight of Absalom's hair with commendation: he describes it, on the contrary, as the instrument of his pride and vanity; as an object of general admiration among the courtiers and people of fashion; and perhaps as one of the means by which he stole the hearts of the thoughtless and the gay, who, less favoured by nature, might be proud to purchase it for the purpose of interweaving it with their own. So proud was that worthless person of his golden locks, that he wore them as long as he could endure their weight; and when he did poll them, at certain times, his vanity prompted him to have them weighed, that it might be seen how much they excelled those of other men; and, the more to expose his puerile extravagance, the weight is noted in the Scriptures of truth, as amounting to "two hundred shekels," which, estimating the shekel at  $92\frac{2}{3}$  grains, Paris weight, is equal to a little more than two Paris pounds. These facts the historian states in proof of Absalom's effeminacy, and to prepare his reader for adoring the retributive justice

\* 2 Sam. xiv. 26.



of God, in making these locks in which he gloried so much, and for which he was so greatly admired by the giddy multitude, the instrument of his destruction.

The assistance of art was often called in, to improve and enlarge the bounty of nature; and various medicaments were employed to render the hair thicker and stronger, to prevent it from falling off, and to improve its colour. For this purpose, it was washed with nitre, and anointed with an unguent, consisting of a decoction of parsley seed in wine, to which a large quantity of oil was added. This practice seems to have been quite common in Greece and Italy; and, indeed, no custom was more ancient, nor more generally received. It is distinctly mentioned by Homer, in his hymn to Vesta:

*Αἰεὶ τῶν πλοκαμῶν ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἐλαίον.*

“The humid oil is constantly flowing from thy tresses.” Among the Latin poets, Virgil sings of hair dropping with myrrh:

————— “crines

Vibratos calido ferro, myrrha que madentes.” *Æn.* 12.

And Horace adverts to the same custom in more than one passage:

“Pressa tuis balanus capillis

Jamdudum apud me est.” *Book 3. Ode 29.*

“O Mæcenas, there has been a long while for you in my house, some rose flowers and expressed essence for your hair.” In another Ode, congratulating his friend on his being restored to him and his country, he reminds him that he had often broken the day with him in drinking, having his hair shining with the Syrian unguents crowned with flowers:

————— “coronatus nitentes

Malobathro Syrio capillos.” *Book 2. Ode 7.*

These lines also furnish a proof of no inconsiderable force, that the ancient Romans received the custom of anointing their locks with unguents from the Syrians; and it is more than probable that the Jews learned from the same people, if they did not receive it from their common ancestors, for the Jews are a branch of the great Syrian family. It is certain the chosen people

were, at a very remote period, initiated in the art of cherishing and beautifying the hair with fragrant ointments. The head of Aaron was anointed with a precious oil, compounded after the art of the apothecary; and in proof that they had already adopted the practice, the congregation were prohibited, under pain of being cut off, to make any other like it, after the composition of it.\* The royal Psalmist alludes to the same custom in the twenty-third Psalm: "Thou anointest my head with oil;" and in his prophetic description of the Messiah: "Thou lovest righteousness and hatest iniquity; therefore, God thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows;"† in consequence of which, "his locks are bushy and black as a raven."‡ We may infer from the direction of Solomon, that the custom had at least become general in his time: "Let thy garments be always white, and let thy head lack no ointment."§

Yellow locks were held in high estimation among the eastern nations. The sentiments of the Greeks are thus attested by Homer: "Pallas stood behind, and seized the son of Peleus by the yellow hair."

Στη δ' ὀπίθεν ξανθῆς δε κομῆς ἔλε Πηλεΐωνα. *Il. b. l. l. 197.*

But this colour seems to have been connected with the idea of youthful beauty; for when he describes a person in the full maturity of age, without any symptoms of decay, or one invested with awful majesty, he adorns him with raven locks: When Jupiter gives his assent, he nods with his black eyebrows, at which the heavens and the earth tremble:

\* Ἡ καὶ κνανησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεύσε Κρονίων.

This idea was probably borrowed from the orientals; for, in the Song of Solomon, the immortal vigour and glorious majesty of the true God, the redeemer of the church, are represented under the same figure: "His locks are bushy and black as a raven."|| His immaculate purity and eternal duration are described by a different figure, which the classic bands of Greece and Rome, so far as the writer has observed, never imagin-

\* Exod. xxx. 32, 33.

§ Eccl. ix. 8.

† Psal. xlv. 7.

‡ Song v. 11.

§ Song v. 11.

ed; for of these attributes they had very low ideas indeed, and by consequence were at no pains to express them by appropriate metaphors. But the sacred writers, guided by the Spirit of God, and entertaining high and awful conceptions of the divine holiness and unchangeable duration, invested Jehovah with hair "like the pure wool."\* The whole description of the appearance, and providential government of God, is in a strain of sublimity, which leaves at an infinite distance below, the loftiest flights of Homer's muse: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him; and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set, and the books were opened." In the same style of awful sublimity, the apostle John describes the mediatory perfections of his Lord and Saviour: "His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow."† From the place which the hair of the head occupies in these descriptions of human and celestial beauty, we have a right to infer the very high value put upon it by the people of the east. It is indeed one of the most common ornaments which Homer bestows upon his countrymen under the walls of Troy; the well-haired Greeks is a phrase continually in his mouth.

After the hair is plaited and perfumed, the eastern ladies proceed to dress their heads, by tying above the lock into which they collect it, a triangular piece of linen, adorned with various figures in needle-work. This, among persons of better fashion, is covered with a *sarmah*, as they call it, which is made in the same triangular shape, of thin flexible plates of gold or silver, carefully cut through, and engraven in imitation of lace, and might therefore answer to (השחרנין) *has-heharnin*, the moon like ornament mentioned by the prophet, in his description of the toilette of a Jewish lady.‡ A handkerchief of crape, gauze, silk, or paint-

\* Dan. vii. 9.

† Rev. i. 14.

‡ Isa. iii. 18.

ed linen, bound close over the sarmah, and falling afterwards carelessly upon the favourite lock of hair, completes the head-dress of the Moorish ladies.\* The kerchief is adjusted in the morning, and worn through the whole of the day: in this respect, it differs from the veil, which is assumed as often as they go abroad, and laid aside when they return home. So elegant is this part of dress in the esteem of the orientals, that it is worn by females of every age, to heighten their personal charms. In Persia, the prophet Ezekiel informs us, the kerchief was used by women of loose character, for the purpose of seduction; for so we understand that passage in his writings: "Woe to the women that sew pillows to all arm holes, and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls."† The oriental ladies delighted in ornamenting their dress with devices of embroidery and needle-work; but it was chiefly about the neck they displayed their taste and ingenuity. To such decorations, the sacred writers often allude, which clearly shews how greatly they were valued, and how much they were used. Nor were they confined to the female sex; they seem to have been equally coveted by the males; and a garment of needle-work was frequently reserved, as the most acceptable part of the spoil, for the stern and ruthless warrior: the mother of Sisera, in the fondness of her heart, allotted to her son the robe curiously wrought with vivid colours on the neck: "To Sisera, a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle-work, of divers colours of needle-work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."‡

When these operations are finished, they proceed to tinge the hair and edges of their eye-lids with Al kahol, that is, the powder of lead ore. This singular and hazardous operation is performed by dipping first into the powder a small wooden bodkin, of the thickness of a quill, and then drawing it afterwards under the eye-lids over the ball of the eye. From this statement, we have a lively image of what the prophet may be

\* Shaw's Trav. vol. 1, p. 412.

† Ezek. xiii. 18. Taylor's Calmet, vol. 2.

‡ Judg. v. 30.



supposed to mean, by “renting the eyes” (not, as we render it, with *painting*, but) with (פך,) lead ore. The sooty colour, which is thus communicated to the eyes, is thought to add a wonderful gracefulness to persons of all complexions. The practice may be traced to a very remote period; for, besides the instance mentioned by Jeremiah, we find in the passage where Jezebel is said to have painted her face, the original words חָשְׁתָּ כֹפֹךְ עֵינֶיךָ, that is, she adjusted (or set off) her eyes with the powder of pouk, or lead ore.\* The prophet Ezekiel alludes to the same practice in these words: (כָּחַלְתָּ עֵינֶיךָ,) *cahailt anaich*, “Thou hast dressed thine eyes with Al ka-hol;” which the Septuagint render εἰς ἱζὺ τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς σκ, “thou hast dressed thine eyes with stibium.” They interpret the word pouk in the same manner, which, in our version, is to paint the face; whence it is probable that Pouk and Cahal, or, in the Arabic form Al kahol, meant the same thing; and were names of the same mineral which the modern orientals use for dressing their eye-lids. Dr. Shaw says, it is a rich lead ore pounded into an impalpable powder, that imparted a jetty blackness to the eye-lid, and set off the whiteness of the eye to great advantage. But, in attempting to ascertain the date of this custom, we must ascend to an age long anterior to those we have mentioned; for Keren-happuc, the name which Job gave to his youngest daughter, which signifies the horn of pouk, or lead ore, seems to relate to this practice, which was, perhaps, the invention of a still remoter period.

This method of tinging the eye-lids a jetty black, was imported into Egypt, and generally adopted by the inhabitants; for, among other curiosities that were taken out of the catacombs at Sahara, relating to the Egyptian women, Dr. Shaw had the opportunity of seeing a joint of the common reed, or *donax*, which contained one of these bodkins, and an ounce or more of this powder, agreeably to the fashions and practice of modern times. The custom was also received by the Greeks and the Romans; for, according to Xeno-

\* 2 Kings ix. 30.

phon, the eye-lids of Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, and the principal persons of his court, were dressed with lead ore;\* and both Dioscorides and Pliny speak of the power of stibium in dilating the eyes of women.†

The nose jewel is another ornament peculiar to the east, which the Jewish females were accustomed to wear. It is mentioned in several parts of Scripture; thus the prophet Ezekiel: "And I put a jewel on thy forehead;" or, as it should have been rendered, on thy nose. This ornament was one of the presents which the servant of Abraham gave to Rebecca, in the name of his master: "I put," said he, "the ear-ring upon her face;" more literally, I put the ring on her nose. They wore ear-rings besides; for the household of Jacob, at his request, when they were preparing to go up to Bethel, gave him all the ear-rings which were in their ears, and he hid them under the oak which was by Shechem.‡ The difference between these ornaments is clearly stated by the prophet: "I put a jewel on thy nose, and ear-rings in thine ears." The nose jewel, therefore, was different from the ear-ring, and actually worn by the females as an ornament in the east. This is confirmed by the testimony of Sir John Chardin, who says, "It is the custom in almost all the east, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold, and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between them, placed in the ring; I never saw a girl, or young woman in Arabia, or in all Persia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril." Some writers contend, that by the nose jewel, we are to understand rings, which women attached to their forehead, and let them fall down upon their nose; but Chardin, who certainly was a diligent observer of eastern customs, no where saw this frontal ring in the east, but every where the ring in the nose. His testimony is supported by Dr. Russel, who describes the women in some of the villages about Alep-

\* Xen. Cyrop. b. 1. sec. 11. † Dioscor. b. 3. ch. 99. and Pliny, b. 23. ch. 6.  
‡ Gen. xxxv. 4.

po, and all the Arabs and Chinganas (a sort of gypsies), as wearing a large ring of silver or gold, through the external cartilage of their right nostril. It is worn, by the testimony of Egmont, in the same manner by the women of Egypt. The difference in the statements of these travellers is of little importance, and may be reconciled by supposing, what is not improbable, that in some eastern countries they wear the ring in the left, and in others in the right nostril; all agree that it is worn in the nose, and not upon the forehead. Some remains of this custom have been discovered among the Indians in North America, where Lewis and Clark, in their travels to the sources of the Missouri, fell in with some tribes that wore a long tapering piece of shell, or bead, put through the cartilage of the nose.

Two words are used in the Scriptures to denote these ornamental rings, נֶזֶם and אָגִיל; Mr. Harmer seems to think they properly signified ear-rings; but this is a mistake; the sacred writers use them promiscuously for the rings both of the nose and of the ears. That writer, however, is probably right in supposing that *nezem* is the name of a much smaller ring than *agil*. Chardin observed two sorts of rings in the east; one so small and close to the ear, that there is no vacuity between them; the other so large, as to admit the forefinger between it and the ear: these last are adorned with a ruby and a pearl on each side, strung on the ring. The circle of some of these large ear-rings is sometimes four inches in diameter, and almost two fingers thick, made of several kinds of metals, wood and horn, according to the rank of the wearer. The remark of Chardin is certainly just, that nothing can be more disagreeable to the eyes of those that are unaccustomed to the sight; for these pendants, by their weight, widen so extremely the hole of the ear, that one might put in two fingers, and stretch it more than one that never saw it would imagine. That intelligent traveller saw some of these ear-rings with figures upon them, and strange characters, which he believed were talismans or charms; but which were probably the names and symbols of their false gods. The Indians say they are

preservatives against enchantment; upon which he hazards a very probable conjecture, that the ear-rings of Jacob's family were perhaps of this kind, which might be the reason of his demanding them, that he might bury them under the oak before they went up to Bethel.

Besides those ornamental rings in the nose and the ears, they wore others round the legs, which made a tinkling as they went. This custom has also descended to the present times; for Rauwolf met with a number of Arabian women on the Euphrates, whose ankles and wrists were adorned with rings, sometimes a good many together, which moving up and down as they walked, made a great noise. Chardin attests the existence of the same custom in Persia, in Arabia, and in very hot countries, where they commonly go without stockings, but ascribes the tinkling sound to little bells fastened to those rings. In the East Indies, golden bells adorned the feet and ankles of the ladies, from the earliest times; and from the banks of the Indus, it is probable the custom was introduced into the other countries of Asia.\*

The Arabian females in Palestine and Syria, delight in the same ornaments, and according to the statements of a recent traveller, seem to claim the honour of leading the fashion: "Their bodies are covered with a long blue shift; upon their heads they wear two handkerchiefs; one as a hood, and the other bound over it, as a fillet across the temples. Just above the right nostril, they place a small button, sometimes studded with pearl, a piece of glass, or any other glittering substance; this is fastened by a plug thrust through the cartilage of the nose. Sometimes they have the cartilaginous separation between the nostrils bored for a ring as large as those ordinarily used in Europe for hanging curtains; and this pendant in the upper lip covers the mouth; so that, in order to eat, it is necessary to raise it. Their faces, hands, and arms, are tattooed, and covered with hideous scars; their eye-lashes and eyes being always painted, or rather dirtied with some dingy black or blue powder. Their lips are dyed of a

\* Maurice's Hist. of the East Indies, vol. 2, p. 38



deep and dusky blue, as if they had been eating blackberries. Their teeth are jet black; their nails and fingers brick red; their wrists, as well as their ankles, are laden with large metal cinctures, studded with sharp pyramidal knobs and bits of glass. Very ponderous rings are also placed in their ears.

But the persons of the Assyrian ladies are elegantly clothed and scented with the richest oils and perfumes; and it appears from the sacred Scriptures, that the Jewish females did not yield to them in the elegance of their dress, the beauty of their ornaments, and the fragrance of their essences. So pleasing to the Redeemer is the exercise of divine grace in the heart and conduct of a true believer: "How much better is thy love than wine, and the smell of thine ointments than all spices! The smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon."\* When a queen was to be chosen by the king of Persia instead of Vashti, the virgins collected at Susana, the capital, underwent a purification of twelve months' duration; to wit, "six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours."† The general use of such precious oils and fragrant perfumes among the ancient Romans, particularly among ladies of rank and fashion, may be inferred from these words of Virgil:

"Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem

Spiravere: pedes vestis fluxit ad imos." *Æn. b. 1. l. 403.*

"From her head the ambrosial locks breathed divine fragrance; her robe hung waving down to the ground."

In the remote age of Homer, the Greeks had already learnt the lavish use of such perfumes; for, in describing Juno's dress, he represents her pouring ambrosia and other perfumes all over her body:

————— Ἀλκυονίδος δὲ λίπ' ἐλαίω,  
Ἀμβροσίω.

*Il. b. 12. l. 197.*

Hence, to an eastern lady, no punishment could be more severe, none more mortifying to her delicacy, than a diseased and loathsome habit of body, instead of a beautiful skin, softened and made agreeable with all that art could devise, and all that nature, so prodigal

\* Song iv. 10, 11.

† Esther ii. 12.

in those countries of rich perfumes, could supply. Such was the punishment God threatened to send upon the haughty daughters of Zion in the days of Isaiah: "And it shall come to pass, that instead of perfume there shall be ill savour; and instead of a girdle, a rent; and instead of well set hair, baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sackcloth; and a sun-burnt skin instead of beauty."\*

The description which Pietro della Valle gives of his own wife, an Assyrian lady, born in Mesopotamia, and educated at Bagdad, whom he married in that country, will enable the reader to form a pretty distinct idea of the appearance and ornaments of an oriental lady in full dress: "Her eye-lashes, which are long, and, according to the custom of the east, dressed with stibium, (as we often read in the holy Scriptures of the Hebrew women of old; and in Xenophon of Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, and the Medes of that line), give a dark, and at the same time a majestic shade to the eyes.

"The ornaments of gold, and of jewels for the head, for the neck, for the arms, for the legs, and for the feet, (for they wear rings even on their toes,) are, indeed, unlike those of the Turks, carried to great excess, but not of great value; for in Bagdad, jewels of high price either are not to be had, or are not used; and they wear such only as are of little value; as, turquoises, small rubies, emeralds, carbuncles, garnets, pearls, and the like. My spouse dresses herself with all of them, according to their fashion; with exception, however, of of certain ugly rings, of very large size, set with jewels, which, in truth, very absurdly, it is the custom to wear fastened to one of their nostrils, like buffaloes; an ancient custom, however, in the east, which, as we find in the holy Scriptures, prevailed among the Hebrew ladies, even in the time of Solomon.† These nose rings, in compliance to me, she has left off; but I have not yet been able to prevail with her cousin, and her sisters, to do the same; so fond are they of an old custom, be it ever so absurd, who have been long habituated to it."

\* Isa. liii. 24.

† Prov. xi. 22

## CHAP. V.

## ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MEALS AND PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE EAST.

IN Greece and other countries, they had their morning meal, consisting of bread and wine unmixed with water; but to eat and drink in the morning was considered in Israel as an act of debauchery; and Solomon pronounces a woe upon the land, when the people of rank and influence indulged in the pleasures of the table at such an unseasonable time: "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning." The Jews might, perhaps, take a slight repast like the Greeks, about sun rising, although this is very uncertain; but they neither sat down to meat, nor drank wine till after the morning sacrifice. The Syrians of the present day breakfast as soon as they get up in the morning, on a variety of solid food;\* which seems to indicate a change in the manners of the country in this instance. They dine about eleven o'clock in the forenoon in winter, and rather earlier in summer; and sup about five o'clock in the winter, and six in the summer. Their dinner is more sparing and short; their supper more rich and magnificent. Such also was the mode of living in the primitive ages of Greece and Rome; frugal and temperate, they thought it sufficient to take a moderate and hasty breakfast; and after the business and labour of the day was over, refreshed themselves with a plentiful meal.† In many parts of the New Testament, the supper is in like manner mentioned as the principal meal: "Herod on his birth day, made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee;‡ and in the parable, a certain man made a great supper, and bade many.§ When Jesus visited Lazarus and his sisters, on his way to the passover, "they made him a supper."||

\* Russel's Hist.

† Potter's Antiq. vol. 2. p 353.

\* Mark vi. 21.

§ Luke xiv. 16.

|| John xii. 2.

The entertainments among the Jews appear to have been all of one kind, provided at the expense of one man; we have no instance in Scripture of the *εἶμας* so common among the Greeks; an entertainment made at the common charge of all present, in which every man contributed his proportion. The materials of which the Jewish entertainments consisted, were at first plain and simple; these were commonly bread and milk, and fruits and herbs. Sparing in the use of flesh, like all the nations of the east, the chosen people usually satisfied their hunger with bread, and quenched their thirst in the running stream. So necessary were bread and water to their subsistence, that under these two words they comprehended every species of food. Their bread was generally made of wheat or barley, or lentiles and beans. Bread of wheat flour, as being the most excellent, was preferred; barley bread was used only in times of scarcity and distress. It must not however be omitted, that in making bread, barley was used before any other sort of corn; for it is reported, says Artemidorus, that this was the first food which the gods imparted to mankind; and it was, according to Pliny, the most ancient sort of provision. But in more civilized ages, to use the words of the same author, barley bread came to be food of beasts only; yet it was still used by the poorer sort, who were not able to furnish their tables with better provisions; and in the Roman camp, as Vegetius has informed us, soldiers who had been guilty of any offence, were fed with barley, instead of bread corn. An example of this punishment is recorded in the history of the second Punic war:—The cohorts that lost their standards, had an allowance of barley assigned by Marcellus.\* And Augustus Cæsar commonly punished the cohorts which gave way to the enemy, by a decimation, and allowing them no provision but barley.† So mean and contemptible, in the estimation of the numerous and well appointed armies of Midian, was Gideon, with his handful of undisciplined militia; but guided by the wisdom, and supported by the power of the living God, he inflicted a deserved

\* Liv. lib. 27.

† Suetonius.



and exemplary punishment on these proud oppressors. The meagre barley cake was put into the hand of Midian by the God of armies, as a punishment for disobedience of orders, not to make a full end of his chosen people. "And when Gideon was come, behold, there was a man that told a dream unto his fellow, and said, Behold, I dreamed a dream, and lo, a cake of barley bread tumbled into the host of Midian, and came unto a tent and smote it, that it fell, and overturned it, that the tent lay along. And his fellow answered and said, This is nothing else save the sword of Gideon, the son of Joash, a man of Israel; for into his hand hath God delivered Midian, and all the host."\*

In the first ages, they parched or roasted their grain; a practice which the people of Israel, as we learn from the Scriptures, long continued; afterwards they pounded it in a mortar, to which Solomon thus alludes: "Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among wheat, with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him."† This was succeeded by mills, similar to the hand-mills formerly used in this country; of which there were two sorts: the first were large, and turned by the strength of horses or asses; the second were smaller, and wrought by men, commonly by slaves condemned to this hard labour, as a punishment for their crimes. Chardin remarks in his manuscript, that the persons employed are generally female slaves, who are least regarded, or are least fit for any thing else; for the work is extremely laborious, and esteemed the lowest employment about the house. Most of their corn is ground by these little mills, although they sometimes make use of large mills, wrought by oxen or camels. Near Ispahan, and some of the other great cities of Persia, he saw water-mills; but he did not meet with a single wind-mill in the east. Almost every family grinds their wheat and barley at home, having two portable millstones for that purpose; of which the uppermost is turned round by a small handle of wood or iron, that is placed in the rim. When this stone is large, or expedition is required, a second person is

\* Judg. vii 13, 14.

† Prov. xxvii. 22.

called in to assist; and as it is usual for the women only to be concerned in this employment, who seat themselves over against each other, with the millstone between them, we may see the propriety of the expression in the declaration of Moses: "And all the first born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh, that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the first-born of the maid-servant, that is behind the mill."\* The manner in which the hand-mills are worked, is described in a clear and lively manner by Dr. Clarke, in his travels: "Scarcely had we reached the apartment prepared for our reception, when looking from the window, into the court-yard belonging to the house, we beheld two women grinding at the mill, in a manner most forcibly illustrating the saying of our Saviour: "Two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken and the other left." They were preparing flour to make our bread, as it is always customary in the country when strangers arrive. The two women, seated upon the ground opposite to each other, held between them two round flat stones, such as are seen in Lapland, and such as in Scotland are called querns. In the centre of the upper stone was a cavity for pouring in the corn; and by the side of this, an upright wooden handle for moving the stone. As this operation began, one of the women opposite received it from her companion, who pushed it towards her, who again sent it to her companion; thus communicating a rotatory motion to the upper stone, their left hands being all the while employed in supplying fresh corn, as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine."

When they are not impelled, as in this instance, to premature exertions by the arrival of strangers, they grind their corn in the morning, at break of day; the noise of the mill is then to be heard every where, and is often so great as to rouse the inhabitants of the cities from their slumbers; for it is well known they bake their bread every day, and commonly grind their corn as it is wanted. The noise of the millstone is therefore, with great propriety, selected by the prophet as

\* Exod. xi. 5.

one of the tokens of a populous and thriving country ; “ Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of millstones and the light of a candle, and their whole land shall be a desolation.”\* The morning shall no more be cheered with the joyful sound of the mill, nor the shadows of evening by the light of a candle ; the morning shall be silent, and the evening dark and melancholy, where desolation reigns.

The custom of daily grinding their corn for the family, shews the propriety of the law : “ No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge, for he taketh a man’s life to pledge ;” because if he take either the upper or the nether millstone, he deprives him of his daily provision, which cannot be prepared without them, and, by consequence, exposes him and all his house to utter destruction. That complete and perpetual desolation which, by the just allotment of heaven, is ere long to overtake the mystical Babylon, is clearly signified by the same precept : “ The sound of the millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee.”† The means of subsistence being entirely destroyed, no human creature shall ever occupy the ruined habitations more.

In the book of Judges, the sacred historian alludes, with characteristic accuracy, to several circumstances implied in that custom, where he describes the fall of Abimelech. A woman of Thebez, driven to desperation by his furious attack on the tower, started up from the mill at which she was grinding, seized the upper millstone, (פלחרכב) and rushing to the top of the gate, cast it on his head, and fractured his skull. This was the feat of a woman, for the mill is worked only by females : it was not a piece of a millstone, but the *rider*, the distinguishing name of the upper millstone, which literally rides upon the other, and is a piece or *division* of the mill : it was a stone of “ two feet broad,” and therefore fully sufficient, when thrown from such a height, to produce the effect mentioned in the narrative.

\* Jer. xxv. 10.

† Rev. xviii. 22.



It displays also the vindictive contempt which suggested the punishment of Samson, the captive ruler of Israel. The Philistines, with barbarous contumely, compelled him to perform the meanest service of a female slave: they sent him to grind in the prison,\* but not for himself alone; this, although extremely mortifying to the hero, had been more tolerable; they made him grinder for the prison, while the vilest malefactor was permitted to look on and join in the cruel mockery of his tormentors. Samson, the ruler and avenger of Israel, labours, as Isaiah foretold the virgin daughter of Babylon should labour: "Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin, daughter of Babylon; there is no throne, (no seat for thee) O daughter of the Chaldeans—Take the millstones and grind meal," but not with the wonted song—"Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness,"† there to conceal thy vexation and disgrace.

The females engaged in this operation, endeavoured to beguile the lingering hours of toilsome exertion with a song. We learn from an expression of Aristophanes, preserved by Athenæus, that the Grecian maidens accompanied the sound of the millstones with their voices, *των πτισσων αλλη τις ωδη*. This circumstance imparts an additional beauty and force to the description of the prophet: The light of a candle was no more to be seen in the evening; the sound of the millstones, the indication of plenty; and the song of the grinders, the natural expression of joy and happiness, were no more to be heard at the dawn. The grinding of corn at so early an hour, throws light on a passage of considerable obscurity: "And the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, Rechab and Baanah, went and came about the heat of the day to the house of Ishbosheth, who lay on a bed at noon; and they came thither into the midst of the house, as though they would have fetched wheat, and they smote him under the fifth rib; and Rechab and Baanah his brother escaped."‡ It is still a custom in the east, according to Dr. Perry, to allow their soldiers a certain quantity of corn, with other articles of provisions, together with some pay: and as it was the cus-

\* Judg. xvi. 21. † Isa. xlvii. 1. See Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3. ‡ 2 Sam. iv. 7.



tom also to carry their corn to the mill at break of day, these two captains very naturally went to the palace the day before, to fetch wheat, in order to distribute it to the soldiers, that it might be sent to the mill at the accustomed hour in the morning. The princes of the east, in those days, as the history of David shews, lounged in their divan, or reposed on their couch, till the cool of the evening began to advance. Rechab and Baanah therefore, came in the heat of the day, when they knew that Ishbosheth their master would be resting on his bed; and as it was necessary, for the reason just given, to have the corn the day before it was needed, their coming at that time, though it might be a little earlier than usual, created no suspicion, and attracted no notice.\*

In the cities and villages of Barbary, where public ovens are established, the bread is usually leavened; but among the Bedowcens and Kabyles, as soon as the dough is kneaded, it is made into thin cakes, either to be baked immediately upon the coals, or else in a shallow earthen vessel like a frying pan, called *Tajen*. Such were the *unleavened cakes*, which we so frequently read of in Scripture, and those also which *Sarah made quickly upon the hearth*.† These last are about an inch thick; and being commonly prepared in woody countries, are used all along the shores of the Black sea, from the Palus-Mæotis to the Caspian, in Chaldea and in Mesopotamia, except in towns. A fire is made in the middle of the room; and when the bread is ready for baking, a corner of the hearth is swept, the bread is laid upon it, and covered with ashes and embers; in a quarter of an hour they turn it. Sometimes they use small convex plates of iron; which are most common in Persia, and among the nomadic tribes, as being the easiest way of baking, and done with the least expense; for the bread is extremely thin, and soon prepared. The oven is used in every part of Asia; it is made in the ground, four or five feet deep, and three in diameter, well plastered with mortar. When it is hot, they place the bread (which is commonly long, and not

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 1. p. 433.

† Gen. xviii. 6.

thicker than a finger) against the sides ; it is baked in a moment. Ovens, Chardin apprehends, were not used in Canaan in the patriarchal age ; all the bread of that time was baked upon a plate, or under the ashes ; and he supposes, what is nearly self-evident, that the cakes which Sarah baked on the hearth, were of the last sort, and that the shew-bread was of the same kind. The Arabs about mount Carmel use a great stone pitcher, in which they kindle a fire ; and when it is heated, they mix meal and water, which they apply with the hollow of their hands to the outside of the pitcher ; and this extremely soft paste, spreading itself, is baked in an instant. The heat of the pitcher having dried up all the moisture, the bread comes off as thin as our wafers ; and the operation is so speedily performed, that in a very little time a sufficient quantity is made. But their best sort of bread they bake, either by heating an oven, or a large pitcher half full of little smooth shining flints, upon which they lay the dough, spread out in the form of a thin broad cake. Sometimes they use a shallow earthen vessel, resembling a frying-pan, which seems to be the pan mentioned by Moses, in which the meat-offering was baked.\* This vessel, Dr. Shaw informs us, serves both for baking and frying ; for the bagreah of the people of Barbary, differs not much from our pancakes, only, instead of rubbing the pan in which they fry them with butter, they rub it with soap to make them like a honey comb. If these accounts of the Arab stone pitcher, the pan, and the iron hearth or copper plate, be attended to, it will not be difficult to understand the laws of Moses in the second chapter of Leviticus ; they will be found to answer perfectly well to the description which he gives us of the different ways of preparing the meat-offerings. The precepts of Moses evidently bear a particular relation to the methods of preparing bread, used by those who live in tents, although they were sufficient for the direction of his people after their settlement in Canaan ; and his mentioning cakes of bread baked in the oven, and wafers that were baked on the outside of these pitchers, in the fourth

\* Lev. ii. 5.

verse, with bread baked on a plate, and in a pan, in the fifth and seventh verses, inclines Mr. Harmer to think, the people of Israel prepared their meat-offerings in their tents, which they afterwards presented at the national altar, rather than in the court of the tabernacle.

These pitchers, which the modern Arabs use for baking cakes of bread within them, and wafers on their outside, are not the only portable ovens in the east. Jerome, in his Commentary on Lamentations, describes an eastern oven as a round vessel of brass, whose sides are blackened by the surrounding fire. Such, it is probable, were the ovens mentioned by Moses, and used in the east, long before the age in which he flourished.

Mr. Jackson, in his Journey over land from India, gives an account of an eastern oven, equally instructive and amusing, as it confirms the statements of ancient travellers, and shews the surprising expertness of the Arabian women in baking their bread. "They have a small place built with clay, between two and three feet high, having a hole at the bottom for the convenience of drawing out the ashes, something similar to a lime kiln. The oven (which he thinks the most proper name for this place,) is usually about fifteen inches wide at top, and gradually widening to the bottom. It is heated with wood; and when sufficiently hot, and perfectly clear from the smoke, having nothing but clear embers at the bottom, which continue to reflect great heat, they prepare the dough in a large bowl, and mould the cakes to the desired size on a board, or stone, placed near the oven. After they have kneaded the cake to a proper consistence, they pat it a little, then toss it about with great dexterity in one hand, till it is as thin as they choose to make it. They then wet one side of it with water, at the same time wetting the hand and arm with which they put it into the oven. The side of the cake adheres fast to the side of the oven, till it is sufficiently baked, when, if not paid proper attention to, it would fall down among the embers. If they were not exceedingly quick at this work, the heat of the oven would burn their arms; but they perform it with such an amazing dexterity, that



one woman will continue keeping three or four cakes in the oven at once, till she has done baking. This mode, he adds, requires not half the fuel that is consumed in Europe."

In this way Tamer seems to have prepared the cakes for her brother Amnon: "She took flour and made dough, and kneaded it into a proper consistence, (*vattilabbeb*) and tossed it about in her hand; (*vathebasha*) and dressed or baked the cakes in his sight." Nor should it appear strange that a king's daughter, in the reign of David, was employed in this menial service; for Dr. Russel says, the eastern ladies often prepare cakes and other things in their own apartments; and some few particular dishes are cooked by themselves, but not in their apartments: on such occasions they go to some room near the kitchen.

The eastern bread is made in small, thin, moist cakes: it must be eaten new, and is unfit for use when kept longer than a day. Both Russel and Rauwolff, however, mention several kinds of bread and cakes; some which are done with yolks of eggs; some which are mixed with coriander and other seeds; and some which are strewed with them; and Pitts describes a kind of biscuits, which the Mahometan pilgrims carry from Egypt to Mecca, and back again, perfectly fresh and good.

The holy Scriptures accord with the narratives of modern travellers, in representing the oriental loaves as very small, three of them being required for the repast of a single person: "Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, friend, lend me three loaves: for a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him?"\* It appears also from the history of Abraham, and particularly from his entertaining the three angels, that they were generally eaten new, and baked as they were needed. Sometimes, however, they were made to keep several days; for the shew-bread might be eaten after it had stood a week before the Lord. The pretence of the Gibeonites, that their bread had become mouldy from the length of the road, although it

\* Luke xi. 5, 6.



was taken fresh from the oven when they left home, proves, that bread for a journey was made to keep a considerable time. In every one of these minute circumstances, the sacred volume perfectly corresponds with the statements of modern travellers.

One species of bread used in ancient Palestine, bears the name of nekoudim, in the history of the kings, about the meaning of which, some diversity of opinion prevails. The word occurs in the instructions which Jeroboam gave to his wife, and is rendered cracknels in our translation: "And Jeroboam said to his wife,—take with thee ten loaves, and (נקודים) cracknels, and a cruise of honey, and go to him; he shall tell thee what shall become of the child." Buxtorf supposes, that the original term signifies biscuits, either because they were formed into little buttons, or because they were pricked full of holes in a particular manner. The last idea was adopted by our translators; for cracknels are a sort of bread which is full of holes, and formed into a flourish of lattice work. But the word is derived from a participle, which nowhere signifies pierced with holes, or formed into net work, but spotted or speckled. It is accordingly used by Moses, to signify those cattle in the flocks of Laban, which were marked with spots.\* In the book of Joshua, it denotes those mouldy spots on the bread of the Gibeonites, which they pretended the length of their journey had occasioned.† In the feminine gender, it denotes studs or spots of silver; and is rendered in the Septuagint, *συμματα*; and by the Vulgate, *vermiculatas*, inlaid.‡ The idea of Mr. Harmer is, therefore, to be preferred, that it denotes cakes or loaves strewed, and by consequence spotted with coriander and other seeds; a sort of bread which is still quite common in Syria, and many other countries of the east.

In primitive times, an oven was designed only to serve a single family, and to bake for them no more than the bread of one day; a custom which still continues in some places of the east; but the increase of population in the cities, higher degrees of refinement, or other causes in the progress of time, suggested the

\* Gen. xxxiii. 32, 33.

† Josh. ix. 12.

‡ Song i 11.

establishment of public bakehouses. They seem to have been introduced into Judea long before the captivity; for the prophet Jeremiah speaks of "the baker's street," in the most familiar manner, as a place well known.\* This, however, might be only a temporary establishment, to supply the wants of the soldiers assembled from other places, to defend Jerusalem. If they received a daily allowance of bread, as is the practice still in some eastern countries, from the royal bakehouses, the order of the king to give the prophet daily a piece of bread, out of the street where they were erected, in the same manner as the defenders of the city, was perfectly natural. The custom alluded to, still maintains its ground at Algiers, where the unmarried soldiers receive every day from the public bakehouses, a certain number of loaves.† Pitts indeed asserts, that the Algerines have public bakehouses for the accommodation of the whole city. The women prepare their dough at home, and the bakers send their boys about the streets, to give notice of their being ready to receive and carry it to the bakehouses. † They bake their cakes every day, or every other day, and give the boy who brings the bread home, a piece or little cake for the baking, which is sold by the baker. Small as the eastern loaves are, it appears from this account, that they give a piece of one only to the baker, as a reward for his trouble. This will perhaps illustrate Ezekiel's account of the false prophets, receiving pieces of bread by way of gratuities: "And will ye pollute me among my people, for handfuls of barley, and pieces of bread?"‡ These are compensations still used in the east, but of the meanest kind, and for services of the lowest sort.

They have other ways of preparing their corn for food, besides making it into bread. Burgle is very commonly used among the Christians of Aleppo; which is wheat boiled, then bruised in a mill so as to separate it from the husk, after which it is dried, and laid up for use. The drying of burgle, though mentioned by some writers as a modern operation, seems to throw light

\* Jer. xxxvii. 21.

† Dr. Shaw's Trav.

‡ Ezek. xiii. 19.

upon a remarkable passage in the history of David ; the concealment of his two spies in a well whose mouth was covered with corn. The custom of exposing corn in this way, must have been very common in Judea, else it had rather excited suspicion in the minds of the pursuers, than diverted their attention from the spot where the spies were concealed. That the well's mouth was covered on that occasion with burgle or boiled wheat, is exceedingly probable ; for Dr. Russel observes, that in preparing it after it has been softened in warm water, it is commonly laid out in the court-yard to dry. It could not be flour or meal ; for they grind it only in small quantities, and as they want it, and never are known to expose it in this manner. Bishop Patrick supposes it was corn newly thrashed out, she pretended to dry ; but if this was practised at all, of which we have no evidence, it was by no means common, and therefore calculated rather to betray, than to conceal the spies. Besides, the same word is used to signify corn beaten in a mortar with a pestle,\* not on the barn floor with a thrashing instrument ; now burgle is actually pounded in this manner. It was therefore burgle or boiled wheat, which d'Arvieux expressly says is dried in the sun ; adding, that they prepare a whole year's provision of it at once. This is the reason that neither the exposure of the corn, nor the large quantity, produced the least suspicion ; every circumstance accorded with the public usage of the country, and by consequence, the preparation of this species of food is as ancient as the days of David.†

Sawick is a different preparation, and consists of corn parched in the ear ; it is made, as well of barley and rice, as of wheat. It is never called in the inspired volume, parched flour or meal, but always parched corn ; and by consequence, seems to remain after the roasting, and to be eaten in the state of corn. In confirmation of this idea, we may quote a fact stated by Hasselquist, that in journeying from Acre to Sidon, he saw a shepherd eating his dinner, consisting of half ripe ears of wheat roasted, which he eat, says the traveller, with as good an appetite as a Turk does his pillaw.

The same kind of food, he says, is much used in Egypt by the poor; they roast the ears of Turkish wheat or millet; but it is in his account far inferior to bread. Dr. Shaw is of a different opinion; he supposes the kali, or parched corn of the Scriptures, which he translates parched pulse, means parched cicers. But we frequently read in Scripture of dried or parched corn; and the word used in those passages, is most naturally to be understood of corn, and not of pulse. Besides, Rauwolff asserts that cicers are used in the east only as a part of the desert after their meals. But it cannot be reasonably supposed, that Boaz would entertain his reapers with things of this kind; or that those fruits which in modern times are used only in deserts, formed the principal part of a reaper's meal, in the field of so wealthy a proprietor. This, however, the opinion of Dr. Shaw requires to be supposed; for it is said in the inspired record, "He reached Ruth parched corn, and she did eat, and was sufficed, and left."\* Nor can it well be supposed, that a trifling article in a desert would have been thought of so much importance by an inspired writer, as to obtain a prominent place in his account of the provisions with which the armies of Israel were supplied, immediately after crossing the Jordan: "And they did eat of the old corn of the land, on the morrow after the passover, unleavened cakes, and parched cicers (corn) in the self same day."† Would an inspired writer say, as if he had been recording some very important matter, that the manna ceased after they had enjoyed a desert of cicers? If not, the word kali must refer, not to cicers or any other pulse, but to parched corn, as it is properly rendered in our translation, an article of great importance in the daily sustenance of that people. The justice of these remarks is fully verified by the list of provisions which the nobles of Israel, on the other side of Jordan, sent to David, when he fled before his son Absalom, in which parched corn and parched pulse are mentioned in different parts of the statement, and as distinct articles: "They brought wheat, and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and

\* Ruth ii. 14.

† Josh. v. 11.



beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse,"\* to which class the cicer belongs ; therefore, they cannot be reckoned the same, without charging the inspired historian with an idle tautology. Nor is it reasonable to suppose, that he meant the flour of dried or parched grain ; for why then does he continue to call it corn ? When reduced to flour or meal, it is no longer in the state of corn, and is never, in any writing that has the least pretensions to accuracy, called by that name. In the same passage, the sacred writer distinguishes the wheat and barley from the flour of these grains ; what satisfactory reason then can be assigned for his calling the flour of dried or roasted grain, by the strange and deceptive name of parched corn ? Is it not much more natural to suppose, the reason is, because it was roasted in the ear, and eaten in that state ? This accords with fact ; for Hasselquist actually saw roasted ears of corn eaten to dinner in Palestine. It is not meant to deny that they used flour of parched corn ; this they frequently did ; but they never called it parched corn, but uniformly gave it the appropriate name of flour.

In preparing their victuals, the orientals are, from the extreme scarcity of wood in many countries, reduced to use cow dung for fuel. At Aleppo, the inhabitants use wood and charcoal in their rooms, but heat their baths with cow dung, the parings of fruit, and other things of a similar kind, which they employ people to gather for that purpose.† In Egypt, according to Pitts, the scarcity of wood is so great, that at Cairo they commonly heat their ovens with horse or cow dung, or dirt of the streets ; what wood they have, being brought from the shores of the Black sea, and sold by weight. Chardin attests the same fact ; " The eastern people always used cow dung for baking, boiling a pot, and dressing all kinds of victuals that are easily cooked, especially in countries that have but little wood ;" and Dr. Russel remarks, in a note, that " the Arabs carefully collect the dung of the sheep and camel, as well as that of the cow ; and that the dung, offals, and other matters, used in the bagnios, after having been new gathered in the streets.

\* 2 Sam. xvii. 28.

† Russel's Hist.

are carried out of the city, and laid in great heaps to dry, where they become very offensive. They are intolerably disagreeable, while drying, in the town adjoining to the bagnios; and are so at all times when it rains, though they be stacked, pressed hard together, and thatched at top." These statements exhibit, in a very strong light, the extreme misery of the Jews, who escaped from the devouring sword of Nebuchadnezzar: "They that feed delicately, are desolate in the streets; they that were brought up in scarlet, embrace dunghills."\* To embrace dunghills, is a species of wretchedness, perhaps unknown to us in the history of modern warfare; but it presents a dreadful and appalling image, when the circumstances to which it alludes are recollected. What can be imagined more distressing to those who lived delicately, than to wander without food in the streets? What more disgusting and terrible to those who had been clothed in rich and splendid garments, than to be forced by the destruction of their palaces, to seek shelter among stacks of dung, the filth and stench of which it is almost impossible to endure. The dunghill, it appears from holy writ, is one of the common retreats of the mendicant, which imparts an exquisite force and beauty to a passage in the song of Hannah; "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory."† The change in the circumstances of that excellent woman, she reckoned as great, (and it was to her not less unexpected,) as the elevation of a poor despised beggar, from a nauseous and polluting dunghill, rendered tenfold more foetid by the intense heat of an oriental sun, to one of the highest and most splendid stations on earth.

The custom of baking their bread with dung, serves also to explain and illustrate the charge which Jehovah gave to the prophet Ezekiel, to prepare or bake his bread with such fuel. To display, by a most significant emblem, the extreme misery and wretchedness of his people in their dispersion, he receives a command to bake his bread with human excrement; but in answer

\* Lam. iv. 5.

† 1 Sam. ii. 8.

to his earnest entreaties, he obtains permission to use cow dung.\* Had cow dung been ordered at first, it would have by no means sufficiently explained those necessities, and that filthiness in their manner of living, to which the captives were to be reduced among the rivers of Babylon; because many orientals use cow dung in baking their bread: he is therefore commanded to make use of human dung, as some nations of the east are actually compelled to do.† And although the command was afterwards mitigated, the end in view was obtained; a fearful picture of the misery in which the captive Jews were to linger out their wretched years, was placed under the eye of that stubborn people. Even the bread prepared with cow dung, is extremely disagreeable. Tournefort avers, “it is almost inconceivable what a horrid perfume this dung makes in the houses; every thing they eat has a stench of this vapour. It is evident from these facts, that the prophet was not commanded, as VOLTAIRE alleges, to eat human ordure, mingled with his victuals, but only to use it as fuel. This had certainly communicated a most nauseous taste to the bread; yet several nations of Caucasus, that have very little fuel of any kind, submit to it every day. But if it is not inconsistent with the majesty of God, to reduce a portion of his rational creation to such painful circumstances, it could not be inconsistent to lay that command on Ezekiel for a few months.‡

Dung is used as fuel in the east only when wood cannot be had; for the latter, and even any other combustible substance, is preferred whenever it can be obtained. The inhabitants of Aleppo, according to Russel, use thorns and fuel of a similar kind, for those culinary purposes which require haste, particularly for boiling, which seems to be the reason that Solomon mentions the “crackling of thorns under a pot,” rather than in some other way. The same allusion to the use of thorns for boiling, occurs in other parts of the sacred volume: Thus the Psalmist assures the wicked, “Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away as

\* Ezek. iv. 12.

† Le Bruyn. See also, Sandy's Trav. p. 85.

‡ See Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath." The Jews are sometimes compared in the prophets to, "a brand plucked out of the burning;"\* a figure which Chardin considers as referring to vine twigs, and other brushwood which the orientals frequently use for fuel, and which, in a few minutes, must be consumed if they are not snatched out of the fire; and not to those battens, or large branches, commonly distinguished by that name in those regions, which will lie a long time in the fire before they are reduced to ashes. If this idea be correct, it displays in a stronger and more lively manner the weakness of Israel and Joshua the high priest; the extreme danger to which they were exposed, and the seasonable interposition of Jehovah, than is furnished by any other view of the phrase. The same remark applies to the figure by which the prophet Isaiah describes the sudden and complete destruction of Rezin, and the son of Remaliah; only in this passage, the fire-brands are supposed to be smoking; that is, in the opinion of Harmer, "having the steam issuing with force from one end, in consequence of the fire burning violently at the other, by which they are speedily reduced." The words of the prophet are, "Take heed and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint hearted, for the two tails of these smoking fire-brands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah."† It is not easy to conceive an image more striking than this; the remains of two small twigs burning with violence at one end, as appears by the steaming of the other, are soon reduced to ashes; so shall the kingdoms of Syria and Israel sink into ruin, and disappear.

The scarcity of fuel in the east obliges the inhabitants to use, by turns, every kind of combustible matter. The withered stalks of herbs and flowers, the tendrils of the vine, the small branches of myrtle, rosemary, and other plants, are all used in heating their ovens and bagnios. We can easily recognize this practice in these words of our Lord: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you, that Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore,

\* Amos iv. 11. Zech. iii. 2.

† Isa. vii. 4.



if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith."\* The grass of the field in this passage, evidently includes the lilies of which our Lord had just been speaking; and by consequence herbs in general; and in this extensive sense the word *χορδή* is not unfrequently taken. These beautiful productions of nature, so richly arrayed, and so exquisitely perfumed, that the splendour even of Solomon is not to be compared with theirs, shall soon wither and decay, and be used as fuel to heat the oven and the bagnio. Has God so adorned these flowers and plants of the field, which retain their beauty and vigour but for a few days, and are then applied to some of the meanest purposes of life; and will he not much more clothe you that are the disciples of his own Son, that are capable of immortality, and destined to the enjoyment of eternal happiness?

To compensate in some measure for the scarcity of fuel, the orientals endeavour to consume as little as possible in preparing their victuals. For this purpose they make a hole in their dwellings, about a foot and a half deep, in which they put their earthen pots, with the meat in them, closed up, about the half above the middle; three-fourth parts they lay about with stones, and the fourth part is left open, through which they fling in their dried dung, and any other combustible substances they can procure, which burn immediately, and produce so great a heat, that the pot becomes as hot as if it stood over a strong fire of coals; so that they boil their meat with greater expedition and much less fuel, than it can be done upon the hearth.† As the people of Israel, in the wilderness, must have been reduced to the necessity of sparing their fuel as much as any other oriental nation, the preceding statement may be considered as a simple, but satisfactory comment, on the charge given by Moses in the law: "And every thing, whereupon any part of their carcase falleth, shall be unclean, whether it be oven, or ranges for pots, they shall be broken down; for they are unclean, and shall be unclean to

\* Matth. vi. 28—30.

† Rauwolff's Trav.

you.”\* One commentator supposes the word translated *ranges* for pots, signifies an earthen pot to boil meat in, with a lid; another provides it with feet; but such vessels come under the direction of the thirty-third verse, which requires them, when they have been polluted, to be broken: while the *ranges* for pots were, like altars, houses, or walls of cities, to be broken down. This perfectly agrees with Rauwolf’s description of the eastern apparatus for boiling a pot, three parts of which were laid or built about with stones: this little building the law of Moses required to be broken down when it happened to become ceremonially unclean.

The hole in which the pot is set, has an aperture on one side, for the purpose of receiving the fuel, which seems to be what Jeremiah calls the face of the pot: “I see,” said the prophet, “a pot, and the face thereof is towards the north;”† intimating that the fuel to heat it was to be brought from that quarter. This emblematical prediction was fulfilled when Nebuchadnezzar, whose dominions lay to the north of Palestine, led his armies against Jerusalem, and overturned the thrones of the house of David.

The descendants of Shem, in the line of Abraham, using the liberty granted after the deluge to the second father of the human race, to eat the flesh “of every moving thing that liveth,” from the beginning subjected the sheep and the ox to the knife; but they seem for many successive ages to have spared, on all ordinary occasions, the young of the flock, and of the herd. So late as the days of Amos, “to eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall,” was considered as the conduct of a very degenerate race, the mark of a luxurious appetite, and a proper object of inspired reproof.‡ This sentiment seems to have been very general in the east; for in Homer, the aged king of Troy reproved his sons, because they feasted on young lambs. The patriarch Abraham, therefore, yielded to the ardour of eastern hospitality, mingled with love and veneration for the unknown visitants, when he fetched from the herd a calf, tender and good, and dressed it

\* Lev. xi. 35.

† Jer. i. 13.

‡ Amos vi. 4.

whole for their entertainment. And when the father, in the parable, received in safety his long lost son, he expressed the joy of his heart by killing for him the fatted calf; which was so uncommon, that it is the only circumstance mentioned in the report of the servant, and resented by the elder son of the family.\* The hospitality of the wealthiest Jews seldom provided more delicate viands than the flesh of sheep, and oxen, and fat cattle; in this manner, Adonijah entertained his friends when he aspired to the crown; and Abigail endeavoured to avert the vengeance of David, by a present of "two hundred loaves, and two bottles of wine, and five sheep ready dressed, and five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs."†

Among the delicacies at an eastern meal, a prominent place is assigned to honey. The sacred writers often allude to butter and honey, in their glowing descriptions of the prosperity which rewarded the faithful adherence of their people to the service of God, or the happiness which should distinguish the reign of Messiah. We have a striking example in the prophecies of Isaiah, in which he foretells the ruin of Syria, and the kingdom of the ten tribes, and the speedy deliverance of Judah from their oppression: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know (rather, when he shall know) to refuse the evil and choose the good. For before this child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings."‡ Thus, in the sixteenth verse, the prophet assigns a plain reason why the child should eat butter and honey, the food of plentiful times, when he should be capable of distinguishing between good and evil, because the country of the two kings, who now distressed Judah, was before then to be laid waste; and that highly favoured kingdom, rescued from the grasp of her enemies, should recover her wonted prosperity. Butter and honey are also mentioned in the book of Joshua, as the enjoyments of a state of plenty:

\* Luke xv. 23, 27, 30.

† 1 Sam. xxv. 18.

‡ Isa. vii. 15.

“The Lord sware unto their fathers, that he would give us a land flowing with milk and honey.” These articles of provision, therefore, naturally denote the plenty which the people of Judea were to possess on the return of peace. In a subsequent verse, they express an abundance arising from the thinness of the population; but that they denote abundance in consequence of the destruction of their enemies is evident, because otherwise, this deliverance is not mentioned; and that a deliverance was intended in these words, is plain, from calling the child which should be born, Immanuel, God with us. It is also proved by the charge which was previously given to the prophet, to announce that deliverance, which he does from the third to the seventh verse; and to his declaration in this matter, the prophecy must undoubtedly be conformable. In the same manner Jarchi interprets the passage: That infant shall eat butter and honey, because our land shall be full of all good. The heathen poets also consider these articles as delicate food, and among the gifts of prosperity. Thus Callimachus tells how Jupiter was kindly nursed with goats’ milk and honey; and Homer sung the tender care of Venus, in rearing with honey, milk, and wine, the infant daughters of Pandareus.

κομισσε δι δι Αφροδιτη

Τυρω και μιλιτι γλυκερω και ηδαι οινω.

The account which is given in the gospel, of the diet of John the Baptist, may be thought a strong objection to this view; he lived on locusts and wild honey; and his life is represented by our Lord as the very reverse of that enjoyed by courtiers and people of fashion, nay, as very different from his own; whence it may be inferred, that the food on which he subsisted was of the coarsest kind. But the inspired narrative only expresses the great simplicity in which he lived; and that he contented himself with what nature offered him in those lonely retreats.

Butter and honey are still reckoned among the greatest delicacies which the east affords: for when d’Arvieux travelled in Palestine, an Arabian prince, who lived in



great splendour, and treated him with much kindness, entertained him with little loaves, honey, new churned milk and cream, or leban, more delicate than any he ever saw, together with coffee. And in another place he assures us, that one of the principal things with which the Arabs regale themselves at breakfast, is cream, or new butter mingled with honey.

So grateful was this food to their taste, that it would seem they not unfrequently indulged to excess. It is difficult on any other supposition to account for Solomon's remark: "It is not good to eat much honey."\* He had before observed, in the same chapter, that an excess in eating honey occasioned sickness and vomiting; and here he returns to the subject, and intimates that such intemperance might be followed by fatal effects.

It is no contemptible proof that the sacred writers were infallibly guided by the Spirit of him who made the heavens and the earth, and all that they contain, that no natural fact connected with their subject escapes their notice. They well knew, and often allude to the difference between the delicacy of honey in the comb, and after its separation from it. "More to be desired," said the Psalmist, "are the judgments of the Lord, than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey, yea, than the honey-comb." Hence, in his estimation, honey in the comb, is as much to be preferred to honey after it has been expressed from it, as fine gold to that which is but partially separated from the dross. The accuracy of the inspired writer, in this, as in many other particulars, may be brought to the test of experience; and whoever has eaten honey in the comb, before the cells have been opened, will then perceive a peculiar delicacy of flavour, which is sought for in vain, after it has been expressed or clarified.

The shoulder of a lamb well roasted, and covered with butter and milk, is another delicacy, which the orientals greatly value.† This explains the reason why Samuel ordered it to be set before his future sovereign, as well as what that was which was upon it, the butter and milk of which the sacred historian takes so particu-

\* Prov xxv. 27.

† Harmer's Obs. vol. 2, p. 79.

lar notice. This was by no means a contemptible dish for a royal entertainment, as some have alleged; but on the contrary, one of the most delicious which could be set before the future anointed of Jehovah. It appears from the accounts of travellers, that lamb is, in those parts of the world, extremely delicate. One, says Chardin, must have eaten of it in several places of Persia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and of their kids, to form a conception of the moisture, taste, delicacy, and fat of this animal; and as the eastern people are no friends of game, nor of fish, nor fowls, their most delicious food is the lamb and the kid. It is therefore not without reason, the sacred writers often speak of the lamb and the kid, as the most agreeable food in those countries: and that the holy Psalmist celebrates the blessings of salvation, and particularly the spiritual comforts of the heaven-born soul, under the figure of marrow and fatness.

In the sacred Scriptures, bread and water are commonly mentioned as the chief supports of human life; and to provide a sufficient quantity of water, to prepare it for use, and to deal it out to the thirsty, are still among the principal cares of an oriental householder. To furnish travellers with water is, even in present times, reckoned of so great importance, that many of the eastern philanthropists have been at considerable expense to procure them that enjoyment. The nature of the climate, and the general aspect of the oriental regions, require numerous fountains to excite and sustain the languid powers of vegetation; and the sun, burning with intense heat in a cloudless sky, demands for the fainting inhabitant the verdure, shade, and coolness, which vegetation produces. Hence fountains of living water are met with in the towns and villages, in the fields and gardens, and by the sides of the roads and of the beaten tracks on the mountains; and a cup of cold water from these wells, is no contemptible present.

In Arabia, equal attention is paid by the wealthy and benevolent, to the refreshment of the traveller. On one of the mountains of Arabia, Niebuhr found three

little reservoirs, which are always kept full of fine water for the use of passengers. These reservoirs, which are about two feet and a half square, and from five to seven feet high, are round, or pointed at the top, of mason's work, having only a small opening in one of the sides, by which they pour water into them. Sometimes he found, near these places of Arab refreshment, a piece of a ground shell, or a little scoop of wood.

The same attention to the comfort of travellers, is manifested in Egypt, where public buildings are set apart in some of their cities, the business of whose inhabitants is to supply the passenger with water free of expense. Some of these houses make a very handsome appearance ; and the persons appointed to wait on the passengers, are required to have some vessels of copper, curiously tinned and filled with water, always ready on the window next the street. Hence a cup of cold water is a present in the east of much value, though there are some other refreshments of a superior quality. When Sisera asked a little water to drink, Jael brought him milk, which she thought he would naturally prefer ; and in the book of Proverbs, the mother of Lemuel instructed him to give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that were of heavy hearts. Still, however, the value of a cup of water, though to be numbered among the simplest presents the traveller can receive, is of great value in those countries. If this be duly considered, the declaration of our Lord, " Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name," because ye belong to Christ, " Verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward,"\* is of greater importance than we are apt at first sight to imagine. The general thought is plain to every reader, That no service performed to a disciple of Christ, out of love to his master, although comparatively small, shall remain unrewarded ; but the inhabitants of more temperate climates are sometimes ready to think that the instance which our Lord mentions, is rather insignificant. It certainly would not appear so now to an inhabitant of

\* Mark ix. 41.

the east, nor did it then, we have reason to believe, appear so to them who heard the Saviour's declaration.\* But the words of Christ evidently contain more than this; they lead up our thoughts to the character of him for whose sake the cup of water is given. An act of benevolence, how small soever, is certainly pleasing in the sight of God, so far as it proceeds from proper motives, is performed in the appointed manner, and directed to the proper end, and particularly if it be connected with the name of his own Son. But to give a cup of water to a disciple in the name of Christ, and because he belongs to him, must signify, that it is given in honour of Christ; and this is the particular reason of the reward which the remunerative justice of God bestows. An article in the Asiatic Miscellany, quoted by Dr. Clark in his edition of Harmer, will set this in a very clear light. In India, the Hindoos go sometimes a great way to fetch water, and then boil it, that it may not be hurtful to travellers who are hot; and after this, stand from morning till night in some great road, where there is neither pit nor rivulet, and offer it in honour of their gods, to be drunk by the passengers. Such necessary works of charity in these hot countries, seem to have been practised among the more pious and humane Jews; and our Lord assures them, that if they do this in his name, they shall not lose their reward. This one circumstance, Dr. Clark justly remarks, of the Hindoos offering the water to the fatigued passengers, in honour of their gods, is a better illustration of our Lord's words, than all the collections of Mr. Harmer on the subject.

But the liquid on which men of all countries, and in all ages, have set the highest value, is wine. Different sorts of wines are produced in Syria and Palestine, some of which are very indifferent, and others, as the wine manufactured from the grapes of Eshcol, of a very superior taste and flavour. The unrivalled excellence of the wine produced in the vineyards of Lebanon, has been described in another part of this work.† Sweet wines are much esteemed in the east, because they are grateful to the taste, very exhilarating, and will keep,

\* See Harmer's Obs. vol. 1. p. 398.

† Vol. 1. p. 135.



some of them a long time. They were, therefore, preferred by those addicted to drinking, and commonly selected for the table of kings. The prophet Joel accordingly describes a state of great prosperity, by the mountains dropping down sweet wine. Their inebriating quality is alluded to by the prophet Isaiah in that awful threatening: "I will feed them that oppress thee, with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine." The privation of this enjoyment, is placed by the prophet Micah among the judgments which God threatened to bring upon his ancient people for their iniquity: "Thou shalt tread the vintage of sweet wine, but shalt not drink wine."\* The prophet Joel uses the same word, when he threatens to cut off the new, or rather the sweet wine, from the mouth of the drunkards in Israel: "Awake ye drunkards, and weep and howl all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new (or as it should be rendered, sweet) wine, because it is cut off from your mouth."† The original term (סדי) *asis*, sometimes denotes must, or the newly expressed juice of the grape, before it has undergone the vinous fermentation; but in these passages, it must denote wine, and not must; for the latter does not inebriate, but produces a very different effect. In former times, this generous and grateful liquor was appropriated to the use of kings and princes, and persons of the first distinction. The Septuagint render the phrase in the first chapter of the book of Esther, which is in our translation, "royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the king," much and sweet wine, such as the king himself drank. If this idea be well founded, it suggests a reason for the conduct of the soldiers who guarded the cross of our suffering Redeemer; it was, perhaps, in ridicule of his claim to royal authority, that they offered him vinegar, or wine in a state of strong acidity, instead of the grateful and generous sweet wines which were presented on the table of kings and princes. Luke testifies, in express terms, that this was done in mockery; his words are, "And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him and offering him vinegar." Medi-

\* Micah vi 15.

† Joel i. 5.

cated wine was given to Jewish criminals before their execution, to stupify them, and diminish the sense of pain; but vinegar was offered to Jesus, in order to quicken his painful feelings, and at the same time, in derision of his kingly power.

Artificial liquors, or mixed wines, were very common in ancient Italy, and the Levant. The Romans lined their vessels with odorous gums, to give their wines a warm bitter flavour; and it is said, that several nations of modern times, communicate to their wines a favourite relish by similar means. The prophet Isaiah mentions a mixture of wine and water; but it is evident from the context, that he means, to express by that phrase, the degenerate state of his nation; and consequently, we cannot infer from it, the use of diluted wine in those countries. It is observed by Thevenot, that the people of the Levant never mingle water with their wine at meals, but drink by itself, what water they think proper, for abating the strength of the wine. While the Greeks and Romans by mixed wine, always understood wine diluted and lowered with water; the Hebrews, on the contrary, meant by it wine made stronger, and more inebriating, by the addition of powerful ingredients, as honey, spices, defrutum, or wine inspissated, by boiling it down to two thirds or one half of the quantity, myrrh, opiates, and other strong drugs. The Greeks were no strangers to perfumed and medicated wines; for in Homer, the far famed Helen mixed a number of stupifying ingredients in the bowl, to exhilarate the spirits of her guests that were oppressed with grief; the composition of which, the poet says, she learnt in Egypt. Of the same kind was the spiced wine mentioned in the Song of Solomon; and to this day, such wines are eagerly sought by the people of Syria and Palestine. The drunkards in Israel preferred these medicated wines to all others: "Who hath woe?" said the wise man, "who hath contentions? who hath sorrow? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine."\*

\* Prov. xxiii. 29, 30.

Nor were the manners of that people more correct in the days of Isaiah ; for he was directed to pronounce a “ woe unto them that rose up early in the morning, that they might follow *strong drink* ; that continued until night, till wine inflamed them.”\* This ancient custom, furnished the holy Psalmist with a highly poetical and sublime image of divine wrath : “ For in the hand of the Lord - - a cup ; and the wine is red ; it is full of mixture.”† The prophet Isaiah uses the same figure in one of his exhortations : “ Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which has drunk at the hand of the *Lord*, the cup of his fury ; thou hast drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling, and wrung them out.”‡ The worshippers of the beast and his image, are threatened with the same fearful punishment : “ The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation.”§ The Jews sometimes acidulated their wine with the juice of the pomegranate ; a custom to which the spouse thus alludes : “ I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine, of the juice of my pomegranate ;” or of wine mixed with the juice of that fruit.|| Prepared in this manner, it proves a cooling and refreshing draught in the heat of summer, and by consequence, highly acceptable to an oriental.

The natives of the east keep their wine in earthen jars, from which they have no method of drawing it off pure ; and by consequence, it is commonly in a thick and turbid state, by the lees with which it is mixed. To remedy this inconvenience, they filtrate or strain it through a cloth ; and to this practice the prophet Isaiah plainly alludes : “ And on this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people, a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.” The same allusion occurs in our Lord’s declaration to the Pharisees : “ Ye strain at (out) a gnat, and swallow a camel.”\*\* Maimonides in his treatise of forbidden meats, affords a remarkable illustration of our Saviour’s proverbial ex-

\* Isa. v. 11. † Psal. lxxv. 8. ‡ Isa. li. 17. § Rev. xiv. 10. || Song viii. 2.

\*\* Matt. xxiii. 24.



pression: "He who strains wine, or vinegar, or strong drink, and eats the gnats, or flies, or worms, which he hath strained off, is whipped." In these hot countries, as Serrarius well observes, gnats were apt to fall into wine if it were not carefully covered; and passing the liquor through a strainer, that no gnat or part of one might remain, grew into a proverb for exactness about little matters.\*

The Abbe Mariti informs us, that it is a common practice in Cyprus, to change the vessels in which their wine is kept. This is done to improve it; and he says, nothing tends more to bring it to perfection, than to draw it off into another vessel, provided this is not done until a year after it is put into the casks. Chardin observes, "they frequently pour wine from vessel to vessel in the east; for when they begin one, they are obliged immediately to empty it into smaller vessels, or into bottles, or it would grow sour." The prophet Jeremiah alludes to this custom in the case of Moab, who had become exceedingly corrupt, during a long course of prosperity: "Moab has been at ease from his youth, and he hath settled on his lees, and has not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither has he gone into captivity; therefore his taste remained in him, and his scent is not changed." The term which in our translation is rendered lees, properly means preservers, because they preserve the strength and flavour of the wine. All recent wines, after their fermentation has ceased, must be kept on their lees for a certain time, to increase their strength and flavour. When the first fermentation is deficient, they retain a richer and sweeter taste, than is natural to them in a true vinous state; and unless further fermentation is promoted, by continuing them longer on their own lees, they never attain a proper degree of maturity, but run into repeated and ineffectual fermentations, and soon degenerate into a liquor of an acetous kind. Moab, in like manner, had been as a nation fully matured, had risen to a high degree of prosperity, and had not suffered the severe trials and calamitous revolutions, which the people of Israel had

\* Burder's Orient. Cus. vol 1. p. 282.



experienced; he had not been emptied from vessel to vessel, had not gone into captivity, nor seen his dominions rent into rival kingdoms, but preserved their integrity, their population, and their resources undiminished, or in the figurative language of the prophet, "his taste remained in him, and his scent is not changed."\*

The custom of cooling wines with snow, was usual among the eastern nations; and was derived from the Asiatics and Greeks to the Romans.† The snow of Lebanon was celebrated, in the time of d'Vitriaco for its refrigerating power in tempering their wine: "All summer, and especially in the sultry dog days, and the month of August, snow of an extreme cold nature, is carried from mount Libanus, two or three days journey, that being mixed with wine, it may make it cold as ice. The snow is kept from melting by the heat of the sun, or the warmth of the air, by being covered up with straw."

To this custom, the wise man seems to allude in that proverb: "As the cold of the snow in the time of harvest; so is a faithful servant to them that send him, for he refreshes the soul of his masters."‡ The royal preacher could not speak of a fall of snow in the time of harvest, as pleasant and refreshing; it must, on the contrary, have been very incommoding, as we actually find it in this country; he must therefore be understood to mean liquids cooled by snow. The sense then will be: As the mixing of snow with wine, in the sultry time of harvest, is pleasing and refreshing; so, a successful messenger revives the spirit of his master who sent him, and who was greatly depressed from an apprehension of his failure.

When a person provided an entertainment for his friends or neighbours, he sent round a number of servants to invite the guests; these were called vocatores by the Romans, and *κρυταρῆς* by the Greeks. We recognize this ancient custom in the parable of the supper: "A certain man made a great supper, and bade many; and sent his servant at supper time, to say to them that were bidden, Come, for all things are now ready."§

\* Jer. xlviii 11. † Burder, vol. 1. p. 134. ‡ Prov. xxv. 13. § Luke xiv. 16, 17

The Jews did not always follow the same method ; sometimes they sent a number of servants different ways among the friends they meant to invite ; and at other times, a single male domestic.\* But in Egypt, according to Hasselquist, a different custom from either of these, was commonly followed. A number of women went about, inviting people to a banquet. Those whom he saw thus employed, were about ten or twelve in number, covered with black veils, according to the custom of that country. They were preceded by four eunuchs ; after them and on the side, were Moors with their usual walking staves. As they walked, they all joined in making a noise, which he was told they meant as an expression of joy, but which had nothing joyful or even pleasing in his ear. The royal preacher seems to allude to this singular custom in these words: wisdom hath “sent forth her maidens,” she “crieth upon the highest places of the city.”† In this singular passage, the invitation is given by a number of female servants, as in Egypt; and it was not a private message, but a kind of public proclamation, in which the table is represented as furnished, and every preparation made: “Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither ; as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled.”

The names of the persons to be invited, were inscribed upon tablets, and the gate was set open to receive those who had obtained them ; but to prevent any getting in that had no ticket, only one leaf of the door was left open ; and that was strictly guarded by the servants of the family. Those who were admitted, had to go along a narrow passage to the room ; and after all who had received tickets of admission were assembled, the master of the house rose and shut to the door ; and then the entertainment began.

The Greeks also issued tickets of admission to their entertainments, although relations often went without invitation ; thus in Homer, the valiant Menelaus went to an entertainment in Agamemnon’s tent, without being invited :

\* Matth. xxii. 2. and Luke xiv. 17.

† Prov. ix. 1. &c.

Αὐτομαλὸς δὲ οἱ ἡλθε βόην ἀγαθὸς Μενελάος.

Il. b. 2. l. 408.

If appears from this statement, that the Jews were much stricter in admitting persons to their tables than the Greeks, although both used the formality of written invitations. Our Lord evidently refers to the custom of his own nation, in his answer to one who idly inquired, Are there few that be saved? "Strive," said he, "to enter in at the strait gate; for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say unto you, I know you not whence ye are."\*

The first ceremony, after the guests arrived at the house of entertainment, was the salutation performed by the master of the house, or one appointed in his place. Among the Greeks, this was sometimes done by embracing with arms around: but the most common salutation was by the conjunction of their right hands, the right hand being reckoned a pledge of fidelity and friendship. Sometimes they kissed the lips, hands, knees, or feet, as the person deserved more or less respect. The Jews welcomed a stranger to their house in the same way; for our Lord complains to Simon, that he had given him no kiss; had welcomed him to his table with none of the accustomed tokens of respect.†

In Hindostan, when a person of rank and opulence receives a guest, whom he wishes to distinguish by peculiar marks of regard, he pours upon his hands and arms, in the presence of the whole company, a delightful odoriferous perfume, puts a golden cup into his hand, and pours wine into it till it run over; assuring him at the same time, that it is to him a great pleasure to receive him into his house, and that he shall find under his roof every comfort which he could bestow.‡ The reference to this custom, which at one time was probably general throughout the east, in the twenty-third Psalm, is at once beautiful and striking: "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine ene-

\* Luke xiii. 24. † Ch. vii. 44. ‡ Memoirs of Captain Wilson, p. 80.



mies ; thou anointest mine head with oil ; my cup runneth over." The Lord had early received the Psalmist into favour ; raised him to the highest honours from a very humble condition ; and, what was infinitely better, he set before him the inestimable blessings of redeeming love, prepared him by a copious unction of the holy Spirit to enjoy them, and welcomed him in the most honourable manner, by putting the cup of salvation into his hand in the presence of all his people, and pouring into it, with unsparing liberality, the wine of heavenly consolation.

The ancient Greeks and Romans sat at meals. Homer's heroes were ranged on separate seats along the wall, with a small table before each, on which the meat and drink were placed. When Ulysses arrived at the palace of Alcinous, the king displaced his son Laodamas, in order to seat Ulysses in a magnificent chair. The same posture was preferred by the Egyptians and the ancient Israelites. But, afterwards, when men became soft and effeminate, they exchanged their seats for beds, in order to drink with more ease ; yet even then, the heroes who drank sitting were still thought entitled to praise ; and those who accustomed themselves to a primitive and severe way of living, retained the ancient posture. This was done by the cynic philosophers, as we learn from Plautus :

——— " *potius in subsellio  
Cynice accipiemur, quam in lectis.*"

The custom of reclining was introduced from the nations of the east, and particularly from Persia, where it seems to have been adopted at a very remote period. The Old Testament Scriptures allude to both customs ; but they furnish undeniable proofs of the sitting posture, long before common authors took notice of the other. It was the custom in Isaac's family to sit at meat ; for Jacob thus addressed his aged father : " Arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me."\* At the entertainment which Joseph gave his brethren, on their return to Egypt, they seem to have followed the custom of their fathers ; for they sat before him, the first-born according to his

\* Gen. xxvii 19.



birth-right, and the youngest according to his youth.”\* In the court of Saul, many ages after this, Abner sat at table by his master’s side ; and David also had his place allotted to him, which is emphatically called his seat. As this is undoubtedly the most natural and dignified posture, so it seems to have been universally adopted by the first generations of men ; and it was not till after the lapse of many ages, and degenerate man had lost much of the firmness of his primitive character, that he began to lie flat upon his belly.

The tables were constructed of three different parts or separate tables, making but one in the whole. One was placed at the upper end crossways, and the two others joined to its ends, one on each side, so as to leave an open space between, by which the attendants could readily wait at all the three. Round these tables were placed beds or couches, one to each table ; each of these beds was called *clinium* ; and three of these being united, to surround the three tables, made the *trielinium*. At the end of each *clinium* was a footstool, for the convenience of mounting up to it. These beds were formed of mattresses, and supported on frames of wood, often highly ornamented ; the mattresses were covered with cloth or tapestry, according to the quality of the entertainer. Each guest inclined the superior part of his body upon his left arm, the lower part being stretched out at length, or a little bent ; his head was raised up, and his back sometimes supported with pillows. If several persons lay upon the same bed, then the first lay on the uppermost part, with his legs stretched out behind the second person’s back ; the second person’s head lay below the bosom of the former, his feet being placed behind the third person’s back ; and the rest in like manner : for though it was accounted mean or sordid at Rome to place more than three or four upon one bed, yet, as we are informed by Cicero, the Greeks used to crowd five, and often a greater number, into the same bed. Persons beloved commonly lay in the bosoms of those that loved them : the fact is thus attested by Juvenal ;

\* Gen. xliii. 33.

“Cœna sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta marii.” *Sat. 2. l. 120.*

And for the same reason, according to the well known custom, the beloved disciple lay in the bosom of his Lord, at the celebration of the passover. The head of the second being opposite to the bosom of the first, if he wanted to speak to him, especially if the thing was to be secret, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom: thus the apostle John, wishing to speak secretly to his Lord, leaned from necessity upon his bosom.\* In conversation, those who spoke, raised themselves almost upright, supported by cushions. When they ate, they raised themselves on their elbow, and made use of the right hand; which is the reason our Lord mentions the hand of Judas in the singular number; “He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.”† Sometimes the Greeks and Romans used both hands, to which practice, the *manus unctæ* of Horace refers; but if the custom existed among the Jews, the right hand was more commonly used; for at the time when our Lord made that declaration, he and his disciples were using only their right hands.

At a Grecian entertainment, it was customary to place the guests according to their quality; in Homer, the chief persons had the uppermost seats; and in succeeding ages, a person was appointed that bore the name of (νομοκλήτωρ,) nomenclator, whose business it was to call every guest by name to his proper place. In the heroic ages, they seem to have been placed in long ranks, and the chief persons at the head of each rank, on both sides of the table. Thus, when Achilles entertained Agamemnon’s ambassadors, he placed himself uppermost in one rank, and Ulysses, as the principal ambassador, in the other.

---

αταρ κρεα νειμει Αχιλλευς,  
Αυτος δ’ αντιστοι ιζεν Οδυσσεος θεοιο, ΨC.

*Ib. b. 9. l. 217.*

Some who affected a more free and easy way of living, disregarded the usual custom, and desired every man to take the place which pleased him best; but this license often failed to produce the sociality and good humour which the entertainer expected, and occasioned

\* John xiii. 23.

† Matth. xxvi. 23.

disputes among the company, about what were reckoned the most honourable seats. So the proud and ambitious Pharisees acted in the time of our Lord, which drew from his lips that pointed reproof: "They love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues."\* The master of the family sometimes acted the part of nomenclator among the Jews, assigning to every one his proper place; for when our Lord, at a public entertainment, "marked how they chose out the chief rooms," he put forth a parable to those that were bidden, saying unto them, "When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room, lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him, and he that bade thee and him, come and say unto thee, Give this man place, and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room."† Eustathius says, it was a very ancient custom at Lacedæmon, for the eldest person to go before the rest, to the couches at the common hall, unless the king gave the precedence to another by calling him first. This custom may be traced to a very remote origin; for in this manner Joseph arranged his brethren, according to their age, in a row, on one side of the table; while the Egyptians sat under him, according to their rank or years, on the other. "And they sat before him, the first-born according to his birth-right, and the youngest according to his youth; and the men marvelled one at another."‡ They did not marvel that they were seated according to their age, for this appears to have been the established custom even in that remote period; but how Pharaoh's prime minister knew their respective ages, who, in their opinion, was an utter stranger to their history.

Before the Greeks went to an entertainment, they washed and anointed themselves; for it was thought very indecent to appear on such an occasion, defiled with sweat and dust; but they who came off a journey, were washed and clothed with suitable apparel in the house of the entertainer, before they were admitted to the feast. When Telemachus and Pisistratus arrived at the palace of Menelaus, in the course of their wander-

\* Matth. xxiii. 6.

† Luke xiv. 7, 8.

‡ Gen. xliii. 33.

ings, they were immediately supplied with water to wash, and with oil to anoint themselves, before they took their seats by the side of the king.

Ες ῥ' ασαμινθες βαπτει ευξενας λυσαντο, ὧς.

*Odysse. b. 4. l. 48.*

They also washed their hands before they sat down to meat. To these customary marks of respect, to which a traveller, or one who had no house of his own, was entitled, our Lord alludes in his defence of Mary : “ And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house ; thou gavest me no water for my feet, but she hath washed my feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss ; but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint ; but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.”\* The Saviour was in the circumstances of a traveller ; he had no home to wash and anoint himself in, before he went to Simon’s house, and therefore, had a right to complain that his entertainer had failed in the respect that was due to him as a stranger, at a distance from the usual place of his residence.

The Jews regularly washed their hands and their feet before dinner ; they considered this ceremony as essential, which discovers the reason of their astonishment, when they observed the disciples of Christ sit down at table without having observed this ceremony : “ Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders ? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread.”† After meals, they wash them again ; for, says the evangelist, “ the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders.”‡ When they washed their hands themselves, they plunged them into the water up to the wrists ; but when others performed this office for them, it was done by pouring water upon their hands. This was a part of the service which Elisha performed for his master Elijah ; and in every instance under the law, where water was applied to the body by another, it was

\* Luke vii. 44.

† Matth. xv. 2.

‡ Mark vii. 3, 4.



done, not by plunging, but by pouring or sprinkling. The ancient Romans also washed before meals; and at public entertainments the attendants supplied the guests with water for their hands.

“Dant famuli manibus lymphas.” *Æn. b. 1. l. 701.*

According to Virgil's arrangement, this ablution was performed after the guests had taken their places on the purple beds. The feet were washed by their servants or wives; and in order to this, they put off their shoes or sandals before they sat down to meat; and it is probable, they did not resume them till they had finished their meal, and were preparing to leave the apartment.

In Greece, they seemed to have followed the same rule: and their feet being most exposed, were oftener washed and anointed than other parts of the body; the ablution was generally performed by women, both in the heroic and in later ages: And it was customary for them to kiss the feet of those to whom they thought a more than common respect was due; for the daughter of Philoleon, in Aristophanes, washed her father, anointed his feet, and stooping down, kissed them.

——— και πρωταμει θυγατηρ με  
 Απονιξη και το ποδ' αλειφη και προσκυλασα φιληση. *Vespis. fr. 473.*

Thus Mary acted strictly according to established custom, when at a public entertainment she performed these offices to her Saviour.

The Romans always began their feasts with prayers and libations to their gods: the same custom, the relick of a pure religion, was invariably observed among the Greeks; so great was their sense of a Divine Providence, to whom they were indebted for every blessing, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offered a part of their provisions as a sort of first fruits to the gods. This custom was so religiously observed in the heroic ages, that Achilles, though disturbed by the ambassadors of Agamemnon at midnight, refused to taste food till an oblation was offered.

——— Θεοις δε θυσαι αιωαι  
 Πατροκλον δι'ιταισεν, οδ' εν πυρι βαλλει θυηλας.

And Ulysses and his fellow soldiers, were not unmindful of this duty even in the den of Polyphemus.

Ενθαδε πύρ καιόντες ἐθύσαμεν, ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 Γυγῶν αἰνυμένοι φαγομεν.

To neglect this act of homage was accounted a very great impiety, of which none but Epicurus, and those who worshipped no gods at all, would be guilty. Among the ancient Hebrews the master of the family, or chief person in the company, always began the meal with a solemn blessing on the bread and the wine, and then they repeated the twenty-third psalm. They took care that after meals there should be a piece of bread remaining on the table. The master of the house ordered a glass to be washed, filled it with wine, and elevating it, said, Let us bless him of whose benefits we have been partaking; the rest answer, Blessed be he who has heaped his favours on us, and by his goodness has now fed us. Thus both Jews and heathens at their meals—the former both before and after, the latter at least always before—acknowledge the great Source of all good; it is reserved for countless numbers that bear the Christian name, to neglect or condemn the reasonable service.

Public entertainments in the east, are not all conducted in the same manner. At Aleppo, the several dishes are brought in one by one; and after the company has eaten a little of each, they are removed;\* but among the Arabs, the whole provisions are set on the table at once. In Persia, where the last custom is followed, the viands are distributed by a domestic, who takes portions of different kinds out of the large dishes in which they are served up, and lays four or five different kinds of meat in one smaller dish; these are set, furnished after this manner, before the company; one of these smaller dishes being placed before two persons only, or at most three. The same practice obtains at the royal table itself. It is not improbable that the ancient Egyptians treated their guests in a similar way; and in the entertainment given by Joseph to his brethren, we may dis-

\* Russel's Hist.

cover many points of resemblance. The Persians were placed in a row on one side of the room, without any person before them; a distinct dish, with different kinds of food, was set before every guest; circumstances which entirely correspond with the arrangement of Joseph's entertainment.

The great men of the state are always by themselves, in the feasts that are made for them, and they are treated with greater profusion; their part of each kind of provision being always double, triple, or a larger proportion of each kind of meat. In Greece, those guests that were entitled to particular respect, or for whom the entertainer felt a more than ordinary regard, were helped to the best parts, and very often to a larger share than the rest of the company. Thus in the *Odyssey*, Eumæus gives the chine, which they esteemed the chief part, to Ulysses; and Agamemnon, in the *Iliad*, gives the same part to Ajax, as a reward for his services in the war. And Sarpedon, one of the Lycian kings, is honoured with the first seat, the best share of meat and full cups :

*Εδρη τε κραινύτα, ἰδε πλείους διπλάσων.*

*Il. b. 12. l. 311.*

This will enable us to form a more distinct and correct idea of the arrangements at the feast which Joseph made for his brethren : “ They set on” provision “ for him,” as being at the head of the government, “ by himself; and for them by themselves; and for the Egyptians that did eat with him by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians,” as it is in modern times among the Persians, Arabians. and Hindoos, to eat with strangers; “ and they sat before him,” Joseph at the upper end of the hall, his brethren at the bottom, and the Egyptians by the sides, or as formerly remarked, the Hebrews on one side of the hall, and the Egyptians on the other. As a mark of his hospitality, and a token of his regard, “ he took and sent messes unto them from before him; but Benjamin’s mess was five times so much as any of theirs,” that is, he had five times as much of every thing as any of his brethren.

ren.\* He seems to have distributed to every man his portion, or commanded what should be set before them ; a custom which was probably general in Egypt, and which long maintained its ground at oriental entertainments. We discover evident traces of it in the conduct of Samuel to the son of Kish : “ And Samuel said unto the cook, Bring the portion which I gave thee, of which I said unto thee, set it by thee. And the cook took up the shoulder, and that which was upon it, and set it before Saul.”†

At public entertainments in the courts of eastern kings, many of their nobles have a right to a seat, others are admitted occasionally by special favour. In this sense, Chardin understands the dying charge of David to his successor, to shew kindness to the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and to let them be of those that should eat at his table. He means not that they should eat at his table at every meal, or on every day, but only on days of public festivity. In the same manner, he interprets the conduct of the king of Babylon to the captive monarch of Judah : “ Evil-Merodach spake kindly to Jehoiakim, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon ; and changed his prison garments, and he did eat bread continually before him all the days of his life.”‡ He received a daily allowance from the king suitable to his high station, and the value which Evil-Merodach had for him ; besides this, he had a seat at all the public entertainments of the court. The eastern custom explains the reason that David was not expected at Saul’s table, till the day of the new moon ; he did not sit at the king’s table every day, but according to established usage, he had a right, and was expected to be present in his allotted seat on the day of a public and solemn festival. In the same manner, though Mephibosheth was to sit at David’s table on all public occasions, yet he wanted the produce of his lands for food at other times.

It was therefore very proper to mention the circumstances to Ziba, that he might understand it would be necessary for him to bring the produce of the lands to

\* Chardin’s Note on Joseph’s feast. † 1 Sam. ix. 23, 24. ‡ 2 Kings xxv. 28.



Jerusalem, and in sufficient quantity to support Mephibosheth in a style suitable to the dignity of one who had a right by the royal grant, to appear at court, and sit at the king's table on public occasions: "Thou, therefore, and thy sons, and thy servants, shall till the land for him; and thou shalt bring in the fruits, that thy master's son may have food to eat; but Mephibosheth thy master's son, shall eat bread always at my table."\*

The Jewish people, degenerating by degrees into luxurious and expensive habits, displayed towards the close of their national state, great magnificence in their feasts and public entertainments. The prophet Amos was directed to lift his warning voice against their criminal profusion, in these pointed terms: "Woe to them that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall, that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."†

No person in Greece and Italy appeared at an entertainment in black, because it was a colour reserved for times of mourning; but always in white, or some other cheerful colour, which corresponded with the joyous nature of the occasion. Such were the garments of salvation in which the people of Israel celebrated their festivals, or entertained their friends. When Solomon brought up the ark of the Lord from the city of David, and placed it between the cherubim in the most holy place, the sons of Asaph, of Heman, and Jeduthun, and their brethren, who conducted the songs in the temple, stood at the east end of the altar, arrayed in vestures of fine linen, the chosen emblem of purity and joy.‡ The few faithful witnesses that remained in Sardis, and had not defiled their garments, were promised the distinguishing honour of walking with their Saviour in white.§ And to encourage them in their steadfast adherence to the cause of God and truth, it is added, "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in

\* 2 Sam ix 11. † Amos vi. 4, 5, 6. ‡ 2 Chron. v. 12. § Rev. iii. 4.

white raiment." On the mount of transfiguration, the raiment of Christ became white as the light; and in the same garb of joy and gladness did the angels appear at his resurrection.\*

While the entertainment was going on, the master of the family, to shew his respect for the company, and to prevent the hurtful consequences of indulgence, caused the servants in attendance to anoint their heads with precious unguents, and perfume the room by burning myrrh, frankincense, and other odours. This usage was quite common in ancient Greece, and from thence was imported into Italy, where it was prized exceedingly by the luxurious Romans; for an abundant store of the sweetest incense is among the highest wishes that Virgil can form for the lover of Pollio:

" Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat, quo te quoque gaudet:  
Mella fluent illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum."

*Eccl. 3. l. 188.*

And its origin is indicated with sufficient clearness by Pliny, who informs us, that his countrymen used balsam from Judea at their public entertainments. Hence the act of Mary, in anointing the head of her Lord, as he sat at meat in the house of Simon, was agreeable to the established custom of the country, and she did no more on that occasion than what the rules of politeness required from his entertainer. It was at once a signal testimony of her veneration for the Saviour, and a pointed reproof to Simon for his disrespectful omission. "As Jesus sat at meat, there came a woman, having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard (or liquid nard, according to the margin) very precious, and she brake the box and poured it on his head."† The balsam was contained in a box of alabaster, whose mouth was stopped with cotton, upon which melted wax was poured so as effectually to exclude the air. When Mary approached to anoint her Lord, she brake the cement which secured the stopple, not the box itself, for this was quite unnecessary; and we know that, in the language of the east, the opening of a vessel, by breaking

\* Matth. xvii. 2. Mark xvi. 5.

† Mark xiv. 3.

the cement that secured it, was called breaking the vessel.\*

The entertainment was conducted by a symposiarch, or governor of the feast. He was, says Plutarch, one chosen among the guests, the most pleasant and diverting in the company, that would not get drunk, and yet would drink freely; he was to rule over the rest, to forbid any disorder, but to encourage their mirth. He observed the temper of the guests, and how the wine worked upon them; how every one could bear his wine, and to endeavour accordingly to keep them all in harmony, and in an even composure, that there might be no disquiet nor disturbance. To do this effectually, he first proclaimed liberty to every one to drink what he thought proper, and then observing who among them was most ready to be disordered, mixed more water with his wine, to keep them equally sober with the rest of the company; so that this officer took care that none should be forced to drink, and that none, though left to their own choice, should get intoxicated. Such, we have reason to believe, was the governor of the feast at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, which our Lord honoured with his presence. The term *Λεχιτεργονος* literally signifies the governor of a place furnished with three beds; and he acted as one having authority; for he tasted the wine before he distributed it to the company, which, it is universally admitted, was one of the duties of a symposiarch. Neither the name nor the act accords with the character and situation of a guest; he must, therefore, have been the symposiarch, or governor of the feast. It is admitted he knew not the wine was gone, and that they were at a loss for more; but this only proves that he was not so fully acquainted with the state of matters as he ought to have been, and as such persons commonly were; and, besides, it is easy to discern a secret arrangement of divine Providence, by which the governor of the feast was, in this instance, ignorant of one thing belonging to his office, that the miracle might be attested by an unexceptionable witness, and on his authority made known to the whole

\* See Burder's Orient. Cust. vol. 1. p. 282

company.\* But the existence of such an officer among the Jews, is placed beyond a doubt by a passage in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, where his office is thus described : “ If thou be made the master of a feast, lift not thyself up, but be among them as one of the rest ; take diligent care of them, and so sit down. And when thou hast done all thine office, take thy place, that thou mayest be merry with them, and receive a crown for the well ordering of the feast.”†

On this passage, Theophylact remarks, that no one might suspect that their taste was vitiated by having drank to excess, so as not to know water from wine, our Saviour orders it to be first carried to the governor of the feast, who certainly was sober ; for those who, on such occasions, are entrusted with this office, observe the strictest sobriety, that they may be able properly to regulate the whole.‡

The same person was called *Διηγορ* by the Greeks, and *Direbitor* among the Romans, because it belonged to him to divide and distribute to every guest his portion. In primitive times, the master of the feast carved for all his guests ; for in Homer, when Agamemnon’s ambassadors were entertained at the table of Achilles, this hero distributed to every one his portion :

— αταρ κρεα νεμεν Αχιλλεως.

Il. 9. 217.

In later times the same office was performed by some of the chief men at Sparta, as appears from the example of Lysander, who was deputed to it by Agesilaus. The custom of distributing to every man his share, is derived by some from the ages when the Greeks left off their ancient way of living upon acorns, and learned the use of corn, which being at first very scarce, gave occasion to continual quarrels. To prevent these disorders, it was agreed that a person should be named, to make a fair division of the harvest among the inhabitants. But it is more probable that the founders of the Grecian states brought the custom along with them from Asia ; for Solomon certainly alluded to it in his description of a virtuous woman : “ She riseth also while it is yet

\* John ii 8, 9. † Ch. xxxii. 1. ‡ Burder’s Orient. Customs, vol. 1. p. 324.



night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens.”\*

Some of the eastern nations drink their wine after meat, but others before, which accounts for the difference of language among the inspired writers on this subject. The inhabitants of Syria and Canaan reserved their wine till the feast was over; which seems also to have been the custom in Egypt; for when Joseph entertained his brethren, he “took and sent messes of victuals from before him;” and after they had dined, and not till then, “they drank and were merry with him.” Among the Romans, the wine was not set down till after the first course. Thus, when Dido gave a public entertainment to the pious Æneas, “as soon as the first banquet ended, and the tables were withdrawn, they place large goblets and crown the sparkling wine.”

“Postquam prima quies epulis, menseque remotæ  
Crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.” *Æn.* 1. 723.

A different custom, however, prevailed in Persia, where the time for drinking wine was at the beginning, not at the close of the entertainment. Olearius thus describes a solemn banquet at the Persian court: “The floor of the hall was covered with a cotton cloth, which was covered with all sorts of fruits and sweetmeats in basons of gold. With them was served up excellent Shiras wine. After an hour’s time the sweetmeats were removed, to make way for the more substantial part of the entertainment, such as rice, boiled and roasted mutton, &c. After having been at table an hour and a half, warm water was brought in an ewer of gold for washing; and grace being said, they began to retire without speaking a word, according to the custom of the country.” It is probably to the same people that Chardin refers in his observations on the banquet which Esther prepared for the king and Haman: the eastern people drink and discourse before eating; and after the rest is served up, the feast is quickly over, as they eat very fast, and every one presently withdraws. It was, perhaps, for this reason the entertainment given by Esther is called, not a feast, but uniformly a banquet of wine;

\* Prov. xxxi. 15.

because wine was the first course at the table of a Persian monarch, and occupied a much larger portion of time than all the others. They sat, according to Olearius, an hour at this wine ; but only half an hour at the more substantial part of the feast.\*

The oriental banquet, in consequence of the intense heat, is often spread upon the verdant turf, beneath the shade of a tree, where the streaming rivulet supplies the company with wholesome water, and excites a gentle breeze to cool their burning temples. To fountains, or rivers, says Dr. Chandler, the Turks and the Greeks frequently repair for refreshment, especially the latter on their festivals, when whole families are seen sitting on the grass, and enjoying their early or evening repast, beneath the trees by the side of a rill. And we are assured by the same author, that in such grateful retreats, they often give public entertainments. He visited an assembly of Greeks, who, after celebrating a religious festival, were sitting under half tents, with store of melons and grapes, besides lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provisions. Such appears to have been the feast which Adonijah gave his friends at Enrogel.† It was held near a well or fountain of water, and there “he slew sheep, and oxen, and fat cattle, and invited his brethren” and the principal people of the kingdom. Enrogel was not chosen for secrecy, for it was in the vicinity of the royal city, but the beauty of the surrounding scenery. It was not a magnificent cold collation ; the animals on which they feasted were, on the contrary, killed and dressed on the spot for this princely repast.

On these joyous occasions, any person that happens to pass by, is invited to join the company, and share in their enjoyments. The beauty of the scene tends to elevate and open their hearts, and to produce kind and generous affections, which prompt them to welcome the weary traveller to their society. To such invitations the prophet seems to refer : “In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour, under the vine and under the fig tree.”‡ Ye shall invite your

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 2. p. 152.

† 1 Kings i. 9.

‡ Zech. iii. 10.

neighbours, and the traveller that happens to pass by, to the pleasures of your retirement, and to share under the shade of the vine and the fig tree, the exuberant bounties of heaven. As the words of the prophet evidently refer to a state of high prosperity which the chosen people were to enjoy ; they cannot naturally be understood to mean a call for relief, to those who were sitting at their repast under the shade of the trees, but an invitation to those that passed by to share in their comforts.

Many of the Arabs, and other eastern people, use no spoons in eating their victuals ; they dip their hands into the milk, which is placed before them in a wooden bowl, and lift it to their mouth in their palm. Le Bruyn observed five or six Arabs eating milk together, on the side of the Nile, as he was going up that river to Cairo ; and d'Arvieux says they eat their pottage in the same manner. Is it not reasonable to suppose, says Harmer, that the same usage obtained anciently among the Jews ; and that Solomon refers to it when he says, " A slothful man hides his hand in the dish, and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again ?" Our translators render it the bosom ; but the word every where signifies a pot or dish. The meaning, therefore, according to Harmer is, " the slothful man having lifted up his hand full of milk or pottage to his mouth, will not do it a second time ; no, though it be actually dipped into the milk or pottage, he will not submit to the fatigue of lifting it again from thence to his mouth." But as it is rather a caricature to represent the sluggard as so excessively indolent or lazy, that he will rather let his hand lie in the dish among the milk or pottage, than lift it to his mouth a second time, the explanation of Dr. Russel is to be preferred : " The Arabs, in eating, do not thrust their whole hand into the dish, but only their thumb and two first fingers, with which they take up the morsel, and that in a moderate quantity at a time. I take, therefore, the sense to be, that the slothful man, instead of taking up a moderate mouthful, thrusts his hand into the pillaw, or such like, and takes a handful at a time, in order to avoid the trouble of returning fre-

quently to the dish." According to this view, the slothful man endeavours by one effort to save himself the trouble of continued exertion. It seems to have been adopted by the Arabs, as much for the sake of despatch as from necessity: for d'Arvieux says, a man would eat upon very unequal terms with a spoon, among those that use the palms of their hands instead of them. This mode of drinking was used by three hundred men of Gideon's army: "And the number of them that lapped, putting their hands to their mouth, were three hundred men; but all the rest of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water."\* Three hundred men, immediately on their coming to the water, drank of it in the quickest manner they could, by lifting it in their palms, and lapping it like a dog, that they might be ready, without delay, to follow their leader to the battle: the rest took up water in pitchers, or some kind of vessel, and bending down upon their heels and knees, or with their knees placed upright before them, either of which might be called bowing their knees to drink, they handed these drinking vessels slowly from one to another, as at an ordinary meal; an act which procured their dismissal. The Hottentot manner of drinking water from a pool, or stream, seems exactly to coincide with the mode adopted by the three hundred, and gives a very clear idea of it: They throw it up with their right hand into their mouth, seldom bringing the hand nearer than the distance of a foot from the mouth, and so quickly, that however thirsty, they are soon satisfied. Mr. Campbell, who had an opportunity of seeing this operation, when travelling among that people, frequently tried to imitate it, but without success.†

The oriental feast has been from time immemorial, enlivened with music and dancing. In the heroic ages, dancing was reckoned an amusement so becoming persons of honour and wisdom, that the Grecian poets give Apollo the title of the dancer, from his fondness of this diversion; and represent the supreme Jupiter himself, as by no means reluctant to display his agility in this way.

Μισσοισιν δ' ὠρχητο πατρὶς ἀνδρῶντι θεῶντι.

\* Judg. vii. 6.

† Campbell's Trav. p. 112.



At Rome, the custom was quite different, for there, to use the words of Cicero, *Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit*, &c. "No man dances unless he is either drunk or mad, either in private, or at a modest and decent entertainment; dancing is the very last effect of luxury and wantonness." Even in Greece, where dancing was numbered among the liberal sciences, wanton and effeminate dances were condemned as indecent in men of wisdom and character. This amusement was not withheld from God's ancient people; but it was confined chiefly to the female sex, who seem, in every instance mentioned in Scripture, to have enjoyed it by themselves. The men and women of Israel never mingled in the dance, so far as the writer can perceive from the sacred history, except on one occasion, when they worshipped the golden calf. Nor is the view now given contradicted by our Lord's allusion, in the parable of the prodigal son; for he only mentions music and dancing, without saying a word about the mode; we have therefore a right to conclude, it was conducted in the manner usual among the Jews.\*

But the highest pleasure which the ancients experienced at their feasts, arose from agreeable conversation. In the opinion of the ancient Greeks, says Athenæus, "it was more requisite and becoming to gratify the company by agreeable conversation, than with variety of dishes." And in the heroical ages, as Plutarch observes, it was usual to consult about affairs of the greatest importance at entertainments; hence Nestor, persuades Agamemnon to invite the Grecian commanders to an entertainment, in order to deliberate concerning the management of the war.† The Spartan youth frequented the public tables, as the schools of temperance and prudence, where they heard discourses of public affairs, and conversed with the most liberal and best accomplished masters. The same custom obtained in several other cities of Greece, in Persia, and other oriental states. This partly accounts for the discourses which our Lord delivered, and the interesting conversations he maintained, at public entertainments. It is not

\* Luke xv. 25.

† Il. b. 9. l. 70.

to be supposed, that the Son of God and the Redeemer of men, would suffer any favourable opportunity of doing good to escape, without improving it to the very best advantage ; but when he graciously drew the attention of his company to matters of the deepest interest, he availed himself of a custom familiar to every part of the east.

It was also customary to unbend their minds by turns, and divert them from serious affairs, by discourses on ludicrous subjects : but no pastime was more common, than that of proposing and answering difficult questions. The person who solved the question was honoured with a reward : he who failed in the attempt suffered a certain punishment ; both the rewards and penalties were varied, according to the disposition of the company. That the custom of proposing riddles was very ancient, and derived from the eastern nations, appears from the story of Samson, in the book of Judges, who proposed a riddle to the Philistines at his nuptial feast. Nor were these questions confined to entertainments, but in the primitive times, were proposed on other occasions, by those who desired to make proof of another's wisdom and learning. Agreeably to this custom, the queen of Sheba came to prove Solomon with hard questions.\*

When the company were ready to separate, a servant entered and sprinkled them profusely with rose water, as a valedictory mark of his master's regard. In some places, this was done at the beginning of the entertainment, and was considered as a cordial welcome. Mr. Bruce informs us, that when he rose to take his leave of an eastern family, he " was presently wet to the skin, by deluges of orange-flower water."† " The first time," says Niebuhr, " we were received with all the eastern ceremonies, (it was at Rosetta, at a Greek merchant's house) there was one of our company who was excessively surprised, when a domestic placed himself before him, and threw water over him, as well on his face, as over his clothes." It appears from the testimony of both these authors, that this is the customary mode of shewing respect and kindness to a guest in the east.

\* 1 Kings x. 1.

† Travels, vol. 3. p. 14.

The prophet Isaiah seems to refer to this custom, in a passage where he describes the character and functions of the Messiah: "So shall he sprinkle many nations; the kings shall shut their mouths at him."\* As the Father's chosen servant, he shall appear in the fulness of time, to display his infinite love, and impart the blessings of salvation, through his own blood, to the children of men. He shall welcome them to the feast of the gospel, by the effusion of his holy Spirit; and when they bid adieu to the courts of God's house on earth, he will see them again, and refresh their departing souls with "showers of blessing." The kings and princes of the earth, shall fall down in silent wonder and astonishment before him, and all nations shall serve him.†§

The entertainer occasionally dismissed his guests with costly presents. Lysimachus, of Babylon hav-

\* Isa. lii 15.

† See Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

---

§ While we admire the ingenuity of our author and of the editor of Calmet's Dictionary, to whom he refers, we beg leave to observe that we think the sober interpreter will find them both, in this instance, more ingenious than correct. They have, indeed, made out an illustration needed by the English translation, but not by the original text. Perhaps a better interpretation of this passage cannot be given, than that which is presented in the recent German version by Augusti and De Wette:

So wird er in verwunderung setzen viele völker;  
Ueber ihn werden kœnige ihren mund verschliessen.

So shall he excite wonder in many nations;  
At him kings shall shut their mouth.

The word *נִפְּחַל* (in *hiphil*, from *נָחַל*) signifies, he shall cause to spring, or start, or leap forth. Hence when used respecting liquids, it easily comes to indicate a sprinkling, a causing them to start forth upon surrounding objects. But then the name of the liquid is governed by the verb; and the name of that upon which it is sprinkled is always preceded by the preposition *עַל* or *לְ*. Certainly the connexion also in this place leads to the sense for which we contend—he shall cause many nations to leap with joyful wonder. And this interpretation is approved by the best Hebrew lexicographers, as Parkhurst, Gesenius, Simonis (edited by Eichhorn) and others; and it is supported by the Septuagint: *ὁὖτω θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ συνέξουσιν βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν*.—Thus shall many nations marvel at him, and kings shall shut their mouth. See also Bp. Lowth's note. I. C.

ing entertained Himerus the tyrant of the Babylonians and Seleucians, with three hundred other guests, gave every man a silver cup, of four pounds weight. When Alexander made his marriage feast at Susa in Persia, he paid the debts of all his soldiers out of his own exchequer, and presented every one of his guests, who were not fewer than nine thousand, with golden cups.\* The master of the house among the Romans, used also to give the guests certain presents at their departure, or to send them after they were gone, to their respective habitations.† It is probable that this custom, like many others which prevailed in Greece and Rome, was derived from the nations of Asia; for the sacred writers allude repeatedly to a similar custom, which closed the religious festivals or public entertainments among the chosen people of God. When David brought up the ark from the house of Obbedom, into the place which he had prepared for it, he offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord. And as soon as the solemnity was finished, “he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as men, to every one a cake of bread, and a flaggon of wine.”‡

Their ardent hospitality did not permit them to forget their relations and acquaintances that happened to be detained from their public banquets, by personal or domestic afflictions, or any other cause. To such persons it was the custom to send a part of what remained from the feast. Nehemiah alludes to this kind and generous usage, in his charge to the people: “Go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared.” Another instance of this custom occurs in the book of Esther: “Therefore the Jews made the fourteenth day of the month Adar, a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another.”§ The command of Nehemiah to send portions to those for whom nothing was prepared, has been generally understood to mean the poor; but as it was not a private

\* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. 2. p. 410.

† 2 Sam. vi. 19.

‡ Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 446.

§ Esth. ix. 19.



feast, but a national festival, in which the poor and the rich were equally concerned. it cannot, with propriety, be restricted to the former, but ought to be understood of all such as were unavoidably absent, and particularly of those that were in a state of mourning. In the last instance, their sending portions one to another, is expressly distinguished from gifts to the poor, in a subsequent verse,\* and, therefore, cannot have the same meaning. An oriental prince sometimes honours a friend or a favourite servant, who cannot conveniently attend at his table, by sending a mess to his own home. When the grand emir found that it incommoded d'Arvieux to eat with him, he politely desired him to take his own time for eating, and sent him what he liked from his kitchen at the time he chose. And thus, when David, the king of Israel pretended, for secret reasons too well known to himself, that it would be inconvenient for Urijah to continue at the royal palace, he dismissed him to his own house: "and there followed him," says the historian, "a mess of meat from the king."

The women are not permitted to associate with the other sex at an eastern banquet; but they are allowed to entertain one another in their own apartments. When Abasuerus, the king of Persia, treated all the people of his capital with a splendid feast, Vashti, the queen, we are informed, "made a banquet for the women in the royal house, which belonged to king Abasuerus." This, observes Chardin, is the custom of all the east; the women have their feasts at the same time, but apart from the men. And Maillet informs us in his letters, that the same custom is observed in Egypt. This is undoubtedly the reason that the prophet distinctly mentions "the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride;"† he means that the noise of nuptial mirth was heard in different apartments. The personal voices of the newly married pair cannot be understood, but the noisy mirth which a marriage feast commonly excites; for in Syria, and probably in all the surrounding countries, the bride is condemned to abso-

\* Verse 22.

† Jer. xxvi. 10.

lute silence, and fixed by remorseless etiquette to the spot where she has been seated.\*

---

## CHAP. VI.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES OF THE EAST.

AMONG the Jews, the state of marriage was, from the remotest periods of their history, reckoned so honourable, that the person who neglected, or declined to enter into it, without a good reason, was thought to be guilty of a great crime. Such a mode of thinking was not confined to them; in several of the Grecian states, marriage was held in equal respect; it was greatly encouraged by their laws, and the neglect of it discountenanced or punished. The Lacedæmonians subjected to severe penalties those men who deferred, or wholly abstained from marrying. The Athenians enacted a law, by which all who were entrusted with public affairs, were to be married, and have children and estates; for these were regarded as so many pledges of their good behaviour.

The Jews did not allow marriageable persons to enter into that honourable state without restriction; the high priest was forbidden by law to marry a widow, and the priests of every rank, to take a harlot to wife, a profane woman, or one put away from her husband. To prevent the alienation of inheritances, an heiress could not marry but into her own tribe. The whole people of Israel, being a holy nation, separated from all the earth to the service of the true God, and to be the depositaries of his law, were forbidden to contract matrimonial alliances with the idolatrous nations in their vicinity. To check the licentiousness of the human heart, and to distinguish the chosen people from the

heathen around them, that were exceedingly dissolute in their manners, and betrayed a violent propensity to marry their nearest relations, certain degrees of affinity were fixed by divine authority, within which the conjugal relation was not to be formed. Since it pleased the Creator to make of one blood the whole human race, it was not possible in the first generations of our family, to avoid the intermarriage of very near relations. The Jewish writers maintain that marriage, within the degrees of affinity, was not forbidden before the giving of the law, that with one's own mother, or step-mother, or the sister of the same mother excepted. An incident in the history of Abraham seems to corroborate this opinion. When Abimelech, the king of Gerar, complained that the patriarch had imposed upon him by calling Sarah his sister, when she was in reality his wife, the latter replied: "And yet indeed she is my sister, she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife."\* The same liberty was claimed in other parts of the world. The Lacedæmonian lawgiver allowed marriages between the children of the same mother, but of different fathers. At Athens, they were forbidden to marry sisters by the same mother, but not those by the same father. Thus the renowned Cimon being unable, on account of his extreme poverty, to provide a suitable match for his sister Elpinice, married her himself. Plutarch says this was done publicly, and without any fear of the laws; and Cornelius Nepos likewise assures us, that it was nothing but what the custom of their country allowed. The greater part of the Greeks, however, considered it as a scandalous thing to contract marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity. Hermione, in Euripides, reprobates the custom which permitted a brother to marry his sister, with no less detestation than that which permitted a son to marry his mother, or a father, his daughter. The Lacedæmonians were forbidden to enter into the married state with any of their kindred, in the degrees either of ascent or descent; but collateral relations might contract marriage; for ne-

\* Gen. xx. 12.

phews married their aunts, and uncles their nieces. The marriage of brothers and sisters was utterly illegal. But several of the barbarous nations disregarded altogether the rules of decency, and allowed unlawful and incestuous mixtures: the Persians are particularly distinguished by such practices; for their Magi, the most sacred persons among them, were the offspring of mothers and their own sons.\*

The time of marriage was not the same in all countries; the Spartans and Athenians were not permitted to marry till they arrived at full maturity; but among the Jews, a young man might be given in marriage after he had completed his thirteenth year and one day; and a virgin when she was twelve years old and one day; but the males were commonly married at the age of eighteen. In Italy, the age of puberty, or marriage, was from fourteen for men, and twelve for girls.†

The marriage engagement of a minor, without the knowledge and consent of the parents, was of no force; so sacred was the parental authority held among that people. Grecian virgins were not allowed to marry without the consent of their parents; whence Hero, in *Musæus*, tells *Lysander* they could not be honourably joined in marriage, because her parents were against it:

Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶς τοκίεσσιν ἐπιυᾶδν.

The mother's consent was necessary, as well as the father's; and therefore *Iphigenia*, in *Euripides*, was not to be given in marriage to *Achilles*, till *Clytemnestra* approved the match. Nor were men permitted to marry without consulting their parents, who claimed a right to control their affections, and even to dispose of them in marriage. *Achilles* refuses *Agamemnon's* daughter, and leaves it to his father *Peleus* to choose him a wife:

Ἡ γὰρ δὴ με σαῖσι θεοῖς, καὶ οἰκαδ' ἰκῶμαι

Πηλεὺς θῆν μοι ἐπειτα γυναῖκα γαμήσεται αὐτός. *Il. b. 9. l. 39.*

These customs appear to have been derived from a very remote antiquity; for when *Eliczer* of *Damascus* went to *Mesopotamia* to take a wife from thence unto his master's son, he disclosed the motives of his jour-

\* *Potter's Gr. Antiquities*, v. 2. p. 238. † *Adam's Rom. Antiq.* p. 451.



ney to the father and brother of Rebecca;\* and Hamor applied to Jacob and his sons, for their consent to the union of Dinah with his son Shechem.† Samson also consulted his parents about his marriage; and entreated them to get for him the object of his choice.‡ The right of the parents, in all ordinary cases, to dispose of both their sons and their daughters, under the law, is recognized in many parts of the Old Testament; but it appears from the conduct of Samsom, that it was not absolute in every case, for when his parents objected to his choice, he renewed his suit in a more peremptory tone: “Then his father and his mother said unto him, Is there never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? And Samson said unto his father, get her for me, for she pleaseth me well.”

In Mesopotamia the younger daughter could not be given in marriage before the elder. This rule of conduct Laban pleaded as his excuse for substituting Leah in the place of Rachel: “It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born.” The existence of this rule, and its application to practice, in those parts of the world, is confirmed by the Hindoo law, which makes it criminal to give the younger daughter in marriage before the elder; or for a younger son to marry while his elder brother remains unmarried.§

Marriage is evidently meant by Scripture and reason, to be the union of one man with one woman. When God said, “It is not good that the man should be alone;” he promised him the help only of a single mate: “I will make him an help meet for him.”|| This gracious promise he soon performed in the formation of one woman; a clear intimation of his will that only one man and one woman should be joined in wedlock. This design Adam recognized, and acknowledged in express terms; and his declaration was certainly meant as a rule for his descendants in every succeeding age: “Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and

\* Gen. xxiv. 34.

† Ch. xxxiv. 6.

‡ Judg. xiv. 2, 3.

§ Maurice's Ind. Antiq. also Gen. xxix. 26.

|| Gen. ii. 18.

shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh." These quotations, which are all couched in terms of the singular number, are inconsistent with the doctrine of polygamy. The original appointment was confirmed by our Lord in these words: "Have ye not read, that he which made you at the beginning, made them male and female; and said, for this cause, shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh."\* The apostle is not less decisive in his direction to the churches: "Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife; and let every woman have her own husband."† But though the law is so decisive, it cannot be doubted that polygamy was introduced soon after the creation; Lamech, one of the descendants of Cain, and only the sixth person from Adam, married two wives; he was probably the first who ventured, in this manner, to transgress the law of his Maker. This unwarrantable practice, derived from the antediluvian world, seems to have become very common soon after the flood; for it is mentioned as nothing remarkable that Sarah, when she despaired of having children, took her hand-maid Hagar, and gave her to Abraham her husband, by whom she had a son. Both Esau and Jacob had a number of wives; and that is undoubtedly one of the practices which Moses suffered to remain among his people, because of the hardness of their hearts, prohibiting only the high priest to have more than one wife.

Every transgression of the divine law is attended by its corresponding punishment. Polygamy has proved in all ages, and in all countries where it has been suffered, a teeming source of evil. The jealousy and bitter contentions in the family of Abraham, and of his grandson Jacob, which proceeded from that cause, are well known; and still more deplorable were the dissensions which convulsed the house, and shook the throne of David. Such mischiefs are the natural and necessary effects of the practice; for polygamy divides the affections of the husband, and by consequence, generates in-

\* Mat. xix. 4.

† 1 Cor. vii. 2.

curable jealousies and contentions among the unhappy victims of his licentious desires. To prevent his abode from becoming the scene of unceasing confusion and uproar, he is compelled to govern it, as the oriental polygamist still does, with despotic authority, which at once extinguishes all the rational and most endearing comforts of the conjugal state. The husband is a stern and unfeeling despot; his harem, a group of trembling slaves. The children espouse, with ardour unknown to those who are placed in other circumstances, the cause of their own mother, and look upon the children of the other wives as strangers or enemies. They regard their common father with indifference or terror; while they cling to their own mother with the fondest affection, as the only parent in whom they feel any interest, or from whom they expect any suitable return of attention and kindness. This state of feeling and attachment, is attested by every writer on the manners of the east: and accounts for a way of speaking so common in the Scriptures, "It is my brother, and the son of my mother." "They were my brethren," said Gideon, "the sons of my mother; as the Lord liveth, if ye had saved them alive, I would not slay you."\* It greatly aggravated the affliction of David, that he had become an alien to his mother's children;† the enmity of his brethren, the children of his father's other wives, or his more distant relatives, gave him less concern; "I am become a stranger to my brethren, and an alien to my mother's children." The same allusion occurs in the complaint of the spouse: "Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards."‡ The children of one wife, scarcely looked upon the children of the other wives as their brothers and sisters at all; and they scarcely felt more regard for their father. An oriental, in consequence of this unnatural practice, takes little notice of an insult offered to his father; but expresses the utmost indignation when a word is spoken to the disadvantage of his mother. To defame or to curse her,

\* Judg. viii. 19.

† Psal. lxxix. 8.

‡ Song i. 6, see also ch. viii. 1, 2.



is the last insult which his enemy can offer; and one which he seldom or never forgives. "Strike," cried an incensed African to his antagonist, "but do not curse my mother."\*

Marriage contracts seem to have been made in the primitive ages with little ceremony. The suitor himself, or his father, sent a messenger to the father of the woman, to ask her in marriage. Abraham sent the principal servant of his household, with a considerable retinue and costly presents, to the city of Nahor, to take a wife unto his son Isaac, from among his relations. The father of the suitor sometimes solicited the person whom he had chosen for his wife; for Hamor, the father of Shechem, went out unto Jacob, to treat with him about the marriage of Dinah to his son, the heir of his house, and the hope of his family. If the woman resided under her father's roof, the parents were consulted, and their consent obtained; and then the damsel was asked if she agreed to the proposal. The servant of Abraham stated the design of his journey to Bethuel and Laban, the father and brother of Rebecca, and solicited their consent; and when they had agreed to his request, they said, "we will call the damsel and inquire at her mouth. And they called Rebecca, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said I will go."

The kings and nobles of Israel were not more ceremonious on these occasions. When David heard that Nabal was dead, he sent messengers to Abigail to solicit her hand in marriage: "And they spake unto her, saying, David sent us unto thee to take thee to him to wife. And she arose and bowed herself on her face to the earth, and said, Behold, let thine handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord."† After the death of Uriah, the same prince sent and fetched Bathsheba to his house, and she became his wife. This entirely corresponds with the manner in which the oriental princes generally form their matrimonial alliances. The king of Abyssinia "sends an officer to the house where the lady lives, who announces to her, that it is the king's pleasure she should re-

\* Park's Trav. vol. 1.

† 1 Sam. xxv. 40, 41.



move instantly to the palace. She then dresses herself in the best manner, and immediately obeys. Thenceforward he assigns her an apartment in the palace, and gives her an house elsewhere, in any part she chooses. The nearest resemblance to marriage is when he makes her iteghe, or queen : for whether in the court or in the camp, he orders one of the judges to pronounce in his presence, that he, the king, has chosen his handmaid, naming her, for his queen ; upon which the crown is put upon her head, but she is not anointed.”\*

In the primitive ages, women received no portions from their relations when they were married ; but were purchased by their husbands, whose presents to the woman’s relations were called her dowry. Thus, we find Shechem bargaining with Jacob and his sons for Dinah. “ Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me, I will give : Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me ; but give me the damsel to wife.”† The practice still continues in the country of Shechem ; for when a young Arab wishes to marry, he must purchase his wife ; and for this reason, fathers, among the Arabs, are never more happy than when they have many daughters. They are reckoned the principal riches of a house. An Arabian suitor will offer fifty sheep, six camels or a dozen of cows ; if he be not rich enough to make such offers, he proposes to give a mare or a colt ; considering in the offer, the merit of the young woman, the rank of her family, and his own circumstances. When they are agreed on both sides, the contract is drawn up by him that acts as *cadi* or judge among these Arabs. In some parts of the east, a measure of corn is formerly mentioned in contracts for their concubines, or temporary wives, besides the sum of money which is stipulated by way of dowry. This custom is probably as ancient as concubinage, with which it is connected ; and if so, it will perhaps account for the prophet Hosea’s purchasing a wife of this kind, for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley.‡

\* Bruce’s Trav.

† Gen. xxxiv. 2.

‡ Chardin’s Trav.

When the intended husband was not able to give a dowry, he offered an equivalent. The patriarch Jacob who came to Laban with only his staff, offered to serve him seven years for Rachel; a proposal which Laban accepted. Saul, instead of a dowry, required David to bring him an hundred foreskins of the Philistines, under the pretence of avenging himself of his enemies. This custom has prevailed in later times; for in some countries they give their daughters in marriage to the most valiant men, or those who should bring them so many heads of the people with whom they happen to be at war. It is recorded of a nation in Carmania, that no man among them was permitted to marry, till he had first brought the head of an enemy to the king. Aristotle admits, that the ancient Grecians were accustomed to buy their wives; but they no sooner began to lay aside their barbarous manners, than this disgusting practice ceased, and the custom of giving portions to their sons-in-law, was substituted in its place. In like manner, the Romans, in the first ages of their history, purchased their wives; but afterwards, they required the wife to bring a portion to the husband, that he might be able to bear the charges of the matrimonial state more easily.

The contract of marriage was made in the house of the woman's father, before the elders and governors of the city or district. The manner of contracting or espousing was various. Sometimes the man put a piece of money into the woman's hand before witnesses, and said, Be thou espoused to me according to the law of Moses and Israel; or it was done by writing, which was no more than writing the same words with the woman's name, and delivering it to her before witnesses; or lastly, by cohabitation, when the law obliged the man to marry her whom he had dishonoured, if her father gave his consent. They had also several forms of betrothing in Greece; of which one is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, out of Menander: I give you this my daughter, to make you father of children lawfully begotten. According to Xenophon, the dowry was sometimes mentioned; for when Cyaxares betrothed his

daughter to Cyrus, he addressed him in these words : I give you, Cyrus, this woman, who is my daughter, with all Media for her dowry.

The espousals by money, or a written instrument, were performed by the man and woman under a tent or canopy erected for that purpose. Into this chamber the bridegroom was accustomed to go with his bride, that he might talk with her more familiarly ; which was considered as a ceremony of confirmation to the wedlock. While he was there, no person was allowed to enter ; his friends and attendants waited for him at the door, with torches and lamps in their hands ; and when he came out, he was received by all that were present with great joy and acclamation. To this ancient custom, the Psalmist alludes in his magnificent description of the heavens : “ In them he set a tabernacle for the sun ; which as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, rejoices as a strong man to run a race.”\*

A Jewish virgin legally betrothed, was considered as a lawful wife ; and by consequence, could not be put away without a bill of divorce. And if she proved unfaithful to her betrothed husband, she was punished as an adulteress ; and her seducer incurred the same punishment as if he had polluted the wife of his neighbour. This is the reason that the angel addressed Joseph, the betrothed husband of Mary, in these terms : “ Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife ; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.” The evangelist Luke gives her the same title : “ And Joseph also went up from Galilee unto Bethlehem, to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife.”†

Ten or twelve months commonly intervened between the ceremony of espousals, and the marriage ; during this interval, the espoused wife continued with her parents, that she might provide herself with nuptial ornaments suitable to her station. This custom serves to explain a circumstance in Samson’s marriage, which is involved in some obscurity : “ He went down,” says the

\* Psal. xix. 4.

† Luke ii. 4, 5.

historian, "and talked with the woman (whom he had seen at Timnath,) and she pleased him well." These words seem to refer to the ceremony of espousals; the following to the subsequent marriage, "And after a time he returned to take her."\* Hence, a considerable time intervened between the espousals, and their actual union.

From the time of the espousals, the bridegroom was at liberty to visit his espoused wife in the house of her father; yet neither of the parties left their own abode during eight days before the marriage; but persons of the same age visited the bridegroom, and made merry with him. These circumstances are distinctly marked in the account which the sacred historian has given us of Samson's marriage: "So his father went down unto the woman, and made there a feast; for so used the young men to do. And it came to pass when they saw him, that they brought thirty companions to be with him."† These companions were the children of the bride-chamber, of whom our Lord speaks: "Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them?"‡

An eastern bride submitted to various purifications, before the celebration of her nuptials. The virgins of Persia were prepared for the bed of Ahasuerus, "six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours, and with other things for the purifying of the women." It was a custom among the ancient Jews, to adorn the married couple with bridal crowns, which were generally of gold, made in the form of a tower. We discover this usage in the invitation of the spouse to her companions, "Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart."§ And in the compliment of the bridegroom: "Thine head upon thee is like Carmel," rising with the tower shaped crown, "like that mountain in shape; and rough with jewels as that mountain is with protuberances."|| The prophet

\* Judg. xiv. 7, &c. † Ch. xiv. 10. ‡ Mat. xix. 15. § Song iii. 11.  
|| Song vii. 5. See Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3. 1 hum. p. 89 and 2 hum. p. 147.



Isaiah makes an allusion to the same custom, where he celebrates, in strains of rapturous pleasure, the future prosperity of Zion: "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord; my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation; he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments;" literally, decketh himself with a crown.\*

The Greeks were decked with garlands of various herbs and flowers on their marriage day; whence Clytemnestra, in Euripides, speaks thus to Achilles about her daughter Iphigenia:

ματην μιν ἀλλ' ὁμῶς  
Σοὶ καλὰσι φασ' ἐγὼ νιν ἦγον ὡς γαμμεμένην.

"But oh, in vain, though I had crowned her to be wedded to thee." The hair of a Roman bride was, in like manner, crowned with flowers, after being divided into six locks with the point of a spear.† This very ancient practice of crowning the bridegroom and the bride, has been continued among the members of the Greek church in Egypt, to our own times.

The marriage ceremony was commonly performed in a garden, or in the open air; the bride was placed under a canopy, supported by four youths, and adorned with jewels according to the rank of the married persons; all the company crying out with joyful acclamations, Blessed be he that cometh. It was anciently the custom, at the conclusion of the ceremony, for the father and mother, and kindred of the woman, to pray for a blessing upon the parties. Bethuel and Laban, and the other members of their family, pronounced a solemn benediction upon Rebecca before her departure: "And they blessed Rebecca, and said unto her, thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions; and let thy seed possess the gate of those that hate them."‡ And in times long posterior to the age of Isaac, when Ruth the Moabitess was espoused to Boaz, "All the people that were in the gate, and the elders said, we are witnesses: The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house, like Rachel, and like Leah, which two

\* Isa. lxi. 11. † Potter's Gr. An vol. 2. p. 285.

‡ Gen. xxiv. 60.

did build the house of Israel ; and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem.”\* After the benedictions, the bride is conducted, with great pomp, to the house of her husband ; this is usually done in the evening ; and as the procession moved along, money, sweetmeats, flowers, and other articles were thrown among the populace, which they caught in cloths made for such occasions, stretched in a particular manner upon frames. The use of perfumes at eastern marriages is common ; and upon great occasions very profuse. Not only are the garments scented, till, in the Psalmist’s language, they smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia ; it is also customary for virgins to meet, and lead the procession, with silver gilt pots of perfumes ; and sometimes aromatics are burned in the windows of all the houses in the streets through which the procession is to pass, till the air becomes loaded with fragrant odours. In allusion to this practice it is demanded, “ Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness, like pillars of smoke perfumed with myrrh and frankincense.”† So liberally were these rich perfumes burned on this occasion, that a pillar of smoke ascended from the censurs, so high, that it could be seen at a considerable distance ; and the perfume was so rich, as to equal in value and fragrance all the powders of the merchant. The custom of burning perfumes on these occasions, still continues in the east ; for Lady Mary Wortly Montague, describing the reception of a young Turkish bride at the bagnio, says, “ Two virgins met her at the door ; two others filled silver gilt pots with perfumes, and began the procession, the rest following in pairs to the number of thirty. In this order they marched round the three rooms of the bagnio.” And Maillet informs us, that when the ambassadors of an eastern monarch, sent to propose marriage to an Egyptian queen, made their entrance into the capital of that kingdom, the streets through which they passed were strewed with flowers ; and precious odours burning in the windows, from very early in the morning, embalmed the air.

It was the custom among the ancient Greeks, and the

\* Ruth iv. 11, 12.

† Song iii. 6.

nations around them, to conduct the new married couple with torches and lamps to their dwelling, as appears from the messenger in Euripides, who says, he called to mind the time when he bore torches before Menelaus and Helena :

Νυν ἀναίεμαι τοῦ σου ἐμναίου παλιν, Ὀΐς.

These torches were usually carried by servants ; and the procession was sometimes attended with singers and dancers. Thus Homer, in his description of the shield of Achilles :

——— νῦτῃ μὲν ἔα γάμοι τέσσαι εἰλαπιναιτε, Ὀΐς. *Il. b. 18. l. 490.*

“ In one (of the sculptured cities) nuptials were celebrating, and solemn feasts ; through the city they conducted the new married pair from their chambers, with flaming torches, while frequent shouts of Hymen burst from the attending throng, and young men danced in skilful measures to the sound of the pipe and the harp.”

A similar custom is observed among the Hindoos. The husband and wife, on the day of their marriage, being both in the same palanquin, go about seven and eight o'clock at night, accompanied with all their kindred and friends ; the trumpets and drums go before them ; and they are lighted by a number of flambeaux ; immediately before the palanquin, walk many women, whose business it is to sing verses, in which they wish them all manner of prosperity. They march in this equipage through the streets, for the space of some hours, after which they return to their own houses, where the women and domestics are in waiting. The whole house is illumined with small lamps ; and many of those flambeaux already mentioned, are kept ready for their arrival, besides those which accompany them, and are carried before the palanquin.\* These flambeaux are composed of many pieces of old linen, squeezed hard against one another in a round figure, and thrust down into a mould of copper. The persons that hold them in one hand, have in the other a bottle of the same metal with the copper mould, which is full of oil, which they take care to pour out from time to time upon the linen, which other-

\* Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan.

wise gives no light. The Roman ladies were, in like manner, led home to their husbands in the evening, by the light of torches. A Jewish marriage seems to have been conducted in much the same way; for in that beautiful Psalm, where David describes the majesty of Christ's kingdom, we meet with this passage: "And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift; even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour. The king's daughter is all-glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold. She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of needle work; the virgins, her companions that follow her, shall be brought unto thee. With gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought: they shall enter into the king's palace."\* In the parable of the ten virgins, the same circumstances are introduced: "They that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them: but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps. While the bridegroom tarried," leading the procession through the streets of the city, the women and domestics that were appointed to wait his arrival at home, "all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Then all those virgins arose and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out."†

But among the Jews, the bridegroom was not always permitted to accompany his bride from her father's house; an intimate friend was often sent to conduct her, while he remained at home to receive her in his apartment. Her female attendants had the honour to introduce her; and whenever they changed the bride's dress, which is often done, they presented her to the bridegroom. It is the custom, and belongs to their ideas of magnificence, frequently to dress and undress the bride; and to cause her to wear on that same day all the clothes made up for her nuptials. For the same reason, the bridegroom's dress is less frequently changed. These circumstances discover the propriety and force of John's language, in his magnificent description of the Jewish

\* Psa. xlv. 12, &c.

† Matth. xxv. 6.



church in her millennial state : “ And I, John, saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.\*

Those that were invited to the marriage, were expected to appear in their best and gayest attire. If the bridegroom was in circumstances to afford it, wedding garments were prepared for all the guests, which were hung up in the antichamber for them to put on over the rest of their clothes, as they entered the apartments where the marriage-feast was prepared. To refuse, or even to neglect putting on the wedding garment, was reckoned an insult to the bridegroom, aggravated by the circumstance that it was provided by himself for the very purpose of being worn on that occasion, and was hung up in the way to the inner apartment, that the guests must have seen it, and recollected the design of its suspension. This accounts for the severity of the sentence pronounced by the king, who came in to see the guests, and found among them one who had neglected to put it on : “ And he saith unto him, friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless,” because it was provided at the expense of the entertainer, and placed full in his view. “ Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness : there shall he weeping and gnashing of teeth.”†

The arrival of the bride at the house of her husband, was followed by the marriage feast, at which they indulged in great mirth and hilarity. It was made entirely at the expense of the bridegroom ; thus Homer sings :

Εἰλαπτιη ἡε γαμος, ἐπι κεραιος ταδε γ' εἰσι.

“ A shot-free banquet, or a marriage feast,  
Not such as is by contribution made.”‡

From the parable of the marriage-feast, we have a right to conclude that such entertainments among the Jews were equally free. “ The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king which made a marriage for his son,

\* Rev. xxi. 2.

† Matth. xxii. 11.

‡ Potter, vol. 2. p. 288

and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding.”\*

The marriage feast was of old, frequently protracted to the length of seven days; for so long Samson entertained his friends at Timnath.† To this festival, Laban is thought by many divines to refer, in his answer to Jacob's complaint, that he had imposed Leah upon him instead of Rachel; “Fulfil the week of the marriage, and we will give thee this also.” This feast was called the nuptial joy, with which no other was to be intermixed; all labour ceased while it continued, and no sign of mourning or sorrow was permitted to appear. It may be only further observed, that even in modern times, none but very poor people give a daughter in marriage without a female slave for a handmaid, as hired servants are unknown in the oriental regions.‡ Hence Laban, who was a man of considerable property in Mesopotamia, “gave unto his daughter Leah, Zilpah his maid, for an handmaid;” and “to Rachel his daughter, Bilhah his handmaid, to be her maid.”§ In Greece also, the marriage solemnity lasted several days. On the third day, the bride presented her bridegroom with a robe; gifts were likewise made to the bride and bridegroom, by the bride's father and friends; these consisted of golden vessels, beds, couches, plates, and all sorts of necessaries for housekeeping, which were carried in great state to the house by women, preceded by a person carrying a basket, in the manner usual at processions, before whom went a boy in white vestments, with a torch in his hand. It was also customary for the bridegroom and his friends to give presents to the bride, after which, the bridegroom had leave to converse freely with her, and she was permitted to appear in public without her veil.|| To these circumstances the holy Psalmist certainly refers, in his magnificent description of Messiah's kingdom: “And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift; even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour” with gifts and offerings suited to their wealth and thy dignity.¶

\* Matth. xxii. 2. † Judg. xiv. 1. ‡ Chardin's Trav. § Gen. xxix. 24. 29.

|| Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. 2. p. 295.

¶ Psal. xlv. 12.

The apartments of the women are counted sacred and inviolable, over all the east; it is even a crime to inquire what passes within the walls of the harem, or house of the women. Hence, it is extremely difficult to be informed of the transactions in those sequestered habitations; and a man, says Chardin, may walk an hundred days, one after another, by the house where the women are, and yet know no more what is done there than at the farther end of Tartary. This sufficiently explains the reason of Mordecai's conduct, who "walked every day before the court of the women's house, to know how Esther did, and what should become of her."\*

The Arabs are not so scrupulous as the Turks about their women; and though they have their harem, or women's apartment in the tent, they readily introduce their acquaintances into it, or those strangers whom they take under their special protection. Pococke's conductor, in his journey to Jerusalem, led him two or three miles to his tent, where he sat with his wife and others round a fire. The faithful Arab kept him there for greater security, the wife being always with him; no stranger ever daring to come into the women's apartment unless introduced. We discover in this custom, the reason of Jael's invitation to Sisera, when he was defeated by Barak: "Turn in, my lord, turn in to me, fear not."† She invited him to take refuge in her own division of the tent, into which no stranger might presume to enter; and where he naturally supposed himself in perfect safety.

The married women among the orientals, are reduced to a state of great subjection. In Barbary, they regard the civility and respect which the politer nations of Europe pay to the weaker sex, as extravagance, and so many infringements of that law of nature, which assigns to man the pre-eminence. The matrons of that country, though they are considered indeed as servants of better station, yet have the greatest share of toil and business upon their hands. While the lazy husband reposes under some neighbouring shade, and the young

\* Esther ii. 11.

† Judg. iv. 18.

people of both sexes tend the flocks, the wives are occupied all the day long, either in toiling on their looms, or in grinding at the mill, or in preparing bread or other kind of farinaceous food. Nor is this all; for to finish the day, "at the time of the evening," to use the words of the sacred historian, "even at the time that women go out to draw water," they must equip themselves with a pitcher or goat's skin, and tying their sucking children behind them, trudge out in this manner, two or three miles, to fetch water. In Palestine, where the women of superior rank, at least, are treated with more respect, the married ladies commonly express their submission and regard, by kissing the beards of their husbands. To such a state of connubial society, the Psalmist seems to allude in these words: "So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty; for he is thy Lord, and worship thou him."\*

In the kingdom of Algiers, the women and children are charged with the care of their flocks and their herds, with providing food for the family, cutting fuel, fetching water, and when their domestic affairs allow them, with tending their silk worms. The daughters of the Turcomans in Palestine, are employed in the same mean and laborious offices. In Homer, Andromache fed the horses of her heroic husband.† It is probable, the cutting of wood was another female occupation. The very great antiquity of these customs, is confirmed by the prophet Jeremiah, who complains that the children were sent to gather wood for idolatrous purposes; and in his Lamentations, he bewails the oppressions which his people suffered from their enemies, in these terms: "They took the young men to grind, and the children fell under the wood."‡

Hence the servile condition to which the Gibeonites were reduced by Joshua, for imposing upon him and the princes of the congregation, appears to have been much more severe than we are apt at first to suppose. "Now, therefore, ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood, and drawers of water for the house of my God."§

\* Psal. xlv. 11. † Il. b. 8. 1. 187. ‡ Lam. v. 13. § Josh. ix. 23.



The bitterness of their doom did not consist in being subjected to a laborious service, for it was the usual employment of women and children; but in their being degraded from the characteristic employment of men, that of bearing arms, and condemned with their posterity for ever to the employment of females.

In ancient Greece, the women were strictly confined within their lodgings, especially virgins and widows; of whom the former, as having less experience in the world, were more closely watched. Their apartment was commonly well guarded with locks and bolts; and sometimes they were so straitly confined, that they could not pass from one part to another without permission. New married women were almost under as strict a confinement as virgins; but when once they had brought forth a child, they commonly enjoyed greater liberty. This indulgence, however, was entirely owing to the kindness of their husbands; for those who were jealous or morose, kept their wives in perpetual imprisonment. But how gentle and kind soever husbands might be, it was considered as very indecent for women to go abroad. Euripides accordingly says,

Εἰδὼν γυναῖκων καὶ παρ' αἰκιστῶν λόλος.

“ Women should keep within doors, and there talk.” To these long established ideas of propriety, as well as to the intrinsic fitness of the custom, the apostle Paul undoubtedly had respect in his directions to the churches in Greece, and its vicinity: “ And withal they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tatlers also, and busy bodies, speaking things which they ought not. I will therefore, that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully.”\* He draws the attention of Titus to the same subject: “ That they (the aged women) may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, *keepers at home*, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blas-

\* 1 Tim. v. 14.

phemed.”\* A Jewess was not so much confined; but still it was deemed improper for her to appear much in public; for in Hebrew she is called (אִמְהָ) *Almah*, from a verb which signifies to hide or conceal, because she was seldom or never permitted to mingle in promiscuous company. The married women, though less restrained, were still expected to keep at home, and occupy their time in the management of their household. In the book of Proverbs, the wise man states it as a mark of a dissolute woman, that “her feet abide not in her house;”† while “every wise woman,” by her industrious and prudent conduct, “buildeth her house.”‡ “She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.”

When a child was brought into the world, the ancient Greeks washed it with water; in Callimachus, the mother of Jupiter, as soon as he saw the light, sought for some clear brook to purify the body of so dear a progeny.

*Αὔλα διζήτο ροὴν ὕδατος καὶ τέκος  
Αὐμὰ χυλῶσαι τοῖς δ' ἐν χρωτα λούσαι.*

The next action deserving of notice, is cutting the child's navel, which was done by the nurses; whence originated the proverbial saying among the Greeks, “thy navel is not cut,” meaning, you are an infant, and scarce separated from your mother. Then the nurse wrapped the child in swaddling bands, lest its tender and flexible limbs should be distorted. Weakly or deformed children, the Lacedæmonians ordered to be cast into a deep cavern, thinking it neither for the good of the children themselves, nor for the public interest, that they should be brought up; but many persons exposed their children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them. Children were commonly exposed in their swaddling clothes, and laid in a vessel; thus, Ion was exposed by Crusa, and Moses by his mother when she could conceal him no longer. The parents frequently tied jewels and rings to the children they exposed, or

\* Tit. ii. 4, 5.

† Prov. vii. 11.

‡ Ch. xiv. 1. and ch. xxxi. 27.

any thing else by which they might afterwards discover them, if providence took care of their safety ; or to encourage such as found them, to nourish and educate them if alive, or to give them human burial if dead. These circumstances the prophet Ezekiel introduces into his description of the mean origin, and miserable condition of God's ancient people, under the cruel oppression of Pharaoh : " Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem, Thy birth, and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan ; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite. And as for thy nativity in the day thou wast born, thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to supple thee ; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all. None eye pitied thee, to do any of these unto thee, to have compassion upon thee ; but thou was cast out in the open field, to the loathing of thy person, in the day that thou wast born."\* The founders of the Jewish people sojourned in the land of Canaan, where the Amorites and the Hittites bore the principal sway, without power or inheritance, or possession of any kind, except a burial place, often in fear of their jealous neighbours, and compelled to wander from one nation to another. Driven by famine from that country, they took refuge in Egypt, the open field into which they were cast. There the government, envying their prosperity, and fearing the rapid increase of their numbers, withdrew their favour and protection, reduced them to slavery, ruled over them with rigour, embittered their lives with intolerable oppression, and meditated nothing less than their utter extermination. Their male children were ordered to be strangled in their birth ; and it is not unlikely that many were, like Moses, exposed in the open field. That devoted people had no protector, none to interest themselves in their affairs, none to pity their extreme wretchedness. No care was taken of their infant state, to preserve and nurse it ; but every art was employed which a barbarous policy could dictate, to destroy it in the very beginning of its career. The new born infant, naked, polluted, and destitute,

\* Ezek. xvi. 3, 4, 5.

is not in greater peril when exposed in the open field, than was the chosen seed in the land of Egypt. "And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood, live."

It is the custom in many parts of the east, to carry their children astride upon the hip, with the arm round the body.\* In the kingdom of Algiers, when the slaves take the children out, the boys ride upon their shoulders;† and in a religious procession, which Symes had an opportunity of seeing at Ava, the capital of the Burman empire, the first personages of rank that passed by, were three children borne astride on men's shoulders.‡ It is evident from these facts, that the oriental children are carried sometimes the one way, sometimes the other. Nor was the custom in reality different in Judea, though the prophet expresses himself in these terms: "They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders;§ for, according to Dr. Russel, the children able to support themselves, are usually carried astride on the shoulder; but in infancy they are carried in the arms, or awkwardly on one haunch.|| Dandini tells us, that on horseback the Asiatics "carry their young children upon their shoulders with great dexterity. These children hold by the head of him who carries them, whether he be on horseback or on foot, and do not hinder him from walking, nor doing what he pleases."¶ "This," says Taylor, "augments the import of the passage in Isaiah, who speaks of the Gentiles bringing children thus: so that distance is no objection to this mode of conveyance, since they may thus be brought on horseback from "among the peoples," however remote."\*\*

Illegitimacy was reputed a dishonour in ancient Greece, from the time her infant states began to submit to the control of laws and regular government. The state of public feeling in that country is indicated with great clearness by Agamemnon in his exhortation to

\* Chardin's Trav.  
§ Isa xlix. 22.

† Pitt's Trav.  
|| Hist. of Aleppo.

‡ Symes' Hist:  
¶ Voy. au. Mont. Liban. p. 72

\*\* Calmet, vol. 3.



Teucer to fight bravely, because his gallant conduct would reflect honour upon his father, for whose credit he ought to have a more tender concern, since notwithstanding his illegitimacy, he had been carefully educated under Telamon's own eye, and in his own house. The argument proceeds upon the fact, supposed to be well known to Teucer, that the care and indulgence which he had enjoyed under his father's roof, was by no means common in those times. Besides the use of the particle *τις* after *Νεφον*, clearly establishes an inequality between legitimate children and bastards: the words of Homer are:

Πᾶσι τε σὺ Τελαμῶνι ὃ σ' ἐτρεφε Τυΐδου εὐστία  
Καὶ σὺ νοθῶν τις εὐστία κερμίσσαςτο ὃ νῦν οἰκῶ.

A bastard among the Greeks was even despised and exposed to public scorn on account of his spurious origin; for Ion, the son of Apollo by Creusa, the wife of an Athenian king, is introduced by Euripides, complaining of his hard fortune in being illegitimate.

Ἴν' εἰσπεσεῖμαι δυν νοσῶ κικλήμενος, ὧς.

"Then where shall wretched I intrude myself,  
Who am on two accounts most desperate—  
A bastard son, and of a stranger too?  
And to complete my most opprobrious fate,  
Am most infirm: on these accounts shall I  
Be there despised, and made a public scorn."\*

The Jewish father seems to have bestowed as little attention on the education of his natural children as the Greek: he seems to have resigned them, in a great measure, to their own inclinations; he neither checked their passions, nor corrected their faults, nor stored their minds with useful knowledge. This is evidently implied in these words of the apostle: "If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons."†

To restrain the licentious desires of the heart, Jehovah by an express law, fixed a stigma upon the bastard,

\* Potter's *Gr. Antiq.* vol. 2. p. 338.

† Heb. xii. 7, 8.

which was not to be removed till the tenth generation ; and to shew that the precept was on no account to be violated, or suffered to fall into disuse, it is immediately repeated, “ A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord ; even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the Lord.”\*

Persons who had no lawful issue, were allowed to adopt whom they pleased, whether their own natural sons, or (by consent of their parents) the sons of other men. At Athens, foreigners being excluded from the inheritance of estates within their territory, upon their adoption, were made free of the city. The adopted person had his name enrolled in the tribe and ward of his new father ; he was invested with all the privileges and rights of a legitimate son, and obliged to perform all the duties belonging to the latter. Being thus provided for in another family, he ceased to have any claim of inheritance or kindred in the family which he had left, unless he first renounced his adoption. This custom the Greeks borrowed from the eastern nations, or perhaps brought it with them from Asia, when they first crossed the Hellespont, and settled in Europe. Pharaoh’s daughter adopted Moses for her son ; and Mordecai received Esther into his house, and acknowledged her as his own daughter. To this ancient custom the Spirit of God sometimes alludes in the sacred Scriptures ; and borrows the name by which it was distinguished, to intimate the high station and valuable privileges which the sinner attains in the day of conversion. The Father of mercies adopts his children, when he graciously admits strangers and foreigners, as all the children of Adam are become, into the state and relation of children, through Jesus Christ, in whom they believe, upon whose blood and righteousness they rely for pardon and acceptance ; “ for to as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God ; even to them that believe on his name.” “ They are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.” They are regenerated by the power of the Holy Ghost, and are brought, through his

\* Deut. xxi. 2.

powerful and saving influences, into an affectionate and submissive temper of mind towards God as their reconciled Father. They have a right to all the privileges of sons; they are made partakers of a divine nature; nourished with the sincere milk of the word; kept by his almighty power; guarded by his ministering angels; clothed with the garments of salvation, and adorned with the robe of righteousness. He gives them an understanding to know the gospel, and makes them wise unto salvation; he visits their sins with stripes, and their iniquities with chastisements; he admits them to fellowship with himself, and with his son Jesus Christ; he makes all things work together for their good; he guides them with his counsel while they live, and afterwards receives them to glory.

But while some, by adoption, are raised from a state of meanness and penury to sudden affluence and honour, others by a severe reverse are depressed into long or perpetual bondage. The fate of war, a long series of domestic calamities, the fraud or violence of a too powerful neighbour, or other causes, have in almost all ages, involved no inconsiderable portion of the human race in the miseries inseparable from a state of servitude. Among the oriental nations, slavery seems to have existed from the remotest times. The holiest and the most benevolent of men did not consider it as a crime to detain their fellow creatures in this degrading condition. The servants of Abraham appear to have been all of this class; and the privilege of keeping slaves was extended to his posterity by the laws of Moses. The number of slaves, or servants as they are called in our translation, seems never to have been very great at any period of the Jewish history, because the moderate extent of their inheritances, and their own frugal and industrious habits, rendered a numerous establishment unnecessary; yet some Israelites, we are told by the inspired writer, had not less than twenty servants; and the number in other families was perhaps still greater. The slaves in the Hebrew commonwealth were either Jews by birth, or Gentiles in descent, that became afterwards proselytes to the religion of their masters, or

at least renounced idolatry, and conformed to the precepts of Noah. The laws which regulated the acquisition and treatment of slaves, are stated with sufficient clearness and precision in the Mosaic code, and have been explained at great length by Lewis and other writers on Jewish antiquities. In Greece, the unhappy beings that were reduced to a state of slavery, were wholly in the power and at the disposal of their masters, who were thought to have as good a title to them as to their lands and estates. In the land of promise, they were viewed in the same light; the very bodies of those slaves that were obtained by purchase from the surrounding nations, or by conquest, and of their children, they had a right to bequeath after their death; and had the same power and dominion over them as they had over their lands, their goods, or their cattle. A servant, says the Talmud, is like a farm in respect of buying, for he is bought with money, or with a writing, or by some service done, as a pledge or pawn. A servant bought by service, looses the buyer's shoe; carries such things after him as are necessary for the bath; he unclothes him, washes, anoints, rubs, dresses him, puts on his shoes, and lifts him up from the earth. But mean as these services are, the humble and self-denied precursor of Jesus did not think himself worthy to perform them to his Lord: "He that cometh after me is mightier than I; whose shoes I am not worthy to bear." These were the offices of the meanest slave, which that holy man thought himself unworthy to perform towards his Saviour; so high was his admiration of his character, and so lowly were the thoughts he entertained of himself.

It was a general custom in the east to brand their slaves in the forehead, as being the most exposed; sometimes in other parts of the body. The common way of stigmatizing was by burning the member with a red hot iron, marked with certain letters, till a fair impression was made, and then pouring ink into the furrows, that the inscription might be more conspicuous. Slaves were often branded with marks, or letters, as a punishment of their offences; but the most common design of these marks was to distinguish them if they



should desert their masters. For the same reason, it was common to brand their soldiers, but with this difference, that while slaves were marked in the hand, with the name, or some peculiar character belonging to their masters; soldiers were marked in the hand with the name or character of their general. In the same manner, it was the custom to stigmatize the worshippers and votaries of some false gods. Lucian affirms, that the worshippers of the Syrian goddess, were all branded with certain marks, some in the palms of their hands, and others in their necks. To this practice may be traced the custom, which became so prevalent among the Syrians, thus to stigmatize themselves; and Theodoret is of opinion, that the Jews were forbidden to brand their bodies with stigmata, because the idolaters, by that ceremony, used to consecrate themselves to their false deities. The marks employed on these occasions were various. Sometimes they contained the name of the god; sometimes his particular ensign, as the thunderbolt of Jupiter, the trident of Neptune, the ivy of Bacchus: or they marked themselves with some mystical number, which described the name of the god. Thus the sun, who was denoted by the number DC VIII. is said to have been represented by these two numeral letters XH. These three ways of stigmatizing, are all expressed by the apostle John in the book of Revelation: "And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the beast, or the number of his name."\* The followers of the beast received a mark in their right hand, because they ranged themselves under his banners, ready to support his interests, and extend his dominions with fire and sword: they bore the name of their general, the bishop of Rome, *λατινος*, and the number of his name, which is 666. But they also received the mark of slaves on their foreheads, to denote that they were his absolute property, whom he arrogated a right to dispose of according to his pleasure; who could neither buy nor sell,

\* Rev. xiii. 16. Potter's Gr. An. vol. 1. p. 65, 66.

live with comfort, nor die in peace, without his permission. But they were not only soldiers and slaves; they were also devotees, that regarded and acknowledged him as a god, and even exalted him above all that is called God and is worshipped; in token of which, they received a mark in the palm of their hand, or in their foreheads. The practice of marking the soldier and the devotee, although of great antiquity, may be traced to one origin, to a custom still more ancient, of marking a slave with some peculiar stigma, to prevent him from deserting his master's service, or rendering his discovery and restoration certain and easy.

The price of a slave, according to Maimonides, was thirty pieces of silver, whether male or female, without any regard to sex, or shape, or size, or intrinsic value. And this, it will be recollected, was the price at which the traitor sold the Redeemer of our souls; it was a part of the deep humiliation to which he submitted, to be valued by his betrayers and murderers only at the price of a Gentile slave, the meanest and the most despised of the human race. Slaves in the east, are often sold for much less in time of war. When the Tartars invaded Poland, they sold the children of that unhappy kingdom for a crown. In Mingrelia, they sell them for provisions and wine. It was a part of the misery which the people of Israel had to suffer for their iniquities, to see their children also sold for a trifle: "They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink."\*

The people of Israel, like all the nations of antiquity, had the power of life and death over their slaves; for slavery proceeded from the right of conquest, when the victors, instead of putting their enemies to death, chose rather to give them their lives, that they might have the benefit of their services. Hence it was supposed that the conqueror always reserved the power of taking away their lives, if they committed any thing worthy of death; and that he acquired the same power over their children, because they had never been born, if he had not

\* Joel iii. 3.

spared the father, and transmitted it when he alienated his slave. Such is the foundation of the absolute power claimed by the orientals over the unhappy persons whom they detained in slavery. It must be granted, that such reasons never can justify the exorbitant power of a slave-holder, or even his right to deprive his fellow creature of his liberty, who has been guilty of no adequate crime. The claims of Israel rested upon different grounds, the positive grant of Jehovah himself, who certainly has a right to dispose of his creatures as he pleases. But among that people, the power of the master was limited by laws, which secured the safety and comfort of the slave, perhaps as much as that condition could possibly admit. Though the Israelitish master had the power of life and death, it has been alleged by some writers that he seldom abused it; for his interest obliged him to preserve his slave, who made a part of his riches. This is the reason of the law, That he should not be punished who had smitten a servant, if he continued alive a day or two after. He is his money, says the lawgiver, to shew that the loss of his property was deemed a sufficient punishment; and it may be presumed, in this case, that the master only intended his correction. But if the slave died under the strokes, it was to be supposed the master had a real design to kill him, for which the law commanded him to be punished. But considerations of interest are too feeble a barrier to resist the impulse of passions, inflamed by the consciousness and exercise of absolute power over a fellow mortal. The wise and benevolent restraints imposed upon a master of slaves, by the law of Moses, clearly prove that he very often abused his power, or was in extreme danger of doing so; for laws are not made for the good, but for the evil doer.

The oriental slave must not presume to look his master in the face; he stands before him with his eyes cast on the ground, or directed to the hand of his master, watching the sign which is to regulate his movements. To this profound reverence and solicitous attention of the bondman in the presence of his owner, the Psalmist alludes, when he describes his feelings and conduct



in the presence of his God: "Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens. Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until that he have mercy upon us."\*

The slaves of the Greeks and Romans were treated with great severity, and very often with the most revolting injustice and cruelty. One of the most common punishments which that wretched class of mankind had to endure from the hands of their merciless lords, was to be whipped through the circus, bearing a gallows or cross; which strongly reminds us of the sufferings to which our blessed Lord was subjected on our account. Despised by the Gentiles, and abhorred by the Jews, as the vilest of malefactors, he was, like one of the meanest slaves, compelled to bear his cross, till he sunk under its weight. His disciples are required to submit to similar treatment for his sake; "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."

But, though the slaves in the oriental regions were treated with more severity than hired servants, their condition was by no means reckoned so degrading as in modern times, among the civilized nations of the west. The slave master in the east, when he has no son to inherit his wealth, and even when the fortune he has to bequeath is very considerable, frequently gives his daughter to one of his slaves. The wealthy people of Barbary, when they have no children, purchase young slaves, educate them in their own faith, and sometimes adopt them for their own children. This custom, so strange and unnatural, according to our modes of thinking, may be traced to a very remote antiquity; it seemed to have prevailed so early as the days of Abraham, who says of one of his slaves, "One born in mine house is mine heir:" although Lot, his brother's son, resided in his neighbourhood, and he had besides many relations in Mesopotamia. In the courts of eastern monarchs, it is well known, that slaves frequently rise to the highest honours of the state. The greatest men in

\* Ps. cxxiii. 1, 2.



the Turkish empire are originally slaves, reared and educated in the seraglio. When Maillet was in Egypt, there was an eunuch who had raised three of his slaves to the rank of princes ; and he mentions a Bey who exalted five or six of his slaves to the same office with himself. With these facts before us, we have no reason to question the veracity of the inspired writers, who record the extraordinary advancement of Joseph in the house of Pharaoh, and of Daniel, under the monarch of Babylon. These sudden elevations from the lowest stations in society, from the abject condition of a slave, or the horrors of a dungeon, to the highest and most honourable offices of state, are quite consistent with the established manners and customs of those countries.

---

## CHAP. VII.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE CONTRACTS AND COVENANTS OF THE EASTERN NATIONS.

THE earliest contracts of which we read in the sacred volume, seem to have been proposed merely in words. Of this kind, for any thing we can discover, was the agreement between Isaac and Abimelech the king of Gerar.\* A written instrument was the invention of an age long posterior ; for the first contract of this kind, of which we read in the Scriptures, is in the book of Jeremiah, and relates to a purchase of land. The law of Moses prescribes no writing, except in cases of divorce. But though it is presumable, that written contracts were not introduced till an advanced period of the Jewish history, we are not to suppose that such transactions were nugatory or insecure. The public manner in which they were commonly managed and concluded, and perhaps the general prevalence of simplicity and integrity in the intercourse of life, rendered them in most cases, perfectly safe. In the patriarchal

\* Gen. xxi. 29.

age, and for a long time afterwards, the gate of the city was the place where business was transacted. Abraham purchased his burying-place in the presence of all those that entered in at the gate of Hebron. Hamor and his son Shechem, went to the gate of their city, when they endeavoured to persuade their people to make an alliance with Jacob and his family. The way in which such transactions were managed in those primitive times, is beautifully described in the history of Ruth. Boaz, wishing to prevail with his kinsman, who had the right of redemption, either to perform the part of a kinsman to the wife of his deceased relative, or cede his right to himself, went up to the gate, and sat down there; he then called his relation to sit down, and took some of the elders of the place as witnesses; after they were all seated, he explained the matter, and obtained the acknowledgement he wanted, with all the formality prescribed by the law, which was to pull off his shoe; and concluded the business by taking the elders and all the people, who from curiosity or interest had gathered about them, as witnesses of the transaction. We read of no writing on the occasion, yet was the transfer made, and complete security given, by the acknowledged testimony of the elders and people that were present. It was at first reckoned sufficient, if the covenant was made in the presence of all the people; but in process of time, the ceremony of striking hands was introduced at the conclusion of a bargain, which has maintained its ground among the customs of civilized nations down to the present time. To strike hands with another, was the emblem of agreement among the Greeks under the walls of Troy; for Nestor complains in a public assembly of the chiefs, that the Trojans had violated the engagements which they had sanctioned by libations of wine, and giving their right hands.

Σπονδαὶ τ' ἀρχητοί, καὶ δεξιὰς ἡς ἐπιτίθων. *Il. b. 2. l. 341.*

And in another passage, Agamemnon protests that the agreement which the Trojans had ratified by the blood of lambs, libations of wine, and their right hands, could not in any way be set aside.\* The Roman faith

was plighted in the same way; for in Virgil, when Dido marked from her watch-towers the Trojan fleet setting forward with balanced sails, she exclaimed, is this the honour, the faith, “*En dextra fidesque!*”\* The wise man alludes often to this mode of ratifying a bargain, which shews, it was in general practice among the people: “My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger, thou art snared with the words of thy mouth”† Traces of this custom may be discovered in ages long anterior to that in which Solomon flourished; for Job, in his solemn appeal to God from the tribunal of men, thus expresses himself: “Lay down now, put me in surety with thee; who is he that will strike hands with me?”‡ The covenant which Abraham made with the king of Gerar, was ratified by a present of SEVEN EWE LAMBS. The interesting ceremony is thus described: “Abraham set seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves, and Abimelech said to Abraham, what mean these seven ewe lambs, which thou hast set by themselves? And he said, for these seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that they may be a witness unto me that I have digged this well.” This was accompanied with the solemnity of an oath, for it is added, “Wherefore he called that place *Beershebah*, because there they swore both of them. Thus they made a covenant at *Beershebah*.”§ The same form of ratification continues to be used among the Arabian shepherds; of which the following instance is given by Bruce: “Medicines and advice being given on my part, faith and protection pledged on theirs, two bushels of wheat, and SEVEN SHEEP were carried down to the boat: nor could we decline their kindness, as refusing a present in that country, is just as great an affront as coming into the presence of a superior without any present at all.”

Contracts were frequently ratified by oath. The common form of swearing was by lifting up the right hand; it was the form which Abraham used and was

\* Æn. 4. l. 597. † Prov. vi. 1. see also ch. xvii. 18. and xxii. 26.

‡ Job. xvii. 3.

§ Gen. xxi. 28.

so general in his time, that the phrase, to lift up the right hand, was equivalent to swearing by God: "And Abram said unto the king of Sodom, I have lifted up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread even to a shoe latchet, and that I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich."\* In the same form Jehovah was pleased to bind himself by oath: "For I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever." So when he promised to bring the people of Israel into Canaan, he is said to *lift up his hand*.† This form of swearing, by stretching out and lifting up the right hand, the Greeks and Romans derived from the nations of Asia. Thus Agamemnon swears in Homer,

——το σκῆπτρον ἀνίσχεται πασὶ θεοῖσιν, *Il. b. 7. l. 412.*

"To all the gods his sceptre he uplifts." In the same manner, Virgil makes the king of Latium plight his faith to Æneas and his followers: "Then thus Latinus, raising his eyes to heaven, succeeds, and to the stars stretches forth his right hand."

"Suscipiens coelum, tenditque ad sidera dextram."

*Æn. 12. l. 196.*

To give additional solemnity to his oath, he touched the altar before which he stood.

"Tango aras, mediosque ignes et numina testor."

Bishop Patrick alleges, that it was the custom of all nations to touch the altar when they made a solemn oath, calling God to witness the truth of what they said, and to punish them if they did not speak the truth; and he supposes that Solomon alludes to this practice, in his prayer at the dedication of the temple: "If any man trespass against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him, to cause him to swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house." But the royal suppliant says not one word about touching the altar; but clearly refers to the general practice of standing before it, for his words literally are: And the oath come (לפני מזבחך) before the face of thine altar. In imitation of God's ancient people, many of the surrounding

\* Gen. xiv. 22.

† Exod. vi. 8. Neh. ix. 15.



nations, among whom Livy and other celebrated writers of antiquity, mention the Athenians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, were accustomed to stand before the altar when they made oath; but it does not appear they laid their hand upon it, and by consequence, no argument from the sacred text, nor even from the customs of these nations, can be drawn for the superstitious practice of laying the hand upon the gospels, and kissing them, instead of the solemn form authorised by God himself, of lifting up the right hand to heaven. It is pretended, however, by some writers, that to put the hand upon the throne, was in some countries a ceremony that attended a solemn oath; and that Moses alludes to this custom in these words: "Because the Lord has sworn, (or literally, because the hand of the Lord is upon the throne,) that he will have war with Amalek, from generation to generation."\* But these words are susceptible of a very different meaning, which has not escaped the notice of some valuable commentators: For he said, because his hand hath been *against* the throne of the Lord, therefore, will he have war with Amalek, from generation to generation. The prophet is there giving a reason of the perpetual war which Jehovah had just proclaimed against that devoted race; their hand had been against the throne of the Lord, that is, they had attacked the people whom he had chosen, and among whom he had planted his throne; disregarding, or probably treating with contempt, the miraculous signs of the divine presence, which led the way, and warranted the operations of Israel; they attempted to stop their progress, and defeat the promise of Heaven; therefore they dared to lift their hand against the throne of God himself, and were for their presumption, doomed to the destruction which they intended for others. Hence, the custom of laying the hand upon the gospels, as an appeal to God, if not the contrivance of modern superstition, is derived from the practice of some obscure Gentile nation, and has no claim whatever to a more reputable origin.

A very ancient form of swearing was by putting the

\* Exod. xvii. 16.

hand under the thigh. After this manner, the patriarch Abraham took an oath of his servant before he sent him to Padan-aram, to procure a wife for his son Isaac. It has been supposed, that Abraham required this, because his eyes were so dim with age, that he could not discern whether his servant raised his hand according to the common form, it being stated in the preceding verse, that he was old and well stricken in age. But the sacred historian makes no mention of the dimness of Abraham's sight, nor did the patriarch himself assign this as the reason of his command. It is more probable, that if it was not a distinct form of swearing, it was a very common part of the solemnity, an idea which the words of the text appear to favour: "Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had; Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh; and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth." Under the same form, the patriarch Jacob long afterwards took an oath of his beloved son Joseph, to lay his dust with his fathers, in the land of Canaan.\* It seems therefore to have been a circumstance required in swearing, by the established custom of those times. This conclusion receives no little support from the present mode of swearing among the Mahomedan Arabs, that live in tents, which nearly corresponds with the patriarchal form; they put their left hand underneath, and their right hand over the Koran. Whether in the patriarchal ages, they placed one hand under the thigh, and the other above it, cannot now be ascertained: it is not improbable, they put the left hand under the thigh, and stretched out the right hand to heaven. Mr. Harmer thinks, that the posterity of the patriarchs being described as coming out of the thigh, this ceremony was expressive of their faith in the promises of Jehovah, to bless all the nations of the earth by means of one that was to descend from Abraham.†

A very solemn method of taking an oath in the east is by joining hands, uttering at the same time a curse upon the false swearer. To this form the wise man

\* Gen. xxiv. 2, 3. and xlvii. 29.

† Harmer, vol. 4 p. 248.

probably alludes in that proverb; "Though hand join in hand"—ratify their agreement by oath—"the wicked shall not be unpunished; but the seed of the righteous shall be delivered."\* This form of swearing is still observed in Egypt and the vicinity; for when Mr. Bruce was at Shekh Ammer, he entreated the protection of the governor in prosecuting his journey, when the great people, who were assembled, came, and after joining hands, repeated a kind of prayer, of about two minutes long, by which they declared themselves and their children accursed, if ever they lifted up their hands against him in the tell, or field, in the desert; or in case that he or his should fly to them for refuge, if they did not protect them at the risk of their lives, their families, and their fortunes; or, as they emphatically expressed it, to the death of the last male child among them.† The inspired writer has recorded an instance of this form of swearing in the history of Jehu: "And when he was departed thence, he lighted on Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him, and he saluted him, and said unto him, Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart; and Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give me thine hand: And he gave him his hand, and he took him up unto him into the chariot."‡ Taylor quotes another striking instance from Ockley's history of the Saracens. Telha, just before he died, asked one of Ali's men if he belonged to the emperor of the faithful; and being informed that he did, "Give me then, said he, your hand, that I may put mine in it, and by this action renew the oath of fidelity which I have already made to Ali."§

It was very common among the orientals to swear by the head or the life of the king. Joseph, improperly yielding to the fashion of the country, swore by the life of Pharaoh; and this oath is still used in various regions of the east. According to Mr. Hanway, the most sacred oath among the Persians is by the head of the king: and Thevenot asserts, that to swear by the king's head is, in Persia, more authentic, and of greater credit, than if they swore by all that is most sacred in

\* Prov. xi. 21.

† Bruce's Travels, vol. 1, p. 148.

‡ 2 Kings x. 15.

§ Calmet, vol. 3.



heaven and upon earth. In the time of our Lord, it seems to have been a common practice among the Jews to swear by this form; for, said he to the multitudes, "Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black."

'To swear and vow by Jerusalem, was another form in use among the Jews: "As the altar, as the temple, as Jerusalem," are expressions frequently to be met with in their writings. In the Gemara, it is, "He that says as Jerusalem, does not say any thing till he has made his vow concerning a thing which is offered up in Jerusalem."\* That which was offered up in Jerusalem, was the corban, or gift on the altar, and was one of these oaths which, in our Saviour's time, the scribes and Pharisees reckoned most sacred. If any swore by the altar, it was nothing; but if any swore by the oblation on the altar, he was bound to perform it. The law of God, according to those corrupt teachers, lost its power to command obedience, when the oath by corban happened to be in opposition. Thus, if a man swore by corban that he would not help or relieve his parents, they taught that he was not bound by the divine law. This is the express doctrine of their Talmud. Every one ought to honour his father and his mother, except he has vowed the contrary; and it is well known that the Jews often did, by solemn vows and oaths, bind themselves never to do good to the persons they named. An execration, or conditional curse, was also annexed to their oaths, which was sometimes expressed in this manner: "If I do not so, then the Lord do so to me, and more also." Sometimes the execration is understood, as in the declaration of Abraham to the king of Sodom: "I have sworn, if I take from a thread to a shoe-latchet;" supply the execration, "then let the Lord do so to me, and more also." The Psalmist uses the same elliptical phrase; "If they shall enter into my rest:" that is, "I have sworn that they shall not enter into my rest." These remarks enable us to give a clear and satisfactory exposition of that difficult passage in the gospel of Matthew: "But ye say, Whosoever shall say

\* Burder's Or. Cust. vol. 2 No. 1172.



to his father or his mother, it is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me." By the oath corban, if thou receive any benefit from me, then let God do so to me, and more also; or more simply, I swear by corban, (the gift of the altar) that thou shalt have no benefit from me. This exposition is equally agreeable to the scope of the passage, and to their form of swearing; and shews, in a very plain and convincing way, how the Jews made void the law of God by their traditions. The divine command is, "Honour thy father and thy mother;" help them in their need, relieve them in their want; but the scribes and Pharisees said, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, that asked his assistance, By corban thou shalt receive no gift from me, he was free from the commanding power of the law.

The ancients commonly ratified their federal engagements by the blood of a sacrifice; when they cut the victim into two parts, placing each half upon an altar, and causing the contracting parties to pass between the pieces, to intimate that so should they be cut asunder, who violated the agreement. In this manner was the covenant ratified, which God made with Abram and his family. And he said unto him, "Take me an heifer of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove and a young pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another, but the birds divided he not---And it came to pass that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp, that passed between those pieces."\* Such were the awful symbols by which the Supreme Being was graciously pleased to pledge his veracity, for the accomplishment of his promise to the patriarch and his posterity: "In the same day, the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." The same awful ceremonies were observed by the people of Israel at the renovation of this covenant; for the prophet Jeremiah threatened, in the name of the Lord, "I will give the men

♦ Gen xvi. 9. x. 17. Matth. xv. 5.

who have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof. The princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf.”\* From this rite proceeded the phrase so common in the Old Testament Scriptures, “to cut a covenant.” Several traces of this mode of ratifying a covenant, have been discovered in the customs of different nations, in all probability the remains of that ancient and divinely appointed observance recorded in the history of Abraham. Homer has the expression, of which the reference cannot easily be mistaken, *Ορχία πισα ταμοίτες*;† “having cut faithful oaths;” which Eustathius explains, by saying, “They were oaths relating to important matters, and were made by the division of the victim.” Virgil alludes to the same practice in these lines :

——— “Jovis ante aras paterasque tenentes  
Stabant et cæsa jungebant foedera porca.” *Æn.* 2. l. 640.

“The princes, sheathed in armour, and with the sacred goblets in their hands, stood before the altars of Jove, and having sacrificed a sow, concluded a league.” And Agamemnon, to confirm his oath to Achilles, divided a victim in the midst, placed the pieces opposite to each other, and holding his sword reeking with the blood of the victim, passed between the separated pieces.‡

The orientals were accustomed also to ratify their federal engagements by salt. This substance was, among the ancients, the emblem of friendship and fidelity, and therefore used in all their sacrifices and covenants. An agreement, thus ratified, is called in Scripture, “a covenant of salt.” The obligation which this symbol imposes on the mind of an oriental, is well illustrated by the Baron du Tott in the following anecdote: One who was desirous of his acquaintance, promised in a short time to return. The baron had already attended him half way down the staircase,

\* Jer. xxxiv. 18.    † Il. b. 2. l. 124.    ‡ Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

when stopping, and turning briskly to one of his domestics, Bring me directly, said he, some bread and salt. What he requested was brought; when, taking a little salt between his fingers, and putting it with a mysterious air on a bit of bread, he eat it with a devout gravity, assuring du Tott he might now rely on him. The Greeks and Romans uniformly sprinkled the head of the victim which was ready to be offered in sacrifice, with a salt cake, or with bran or meal, mixed with salt. Thus, in Virgil, the crafty Greek harangued the Trojans: "For me the sacred rites were prepared, and the salted cake and fillets to bind about my temples."

———"mihi sacra parari  
Et salsæ fruges, et circum tempora vittæ." *Æn.* 2. l. 133.

And when the Greeks, before Troy, sent back the daughter of Chryses with a hecatomb to appease the wrath of Apollo, the ambassadors immediately after presenting the young lady to her father, placed the splendid sacrifice for the god, arranged in proper order before the altar; and having purified their hands in water, took up the salted cake:

Χερσὶ-ῥαντο δ' ἀρίστα καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνιόντο. *Il.* 1. l. 449.

Another mode of ratification, was by presenting the party with some article of their own dress. The greatest honour which a king of Persia can bestow upon a subject, is to cause himself to be disrobed, and his habit given to the favoured individual. The custom was probably derived from the Jews; for when Jonathan made his covenant with David, "he stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments; even to his sword and to his bow, and to his girdle."\* In a similar way, Julius, and the other Trojan chiefs, confirmed their solemn engagements to Nisus and Euryalus: "Thus weeping over him, he speaks: at the same time divests his shoulders of his gilded sword—On Nisus Mnesthus bestows the skin and spoil of a grim shaggy lion; trus-

\* 1 Sam. xviii. 4.

ty Alethes exchanges with him his helmet." This instance proves that among the ancients, to part with one's girdle was a token of the greatest confidence and affection; and in some cases it was considered as an act of adoption. The savage tribes of North America, that are certainly of Asiatic origin, ratify their covenants and leagues in the same way; in token of perfect reconciliation, they present a belt of wampum.

Written obligations were cancelled in different ways; one was by blotting or drawing a line across them, and another by striking them through with a nail; in both cases the bond was rendered useless, and ceased to be valid. These customs the apostle applies to the death of Christ in his epistle to the Colossians: "Blotting out the hand writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to the cross."\* A rod was sometimes broken, as a sign that the covenant into which they had entered was nullified. A trace of this ancient custom is still discernible in our own country; the lord steward of England, when he resigns his commission, breaks his wand of office, to denote the termination of his power. Agreeably to this practice, the prophet Zechariah broke the staves of beauty, and bands, the symbols of God's covenant with ancient Israel, to shew them, that in consequence of their numerous and long continued iniquities, he withdrew his distinguishing favour, and no longer acknowledged them as his peculiar people. This is the exposition given by the prophet himself: "And I took my staff, even beauty, and cut it asunder, that I might break my covenant which I had made with all the people; and it was broken in that day. Then I cut asunder my other staff, even bands, that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel."†

\* Col. ii. 14.

† Zech. xi. 7.



## CHAP. VIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE VARIOUS MODES IN WHICH THE ORIENTALS EXPRESSED THEIR RESPECT FOR ONE ANOTHER.

IN no quarter of the world, is the difference of ranks in society maintained with more scrupulous exactness than in Asia. The intercourse among the various classes of mankind, which originate in the unequal distributions of creating wisdom, or providential arrangement, is regulated by laws, which, like those of the Medes and Persians, suffer almost no change from the lapse of time, or the fluctuation of human affairs. To these laws, which have extended their influence far beyond the limits of the east, the sacred writers make frequent allusions. No mark of esteem is more common through all the oriental regions, none more imperiously required by the rules of good breeding, than a present. When Mr. Maundrell and his party waited upon Ostan, the bashaw of Tripoli, he was obliged to send his present before him to secure a favourable reception. It is even reckoned uncivil in that country, to make a visit without an offering in the hand. The nobility, and officers of government, expect it as a kind of tribute due to their character and authority; and look upon themselves as affronted, and even defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. So common is the custom, that in familiar intercourse among persons of inferior station, they seldom neglect to bring a flower, an orange, a few dates or radishes, or some such token of respect, to the person whom they visit. In Egypt the custom is equally prevalent: the visits of that people, which are very frequent in the course of the year, are always preceded by presents of various kinds, according to their station and property. So essential to human and civil intercourse are presents considered in the east, that, says Mr. Bruce, “whether it be dates or diamonds, they are so much a part of their manners, that without them an in-

ferior will never be at peace in his own mind, or think that he has a hold of his superior for his favour or protection.”\* Sir John Chardin affirms, that “the custom of making presents to the great, was universal in the east; and that every thing is received even by the great lords of the country, fruit, pullets, a lamb. Every one gives what is most at hand, and has a relation to his profession; and those who have no particular profession give money. As it is accounted an honour to receive presents of this sort, they receive them in public; and even choose to do it when they have most company.” This custom is, perhaps, one of the most ancient in the world. We recognize it in the reply of Saul to his servant when he proposed to consult the prophet Samuel about the object of their journey: “If we go, what shall we bring the man of God? for the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is not a present to bring to the man of God. What have we?” Saul was inclined at first to offer the seer, who was at the same time the chief magistrate in Israel, a piece of bread, till he recollected it was all spent, and then agreed to present him with “the fourth part of a shekel of silver,” in value about a sixpence. It could not then be their design by offering such a trifle, to purchase his services, but merely to shew him that customary mark of respect to which he was entitled. Nor were the prophets of the Lord a set of mercenary pretenders to the knowledge of future events, who sold their services to the anxious inquirer for a large reward. Had they refused to accept of such presents, they would have been guilty of transgressing an established rule of good manners, and of insulting the persons by whom they were offered. When Elisha refused, with an oath, to accept of the present which Naaman the Syrian urged him to receive, it was not because he thought it either unlawful or improper to receive a gift, for he did not hesitate to accept of presents from his own people; nor was the prophet regardless of an established custom, which offended no precept of the divine law, or disposed to wound, without necessity, the feelings of the Syrian grandee; but because he would

\* Bruce's Trav.

not put it in the power of Naaman to say he had enriched the prophet of Jehovah ; and by this act of self-denial, it is probable he was desirous of recommending the character and service of the true God to that illustrious stranger.

The presents made to the ancient prophets were not always of the same kind and value ; an inhabitant of Baalshalisha “ brought the man of God bread of the first fruits, twenty loaves of barley, and full ears of corn in the husk.”\* The king of Israel sent a present by his wife to the prophet Ahijah, of ten loaves and cracknels, and a cruse of honey ; which it appears from other statements, was not deemed unworthy of an eastern king.† Some commentators are of opinion, that it was a present fit only for a peasant to make, and was designedly of so small value, to conceal the rank of the messenger. But this idea by no means corresponds with the custom of the east ; for d’Arvieux informs us, that when he waited on an Arabian emir, his mother and sister sent him a present of pastry, honey, fresh butter, with a bason of sweetmeats, which differs very little from the present of Jeroboam. It was certainly the wish of the king, that his wife should not be recognized by the aged prophet ; but the present she carried, though not intended to discover her, was in the estimation of the orientals, not unbecoming her rank and condition.

These introductory presents were sometimes of great value. The king of Syria sent a gift by Naaman, of ten talents of silver, and six thousand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment. At the birth of the Saviour, the wise men who came from the east to worship him, after the custom of their country, opened their treasures, and presented unto him gifts ; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.‡ To these costly gifts and offerings, presents of dresses were frequently added. Joseph gave to each of his brethren a change of raiment, but he gave five changes to Benjamin ; and from the familiar manner in which the historian mentions the fact, we have a right to conclude that it was a common incident. The

\* 2 Kings iv. 42.

† 1 Kings xiv. 3.

‡ Mat. ii. 11.

servant of Elisha received from Naaman the Syrian, of the presents intended for his master, two changes of raiment; and even Solomon accepted of such gifts from the kings and princes who visited his court.\*

The custom has descended to the present times; for according to D'Herbelot, Bokteri, an illustrious poet of Cufah, in the ninth century, had so many presents made him in the course of his life, that when he died, he was found possessed of an hundred complete suits of clothes, two hundred shirts, and five hundred turbans. This anecdote proves how frequently presents of this kind are made to persons of consideration in the Levant; and at the same time furnishes a beautiful illustration of that passage in the book of Job, where the afflicted patriarch describes the treasures of the east, in his time, as consisting of clothes and money: "Though he heap up silver as the dust, and prepare raiment as the clay: He may prepare it; but the just shall put it on, and the innocent shall divide the silver."†

It is not uncommon in some places, to send with articles of provision, vessels of different kinds, for the use of their friends. When Dr. Perry visited the temple of Luxor, in Egypt, the cashif there, treated him and his party with many marks of civility and favour, sending them, in return for their presents, provisions of various kinds, and a sort of earthen vessels called bardacks, in which the orientals cool their water. Basons and earthen vessels were, agreeably to this custom, presented to David and his company, by the people of Mahanaim; although the destitute condition of the king and his followers, is sufficient to account for their attention and liberality. The loyalty and attachment of the orientals to their princes, are frequently displayed by presents of this kind. Every one at Tartoura, when d'Arvieux was there, vied with each other in bringing provisions of all kinds for the supper of an Arab emir, who happened to come into their neighbourhood. They were probably presents of this kind, which the enemies of Saul neglected to bring at his coronation; a mark of disrespect which he thought proper at that time to over-

\* 2 Chron. ix. 24.

† Job xxvii. 16.



look. "The children of Belial said, How shall this man save us ; and they despised him, and brought him no presents ; but he held his peace."\*

Presents are commonly sent, even to persons in private station, with great parade. The money which the bridegrooms of Syria pay for their brides, is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in clothes, jewels, and ornaments of gold for the bride, which are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house, three days before the wedding.† In Egypt they are not less ostentatious ; every article of furniture, dress, and ornament is displayed, and they never fail to load upon four or five horses, what might easily be carried by one : in like manner, they place in fifteen dishes, the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, which a single plate would very well contain. The sacred writer seems to allude to some pompous arrangement of this kind, in the history of Joseph : "And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon." They probably separated into distinct parcels, and committed to so many bearers, the balm, the honey, the spices, the myrrh, the nuts, and the almonds, of which their present consisted. That which Ehud made to Eglon, the king of Moab, seems to have been assorted and distributed in the same way ; for says the historian, "And when he had made an end to offer the present, he sent away the people that bore the present."‡ From these words it may be concluded, that Ehud, according to general custom, exhibited before the king, with great distinctness and ceremony, every part of the present, borne by a number of people, whom he afterwards dismissed, that he might execute his ultimate design with greater secrecy and despatch. Another remarkable instance of this pompous ceremonial, occurs in the history of Benhadad, who sent a present to the prophet Elisha, consisting of the richest products of Damascus, on the backs of forty camels. The Syrian prince, on that occasion, in which he felt a particular interest, no doubt sent Elisha a present corresponding with his rank and magnificence ; but it can scarcely be supposed that so many camels

\* 1 Sam. x. 27.

† Russel's Hist.

‡ Judg. iii. 18.

were required to carry it, or that the king would send, as a Jewish writer supposes he did, so great a quantity of provisions to one man. The meaning of the passage certainly is, that the various articles of which the present consisted, according to the modern custom of oriental courts, were carried on a number of camels for the sake of state, and that not fewer than forty were employed in the cavalcade. That these camels were not fully laden, must be evident from this, that the common load of a Turkman's camel is eight hundred pounds weight; and consequently, thirty-two thousand pounds weight is the proper loading of forty camels; "if they were only of the Arab breed, twenty thousand pounds weight was their proper loading;"\* a present, as Mr. Harmer justly remarks, too enormous to be sent by any one person to another.

Gifts are often considered in the east as a species of tribute. Of this kind seems to have been the present which Ehud made to Eglon king of Moab, to whom the people of Israel were at that time in subjection. The presents of one prince or monarch to another, are frequently considered as a token of submission by him who receives them. Chardin remarks that they are viewed in this light all over the Levant; and he justly applies the observation to these words of David: "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts."† And that the holy Psalmist here refers to tributary offerings, is evident from the next verse: "Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him."

In the days of Amos, the judges and governors of Israel had become so corrupt, that they did not blush to receive a pair of shoes or sandals, as a bribe to favour the cause of one of the parties in a law suit: "They sold," says the indignant prophet, "the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes." But though presents of very little value, as a pair of sandals or a flower, are sometimes received, the orientals do not consider themselves as always under obligation to accept what is offered, or even to dissemble their displeasure

\* Russel's Hist. vol. 2. p. 166.

† Psa. lxxii 10.

when the gift corresponds not with the dignity of the parties, or when a more valuable one had been bestowed upon another. An Egyptian aga refused to accept the trifling present of Dr. Pococke; and Captain Norden experienced a similar repulse, when he waited on the cashif of Esna with some small presents. He received him very civilly, and ordered coffee to be served; but he refused absolutely what he offered him as a present, and let him know by the interpreter, that in the places from whence he had come, he had given things of greater value, and that he ought not to shew less respect to him. Chardin mentions another circumstance, which requires to be stated here, that it is a custom in Asia, for poor people, and especially for those that live in the country, to make presents to their lords of lambs and sheep, as an offering, tribute, or succession. These two circumstances impart no little energy to the pointed expostulation of the prophet: "If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy governor, will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person?"\* Such a present is not suitable to his dignity to receive, and will therefore be rejected with scorn and indignation. He required the best of the flock, without which he would not be satisfied; and shall the Most High be treated with less respect, and not resent the indignity?

Presents are employed in the east, by way of subsidies, to induce princes to break their engagements, and take part in a war against their neighbours. An eastern nobleman, in the time of the crusades, quarrelling with his master, the prince of Aleppo, sent presents to Godfrey of Buillon, to procure his aid. Asa, the king of Judah, employed the same means to break the league between the kings of Israel and Syria, and engage the latter to become a party in the war against the former. The incident is recorded in these words: "Asa took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hands of his servants: and king Asa sent them to Benhadad, the king

\* Mal. i. 8.



of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, there is a league between me and thee, and between my father and thy father : behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold : come, and break thy league with Basha, king of Israel, that he may depart from me.”†

Salutations, at meeting, are not less common in the east than in the countries of Europe ; but are generally confined to those of their own nation, or religious party. When the Arabs salute each other, it is generally in these terms ; *Salum aleikum*, peace be with you ; laying, as they utter the words, the right hand on the heart. The answer is, *Aleikum essalum*, with you be peace ; to which aged people are inclined to add, “ and the mercy and blessing of God.” The Mahommedans of Egypt and Syria never salute a Christian in these terms ; they content themselves with saying to them, “ Good day to you,” or, “ Friend, how do you do.” Niebuhr’s statement is confirmed by Mr. Bruce, who says, that some Arabs, to whom he gave the salam, or salutation of peace, either made no reply, or expressed their astonishment at his impudence in using such freedom. Thus it appears, that the orientals have two kinds of salutations ; one for strangers, and the other for their own countrymen, or persons of their own religious profession.

The Jews in the days of our Lord, seemed to have generally observed the same custom ; they would not address the usual compliment of Peace be to you, to either heathens or publicans ; the publicans of the Jewish nation would use it to their countrymen who were publicans, but not to heathens ; though the more rigid Jews refused to do it either to publicans or heathens. Our Lord required his disciples to lay aside the moroseness of Jews, and cherish a benevolent disposition towards all around them. “ If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others ? Do not even the publicans so ?” They were bound by the same authority, to embrace their brethren in Christ with a special affection, yet they were to look upon every man as a brother, to feel a sincere and cordial interest in his welfare, and to express at meeting their benevolence, in lan-

† 1 Kings xv. 13. See Harmer’s Obs. vol. 2, p. 246—325.



guage corresponding with the feelings of their hearts. This precept is not inconsistent with the charge which the prophet Elisha gave to his servant Gehazi, not to salute any man he met, nor return his salutation; for he wished him to make all the haste in his power to restore the child of the Shunamite, who had laid him under so many obligations. The manners of the country rendered Elisha's precautions particularly proper and necessary, as the salutations of the east often take up a long time. For a similar reason, our Lord himself commanded his disciples on one occasion, to salute no man by the way; it is not to be supposed, that he would require his followers to violate or neglect an innocent custom, still less one of his own precepts; he only directed them to make the best use of their time in executing his work. This precaution was rendered necessary, by the length of time which their tedious forms of salutation required. They begin their salutations at a considerable distance, by bringing the hand down to the knees, and then carrying it to the stomach. They express their devotedness to a person, by holding down the hand; as they do their affections, by raising it afterwards to the heart. When they come close together, they take each other by the hand in token of friendship. The country people at meeting, clap each others hands very smartly twenty or thirty times together, without saying any thing more than, How do ye do? I wish you good health. After this first compliment, many other friendly questions about the health of the family, mentioning each of the children distinctly, whose names they know. To avoid this useless waste of time, rather than to indicate the meanness in which the disciples were to appear, as Mr. Harmer conjectures, our Lord commanded them to avoid the customary salutations of those whom they might happen to meet by the way.

The orientals vary their salutations according to the rank of the persons whom they address. The common method of expressing good will, is by laying the right hand on the bosom, and inclining their bodies a little; but when they salute a person of rank, they bow almost to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment. The

two Greek noblemen at Scio, who introduced the travellers Egmont and Heyman to the cham of Tartary, kissed his robe at their entrance, and took leave of him with the same ceremony. Sandys was present when the grand signior himself paid his people the usual compliment, by riding in great state through the streets of Constantinople. He saluted the multitude as he moved along, having the right hand constantly on his breast, bowing first to the one side, and then to the other, when the people with a low and respectful voice, wished him all happiness and prosperity.\* Dr. Shaw's account of the Arabian compliment, or common salutation, Peace be unto you, agrees with these statements; but he observes further, that inferiors, out of deference and respect, kiss the feet, the knees, or the garments of their superiors. They frequently kiss the hand also; but this last seems not to be regarded as a token of equal submission with the others; for d'Arvieux observes, that the women who wait on the Arabian princesses, kiss their hands when they do them the favour not to suffer them to kiss their feet, or the border of their robe.

All these forms of salutation appear to have been in general use in the days of our Lord, for he represents a servant as falling down at the feet of his master, when he had a favour to ask; and an inferior servant, as paying the same compliment to the first, who belonged, it would seem, to a higher class. "The servant, therefore, fell down and worshipped him, saying, Lord have patience with me and I will pay thee all." "And his fellow servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, have patience with me and I will pay thee all."† When Jairus solicited the Saviour to go and heal his daughter, he fell down at his feet: the apostle Peter, on another occasion, seems to have fallen down at his knees, in the same manner as the modern Arabs fall down at the knees of a superior. The woman who was afflicted with an issue of blood, touched the hem of his garment; and the Syrophenician woman fell down at his feet.

Mr. Harmer contends, that Cornelius the centurion,

\* Harmer's Qbs. vol. 2. p. 327—343.

† Matth. xviii. 26. 29.

when he fell down at the feet of the apostle Peter and worshipped him, did not intend to pay him divine honours, but merely to salute him with a reverence esteemed the lowest and most submissive, in the ceremonious east. He allows there was something extraordinary in the behaviour of Cornelius, but no mixture of idolatry. But it is to be feared the verdict which this respectable writer pronounces for the excellent Roman, is too favourable. The apostles did not at other times refuse the common tokens of respect and civility from those around them; and if the act of Cornelius meant no more, the refusal cannot be accounted for, upon the common principles of human nature. But the words of the evangelist ought to decide the question; he says expressly that Cornelius worshipped him; \* *προσκύνησεν*, the term which Luke and other inspired writers commonly use to express the homage which is due only to the supreme Being. This term, it is admitted, is often employed by writers, both sacred and profane, to denote merely civil respect; but it cannot with propriety be so understood here, because the reason which the apostle assigned for his refusal, derives all its propriety and force from religious worship: "Stand up; I myself also am a man." But surely it is not inconsistent with the character of a man to receive an extraordinary token of respect from another. Mr. Harmer thinks the conduct of the apostle John, in throwing himself at the feet of the angel, is to be viewed in somewhat of a similar light. "John did nothing at all," says our author, "but what was conformable to the usages of his own country, when the people of it designed innocently to express great reverence and gratitude." But if the apostle meant only to express by his prostration, the ordinary feelings of civil respect, why did the angel refuse it; and that because he was one of his fellow servants? That it was actually more than civil respect—that it was really divine honours John meant in the tumult of his feelings, or from a mistaken view of the angel's character, to pay, is quite evident from the charge which the celestial messenger gave him, to render unto God the homage he in-

\* Acts x. 25, 26.



tended at this time for him. But surely God is not the proper object of civil respect, but of religious adoration; and therefore, it must have been the latter which John intended. Though he was a Jew by descent, an enemy to all idolatry, and a zealous preacher against it, still he was but a man of like passions with others; and although under the supernatural influence of the divine Spirit, as an apostle, he was not infallible as a christian, and by consequence he was liable, highly favoured as he certainly was, to deviate from the path of duty; and had he not at this time done a very improper thing, the angel had not reproved him, nor used terms so expressive of his abhorrence: "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book; worship God."\* That his conduct on this memorable occasion, had at least a mixture of idolatry, is evident from the command he receives, to reserve such homage for God alone, to whom it was due.

The forms of salutation in the east wear a much more serious and religious air than those in use among the nations of Europe. "God be gracious unto thee, my son," were the words which Joseph addressed to his brother Benjamin. In this country, it would be called a benediction; but Chardin asserts, that in Asia it is a simple salutation, and used there instead of those offers and assurances of service, which it is the custom to use in the west. The orientals indeed, are exceedingly eloquent in wishing good and the mercy of God on all occasions to one another, even to those they scarcely know; and yet their compliments are as hollow and deceitful as those of any other people. This appears from Scripture, to have been always their character: "They bless with their mouths, but they curse inwardly." These benedictory forms explain the reason, why the sacred writers so frequently call the salutation and farewell of the east, by the name of blessing.†

The attitudes and expressions of respect, which the rules of good breeding require from the oriental, are far more diversified and servile than ours; yet he uses a

\* Rev. xxii. 9.

† Harmer, v. 2. p. 344.



freedom with his equals, and even with persons of superior condition, which we are uniformly taught to regard as improper. It is reckoned among us a sure mark of vulgarity, in any person to mention his own name before that of his equal; and an instance of great arrogance to name himself before his superior; but in the east, it is quite customary for the speaker to name himself first.\* This was also the habitual practice in Israel, and quite consistent with their notions of good breeding: for David, who had been long at the court of Saul, and could be no stranger to the rules of good manners, addressed his sovereign in these words: "The Lord judge between me and thee;" and this at a time too, when he treated that prince with great reverence; for "he stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself" immediately before. In the same manner, Ephron the Hittite replied to the patriarch Abraham, who was at least his equal, more probably his superior: "My Lord, hearken unto me; the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver; what is that between me and thee."† Hence David was guilty of no rudeness to Saul, in naming himself first; his conduct was quite agreeable to the modern ceremonial of eastern courts, at least to that of Persia, which seems to have been established soon after the flood.

The most abject submission is required by an eastern conqueror from those whom he has vanquished. They fall prostrate on the ground before him; they kiss his feet, and the very ground which he treads. D'Herbelot mentions an eastern prince, who threw himself one day on the ground, and kissed the marks which the feet of his conqueror's horse had left there. These were the proofs which custom probably required, of complete subserviency to the will of a master; the unequivocal tokens of entire vassalage.

Such is the submission which the most fearless and independent nations of the earth, shall one day yield to the Messiah: "They that dwell in the wilderness," the wild Arabs, whom no conqueror could ever subdue, no politician ever tame, "shall bow before him," or be-

\* Chardin's Trav.

† Gen. xxiii. 15.

come his vassals; “and his enemies shall lick the dust,” or betray their fear and reverence, by the most lowly submission. Kings and princes have actually prostrated themselves in the dust, before their conquerors; and therefore, the language in which the prophet foretels the glory of the church in the latter days—“Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face to the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet”—are not extravagant figures of oriental rhetoric, but expressive of those acts of dutiful submission, which the customs of eastern countries require.

To kiss the hand and place it on the head, is a token of respect less revolting to our minds, than some of those which have been mentioned. An oriental pays his respects to a person of superior station, by kissing his hand, and putting it to his forehead; but if the superior be of a condescending temper, he will snatch away his hand, as soon as the other has touched it; then the inferior puts his own fingers to his lips, and afterwards to his forehead. It seems, according to Pitts, to be a common practice among the Mahommedans, that when they cannot kiss the hand of a superior, they kiss their own, and put it to their forehead; thus also they venerate an unseen being, whom they cannot touch. But the custom existed long before the age of Mahomet; for in the same way, the ancient idolaters worshipped their distant or unseen deities. “If,” said Job, “I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart has been secretly enticed, and my mouth has kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above.”\* Had the afflicted man done this, in the case to which he refers, it would have been an idolatrous action, although it is exactly agreeable to the civil expressions of respect which obtained in his country, and over all the east.

Sometimes they express their love and veneration, by taking hold of the beard and giving it a kiss. D’Arvieux was present at an Arabian entertainment, whither

\* Job xxxi. 28.

came all the emirs, a little while after his arrival, accompanied by their friends and attendants; and after the usual civilities, caresses, kissings of the beard, and of the hand, which every one gave and received, according to his rank and dignity, sat down upon mats. It was in this way perhaps, that Joab pretended to testify his respect for Amasa, his rival in the favour of the king; he took him by the beard to kiss him, or agreeably to the custom of these emirs, or Arabian chieftains, to kiss the beard itself; and in this stooping posture he could much better see to direct the blow, than if he had only held his beard, and raised himself to kiss his face;\* while Amasa, charmed by this high compliment, which was neither suspicious nor unusual, and undoubtedly, returning it with corresponding politeness, paid no attention to the sword in the hand of his murderer. It is extremely probable that Judas betrayed his Lord in the same way, by kissing his beard. The evangelists Matthew and Mark say, that he came directly to Jesus, and said, Hail Master, and kissed him; but Luke seems to hint, that Judas saluted him with more respect. Jesus, according to Matthew, had time to say, before he received the kiss from Judas, "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" and while Judas was kissing his beard, Jesus might express himself with great ease and propriety as Luke relates, "Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?"†

Intimate acquaintances sometimes kissed the shoulder of each other. This token of regard was probably shewn by Esau to his brother, at their meeting; the words of Moses are, "And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him."‡ And it is very probable, that all those texts which speak of falling on the neck, and kissing a person, refer to this eastern custom, of kissing the shoulder in an embrace.

A rider was expected to dismount, when he met a person of more elevated rank. Under the influence of this ancient custom, the Egyptians dismount from their asses, when they approach the tombs of their departed

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 2. p. 357. † Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3. ‡ Gen. xxiii. 4.



saints ; and both Christians and Jews are obliged to submit to the same ceremony. Christians in that country must also dismount when they happen to meet with officers of the army. This explains the reason that Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, and Abigail the wife of Nabal, alighted from their asses ; it was a mark of respect which the former owed to her father, and the latter to David, a person of high rank and growing renown. It was undoubtedly for the same reason, that Rebecca alighted from the camel on which she rode, when the servant informed her, that the stranger whom she descried at a distance in the field, was his master ; and that Naaman, the Syrian grandee, alighted from his chariot, at the approach of Gehazi, the servant of Elisha.

The ceremonial of the orientals does not end with the introduction of persons to one another, but continues during the whole visit. The most scrupulous attention is paid by all parties to the established tokens of respect : the posture of the body, the part of the room, and other circumstances are all regulated by custom, to whose imperious dictates they have implicitly submitted from the remotest antiquity. One of the postures, by which a person testifies his respect for a superior, is by sitting upon his heels, which is considered as a token of great humility. In this manner, says Dr. Pococke, resting on their hams, sat the attendants of the English consul, when he waited on the Caia of the bashaw of Tripoli. It was in this humble posture, probably, that David, the king of Israel, sat before the Lord in the sanctuary, when he blessed him for his gracious promise concerning his family ; half sitting and half kneeling, so as to rest the body upon the heels. This entirely removes the ground of perplexity, which some expositors have felt, in their attempts to elicit a meaning from the phrase, sitting before the Lord, at once consistent with the majesty of Jehovah, and the humility of the worshipper ; for this attitude expressed among the orientals, the deepest humility, and by consequence, was every way becoming a worshipper of the true God.



To sit, as we do, on a seat, was on the contrary, a mark of distinction, particularly if it was furnished with a cushion. Chardin says, it is the custom of Asia not to go into the shops, which are very small, but to sit down in seats prepared for the purpose on the outside, on which cushions are laid for persons of distinction; and he adds, that people of quality cause carpet and cushions to be carried wherever they please, that they may repose themselves upon them more agreeably. To a custom of this kind, Job seems to refer in his mournful retrospect of departed prosperity: "When I went out to the gate through the city; when I prepared my seat in the street."\* This patriarch was a prince and a judge among his people, and was, therefore, entitled to take his seat in the gate, which was the ordinary place of hearing causes in the east, attended by a retinue of servants, with carpets and cushions for his accommodation, according to his rank, and the office he sustained.

But it was a mark of higher distinction to sit in the corner, than upon a seat. At a visit which the English consul made to the bashaw of Tripoli, the latter, having on the garment of ceremony, gave the welcome as he passed, and sat down cross-legged in the corner to the right, having a cushion on each side, and one over them behind him. When Dr. Pococke, who relates this incident, was introduced to the shekh of Tourshout, he found him sitting in the corner of a large green tent, pitched in the middle of an encampment of Arabs; and on a visit to the bey of Girgè, he found him placed on a sofa on the right hand, as one entered, in the corner of his tent. Hence it appears, that in the east, the corner on the right, as one enters the apartment, is the place of honour.

This may, perhaps, enable us to explain a passage which has long exercised the patience and ingenuity of expositors. "As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or the piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria in the corner of a bed, and in Damascus in a couch."†

\* Job. xxix. 7.

† Amos iii 12.

Only a very few of the meanest and lowest of the people shall escape from the hand of their destroyers. Such shall be the fate of Samaria, that holds among the cities of Israel the place of honour, equally distinguished as the seat of power, the centre of wealth, and the chosen resort of rank and fashion. The situation of Samaria, perfectly corresponds with this interpretation; this rich and powerful city was built on the summit of a hill, in the midst of a beautiful country.

This custom also serves to illustrate another passage of Scripture: "Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them into corners," or as it is in the original, thou didst divide or appoint them to the corner. The verb is *Halak*, which, in another passage, is used to express the appointing of Aaron's sons to their different charges. The meaning of Nehemiah, interpreted by this custom, is, "Thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst also give the pre-eminence to Israel, and make them chief among the surrounding states."\*

Odoriferous ointments and perfumes were often presented by the great, as a particular mark of distinction. The king of Babylon treated the prophet Daniel with the richest perfumes, after he had predicted the future destinies of his empire, as a distinguished proof of his esteem and admiration: "Then the king, Nebuchadnezzar, fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him."† This passage Mr. Harmer considers as exceedingly difficult; and he labours hard to prove that the king meant nothing more than civil respect. "Nebuchadnezzar, in all this matter, appeared to have considered Daniel merely as a prophet; his words strongly express this, Your God is a God of gods; and had it been otherwise, a person so zealous as Daniel, who risked his life, rather than neglect his homage to his God, and had the courage to pray to him with his windows open toward Jerusalem, contrary to the king's command, would undoubtedly, like Paul and Barnabas, have rejected these odours." This view

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 2. p. 368.

† Dan. ii. 46.

completely vindicates the prophet from the charge of conniving at the idolatry of the king; but it is not necessary to his defence. The conduct of Nebuchadnezzar, it is allowed, admits of a favourable construction; but, at the same time, it is scarcely possible to avoid the suspicion that he was, on this memorable occasion, guilty of idolatrous veneration. The verb *sagad*, he worshipped, so far as the writer has been able to trace it, both in Hebrew and Chaldee, expresses the homage which is rendered to a god, and is, perhaps, universally applied to the worship of false deities in the sacred Scriptures. If this remark be just, it is greatly to be suspected that Nebuchadnezzar, who had few, or no correct religious principles to restrain the sudden movements of his impetuous passions, did intend, on that occasion, to honour Daniel as a god, or, which is not materially different, to worship the divinity in the prophet. But it may be demanded, how then is Daniel to be vindicated? Shall we suppose that a prophet of the Lord, a man highly favoured and distinguished for his eminent holiness, would suffer idolatry to be practised in his presence, more especially when he himself was the object of it, without expressing his disapprobation? To this objection, the following answer is offered. The sacred writers, studious of extreme brevity, often pass over many incidents in the scenes which they describe. Daniel, therefore, might actually reject the intended honour, although it is not mentioned in the record. This silence of the historian, will not prove that it was not done, while there are certain circumstances in the narrative which go far to prove that the prophet did reject the homage of Nebuchadnezzar. In the 28th verse of the second chapter, he solemnly declares before the king and the whole court, that “it is the God of heaven that reveleth secrets, and makes known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days; and the 30th verse, “But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living.” When these faithful declarations are considered, it is not to be supposed that Daniel neglected to remind the



king that religious worship is due to God alone; and that such a testimony was given at the time, is intimated with considerable clearness in the confession of the king himself, verse 47th, which seems to refer to something the prophet had just said to him: "The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a Revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret." The character of Daniel, therefore, is not affected by the misconduct of his sovereign, in paying him divine honours.

In the reign of Belshazzar, he received an honour of a different and less equivocal kind: "they clothed him with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom." This custom of changing the dress of a person, as a mark of honour, is still common in the east. The words of the record, although not quite decisive, seem to favour the idea that the change of dress was a part of the ceremony by which Daniel was invested with official authority, and not a distinct honour. In Hindostan, no governor or other officer, can enter upon his office, without receiving a dress of honour from his sovereign. These dresses are conferred by a superior on a person of humbler condition, when he is raised to a place of power and trust, or as a mark of esteem and approbation.\* This custom, the Hindoos probably borrowed from the Persians; and if so, Daniel's change of dress was an established sign of his accession to the high dignity which he so well deserved. In ages long anterior to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Joseph was invested with the office of ruler over all the land of Egypt by a similar ceremony: "Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck."† The robes of office, with which Mordecai the Jew was arrayed in the court of Ahasuerus, were still more gorgeous, for he "went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great

\* Maurice's Hist. of Hind. vol. 3. p. 328.

† Gen. xli. 42.



crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple.”\* From these quotations it appears, that the investiture consisted of various ceremonies; the appointment was no sooner announced, than the monarch took the ring from his hand, and put it on the finger of the minister, then he changed his dress, then put a gold chain about his neck, and last of all presented him with an equipage corresponding with his dignity, which completed the investiture. In Abyssinia, the governor of Tigré, who is at the same time, the greatest man in the kingdom, has the privilege to use a gold cup for drinking, which he received from his sovereign as an appendage to his office.† Such, it is probable, was Joseph’s cup, out of which he drank on public occasions, which he might be supposed greatly to value, and to preserve with jealous care. If this conjecture be well founded, it serves to account, in a more satisfactory manner, for the astonishment and terror which overwhelmed his brethren when they found it in Benjamin’s sack. To abstract a single article from the house of one who had entertained them so kindly, was peculiarly disgraceful; but to purloin the cup of office, which belonged to the prime minister of Egypt, was to involve them all in utter and inevitable destruction.‡

The caffetan, or robe of honour, is often bestowed as a mark of distinction, without any reference to office. La Roque, and three other attendants on the French consul at Sidon, received each a robe of honour at a public audience, from Ishmael, the Turkish bashaw. Mr. Bruce also was honoured with this mark of distinction by Osman, one of the beys of Egypt, on his return from Abyssinia; which operated an immediate and important change to the better, in the sentiments and conduct of the persons to whose care he was committed; the haughty Mussulmans no sooner beheld him retire from the presence chamber, with this mark of their master’s regard, than laying aside the brutality in which they indulged before, they became civil, attentive, and even obsequious, to the stranger, whom they still secretly hated or despised.

\* Esth. viii. 15. † Bruce’s Trav. vol. 2. p. 657. ‡ Taylor’s Calmet, vol. 3.

Mr. Lowth supposes, in his Commentary on Daniel, that, although the king thought himself bound to perform his promise to clothe the venerable seer with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and make him third ruler in the kingdom, yet it was likely it could not take effect at that unseasonable time of the night; and, therefore, the words might have been better translated: "Then commanded Belshazzar that they should clothe Daniel with scarlet." But this is an unnecessary refinement; for these caffetans are always in readiness, and are commonly put on as soon as the command is given. Mr. Bruce received the caffetan in the middle of the night; and the following passage from Chardin, will shew how easy it is for an oriental prince to put a garment on the person he intends to honour. Having observed, that in Persia and the Indies, they not only give a vestment, but even a complete suit of clothes, when they would distinguish a person with more than ordinary honour, he proceeds: "These presents of vestments are only from superiors to inferiors; not from equals to equals, nor from the mean to the great. Kings constantly give them to ambassadors, residents and envoys; and send them to princes who are their tributaries, and do them homage. They pay great attention to the quality, or merit of those to whom these vestments, or habits, are given; they are always answerable to their rank. Those that are given to their great men have, in like manner, as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state. The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. The intendant of the wardrobe sends one of them to the person, as the great master orders, and of that kind the order directs. In Turkey, they pay little attention to the difference of the cloth of which the vestments are made; they make them nearly of the same value, but they give more or fewer, according to the dignity of the person to whom they are presented, or the degree in which they wish to honour him. Some ambassadors have received twenty-five or thirty of them, for themselves and their attend-

ants; and one person sometimes receives a number for himself, according to his rank.”\* But besides the caffetan, an eastern prince sometimes gives his own garment as the highest token of respect; thus Selim gave his robe to the iman of the mosque at Aleppo, who happened to please him greatly; but the custom existed in those countries long before his time, for Jonathan, as a proof of his tender affection, and the strongest confirmation of his unalterable friendship, “stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.”†

Persons of rank and opulence in those countries, are now distinguished from their inferiors, by riding on horseback when they go abroad; while those of meaner station, and Christians of every rank, the consuls of Christian powers excepted, are obliged to content themselves with the ass or the mule. A Turkish grandee, proud of his exclusive privilege, moves on horseback with a very slow and stately pace. To the honour of riding upon horses, and the stately manner in which the oriental nobles proceed through the streets, with a number of servants walking before them, the wise man seems to allude, in his account of the disorders which occasionally prevail in society: “I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth.”‡

But while the higher orders in the east commonly affect so much state, and maintain so great a distance from their inferiors, they sometimes lay aside their solemn and awful reserve, and stoop to acts of condescension, which are unknown in these parts of the world. It is not an uncommon thing to admit the poor to their tables, when they give a public entertainment. Pococke was present at a great feast in Egypt, where every one as he had done eating, got up, washed his hands, took a draught of water, and retired to make way for others; and so on in a continual succession, till the poor came in and eat up all. “For the Arabs,” he says, “never

\* Chardin's Trav. † 1 Sam. xviii. 4. See also Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

‡ Eccl. x. 7.



set by any thing that is brought to table, so that, when they kill a sheep, they dress it all, call in their neighbours and the poor, and finish every thing." The same writer, in another passage, mentions a circumstance which is still more remarkable, that an Arab prince will often dine in the street before his door, and call to all that pass, even to beggars, in the usual expression of *Bismillah*, that is, in the name of God, who come and sit down to meat, and when they have done, retire with the usual form of returning thanks. Hence, in the parable of the great supper, our Lord describes a scene which corresponded with existing customs. When the guests, whom the master of the house had invited to the entertainment, refused to come, he "said to his servants, go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and the maimed, and the halt and the blind. And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room. And the lord said unto the servant, Go out unto the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."\*

† Oriental princes sometimes distinguish their favourites by giving them particular names, expressing familiarity and delight, which they do not communicate to others, or use to themselves, except at those times when they honour them with the most familiar conversation. A trace of this singular custom may be discovered in the promise addressed to the angel of the church in Pergamos: "To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it."† Or, as a name given to any person must be known to others, else it would be given in vain, it intimates, that honour should be conferred upon such a one, which shall only be known to the inhabitants of that world to which he shall be admitted, and who have already received that honour themselves. But besides the secret name of intimate familiarity, the oriental princes frequently distinguished their favourite subjects by a new name, commonly taken

\* Luke xiv. 16.

† Rev. ii. 17. Burder 1. ob. 585.



from some remarkable occurrence in life, by which they were to be known in future life. Pharaoh gave a new name to Joseph, after he had interpreted the dream, alluding to that circumstance: another Egyptian monarch, when he made Eliakim king over Judah and Jerusalem, turned his name to Jehoiakim; and when Nebuchadnezzar deposed Jehoiachin, and made Mattaniah, his father's brother, king in his stead, he changed his name to Zedekiah. When the Koosas, an African tribe, wish to do honour to any person, they also give him a new name, the meaning of which nobody knows but the person who gives it. This mark of distinction is particularly bestowed upon any white people that come among them, and remain with them for any time. It is incomprehensible how soon a stranger is known throughout the country by his new appellation.\* The same custom is preserved by the Seneca Indians of North America. To give one a new name, and especially their own, they consider as the highest honour they can bestow, and reserve it for particular favourites. They begin with a speech, in which they explain the reason for naming the person; then they ask him if he accepts the name; and on being answered in the affirmative, chaunt in a very curious manner, the song which they use at naming their children; and when that is finished, they shake hands with the person, and call him by his new name. No reasonable doubt can be entertained, that these customs, which are found to prevail among tribes and nations so widely scattered, and so differently circumstanced, may be traced to one origin.

The kings of Persia very seldom admitted a subject to their table. Athenæus mentions it as a peculiar honour, which no Grecian enjoyed before or after, that Artaxerxes condescended to invite Timogoras, the Cretan, to dine even at the table where his relations ate; and to send sometimes a part of what was served up at his own; which some persons looked upon as a diminution of his majesty, and a prostitution of their national honour. Plutarch, in his life of Artaxerxes, tells us, that none but the king's mother, and his real wife, were per-

\* Leichtenstein's Trav. in South Africa.

mitted to sit at his table ; and he therefore mentions it as a condescension in that prince, that he sometimes invited his brothers. Haman, the prime minister of Ahasuerus, had therefore some reason to value himself upon the invitation which he received, to dine with the king : “ Haman said, moreover, yea, Esther the queen let no man come in with the king, into the banquet which she had prepared, but myself ; and to-morrow am I invited unto her also with the king.”

The same ambitious minister received another mark of great distinction from his master ; “ the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman.” This he did, both as a token of affection and honour ; for when the king of Persia gives a ring to any one, it is a token and bond of the greatest love and friendship.

Oriental females express their respect for persons of high rank, by gently applying one of their hands to their mouths ; a custom which seems to have existed from time immemorial. In some of the towns of Barbary, the leaders of the sacred caravans are received with loud acclamations, and every expression of the warmest regard. The women view the parade from the tops of the houses, and testify their satisfaction by striking their four fingers on their lips, as fast as they can, all the while making a joyful noise.\* The sacred writers perhaps allude to this custom. in those passages where clapping the hand in the singular number is mentioned. Striking the hand smartly upon the other, which we call clapping the hands, was also used to express joy, in the same manner as among ourselves ; but in the east it appears to have been generally employed to denote a malignant satisfaction, a triumphant or insulting joy. In this way, the enemies of Jerusalem expressed their satisfaction, at the fall of that great and powerful city : “ All that pass by clap their hands at thee ; they hiss, and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying, Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth.”† And Job, after describing the destruction of a wicked man, says, “ Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of

\* Pitt's Trav.

† Lam. ii. 15.

his place." But other words that are translated in our version, clapping the hands, denote no more than the gentle application of one hand to the lips, or some part of the body, as a testimony of approbation and delight. This allusion is perhaps involved in David's invitation, "O clap your hands all ye people, (in the original, hand,) shout unto God with the voice of triumph;"\* and in the mode in which the people expressed their joy, when Jehoash ascended the throne of his ancestors; they "clapped their hands, (in Hebrew, the hand,) and said, God save the king."†

It is still the custom in the east, to testify their respect for persons of distinction, by music and dancing. When Baron de Tott, who was sent by the French government to inspect their factories in the Levant, approached an encampment of Turcomans, between Aleppo and Alexandretta, the musicians of the different hordes turned out, playing and dancing before him all the time he and his escort were passing by their camp. Thus, it will be recollected, "the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music," when he returned in triumph from the slaughter of the Philistines.

In the oriental dances, in which the women engage by themselves, the lady of highest rank in the company takes the lead; and is followed by her companions, who imitate her steps, and if she sing, make up the chorus. The tunes are extremely gay and lively, yet with something in them wonderfully soft. The steps are varied according to the pleasure of her who leads the dance, but always in exact time. This statement may enable us to form a correct idea of the dance, which the women of Israel performed under the direction of Miriam, on the banks of the Red sea. The prophetess, we are told, "took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her, with timbrels and dances." She led the dance, while they imitated her steps, which were not conducted according to a set, well known form, as in this country, but extempora-

\* Psal. xlvii. 1.

† 2 Kings' xi 12.



neous. The conjecture of Mr Harmer is extremely probable, that David did not dance alone before the Lord, when he brought up the ark, but as being the highest in rank, and more skilful than any of the people, he led the religious dance of the males.\*

When a great prince in the east sets out on a journey, it is usual to send a party of men before him, to clear the way. The state of those countries in every age, where roads are almost unknown, and from the want of cultivation in many parts overgrown with brambles, and other thorny plants, which renders travelling, especially with a large retinue, very inconvenient, requires this precaution. The emperor of Hindostan, in his progress through his dominions, as described in the narrative of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the court of Delhi, was preceded by a very great company, sent before him to cut up the trees and bushes, to level and smooth the road, and prepare their place of encampment. Balin, who swayed the imperial sceptre of India, had five hundred chosen men, in rich livery, with their drawn sabres, who ran before him, proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way. Nor was this honour reserved exclusively for the reigning emperor; it was often shewn to persons of royal birth. When an Indian princess made a visit to her father, the roads were directed to be repaired, and made clear for her journey; fruit trees were planted, water vessels placed in the road side, and great illuminations prepared for the occasion.† Mr. Bruce gives nearly the same account of a journey, which the king of Abyssinia made through a part of his dominions. The chief magistrate of every district through which he had to pass, was by his office, obliged to have the roads cleared, levelled, and smoothed; and he mentions, that a magistrate of one of the districts having failed in this part of his duty, was, together with his son, immediately put to death on the spot, where a thorn happened to catch the garment, and interrupt for a moment the progress of his majesty. This custom is easily recognized in that beautiful prediction: "The

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 2. p. 435 438.

† Maurice's Hist. of Hind.



voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.”\* We shall be able, perhaps, to form a more clear and precise idea, from the account which Diodorus gives of the marches of Semiramis, the celebrated queen of Babylon, into Media and Persia. In her march to Ecbatane, says the historian, she came to the Zarcean mountain, which extending many furlongs, and being full of craggy precipices and deep hollows, could not be passed without taking a great compass. Being therefore desirous of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as of shortening the way, she ordered the precipices to be digged down, and the hollows to be filled up; and at a great expense she made a shorter and more expeditious road; which to this day is called from her, the road of Semiramis. Afterwards she went into Persia, and all the other countries of Asia subject to her dominion; and wherever she went she ordered the mountains and the precipices to be levelled, raised causeys in the plain country, and at a great expense made the ways passable.

A spear carried in the hand, is another mark of honour in some countries. We can trace this custom as high as the days of Saul, the first king of Israel: He “abode in Gibeah, under a tree in Ramah, having his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him.”†

A bracelet is commonly worn by the oriental princes, as a badge of power and authority. When the calif Cayem Bemrillah granted the investiture of certain dominions to an eastern prince, he sent him letters patent, a crown, a chain, and bracelets. This was probably the reason that the Amalekite brought the bracelet which he found on Saul’s arm, along with his crown to David:‡ It was a royal ornament, and belong-

\* Isa xl. 3, 4, 5.

† 2Sam. i. 10.

‡ 1 Sam. xxii. 6.

ed to the regalia of the kingdom. The bracelet, it must be acknowledged, was worn both by men and women of different ranks ; but the original word, in the second book of Samuel, occurs only in other two places, and is quite different from the term, which is employed to express the more common ornament known by that name. The people of Israel found the bracelet among the spoils of Midian, when they destroyed that nation in the time of Moses ; but it will be remembered, that they killed at the same time five of their kings. The prophet Isaiah indeed, mentions the ornament, which Mr. Harmer considers as the peculiar badge of kings, in his description of the wardrobe of a Jewish lady, which proves, that in the age when he flourished, it was not the exclusive decoration of regal personages, but had been assumed, and was often worn by persons of inferior rank ; but it is by no means improbable, that the extravagance of the female sex in his time, which seems to have arisen to an unprecedented height, might have confounded in some measure, the distinctions of rank, by inducing the nobility of Judah to affect the state and ornaments of their princes.

Persons of distinction, in various countries of the east, wore chains of silver and gold ; and not satisfied with this, ostentatiously displayed their wealth and rank, by suspending chains of the same precious metals about the necks of their camels. Silver chains, according to Pococke, hung from the bridles of the seven military agas in Egypt, to the breastplates of their horses. The camels of the kings of Midian, whom Gideon discomfited, were, agreeably to this custom, adorned with chains of gold.

The orientals looked upon a seat by a pillar or column as a particular mark of respect. In the *Iliad*, Homer places Ulysses on a lofty throne, by a pillar ; and in the *Odyssey*, he twice alludes to the same custom. The kings of Israel were, for the same reason, placed at their coronation, or on days of public festivity, by a pillar in the house of the Lord. Joash, the king of Judah, stood by a pillar when he was admitted

to the throne of his ancestors;\* and Josiah, one of his successors, when he made a covenant before the Lord.†

The subjects of oriental princes approach them with expressions of reverence, homage, and submission, which amount nearly to religious adoration; and even when not carried so far, are equally degrading and absurd. Forgetting the erect dignity of the human character in their intercourse with fellow mortals, and what every man owes to himself, in the presence of the great, they are not satisfied with yielding them that respect to which they are fairly entitled, but humble themselves to the very dust. When Joseph's brethren were introduced to him, they bowed down themselves before him, with their faces to the earth. The kings of Persia, in the height of their power, never admitted any person into their presence without exacting this act of *adoration*; the name which it uniformly received. The expressions, therefore, of the prophet Isaiah, "They shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth; they shall lick the very dust," are only general poetical images taken from the manners of the country, to denote great respect and reverence; and such splendid figures, which frequently occur in the prophetic writings, were intended only as general amplifications of the subject, not as predictions to be understood and fulfilled precisely according to the letter.‡

The compliments which they addressed to their princes, and the manner in which they spoke of them, were not less hyperbolic. The address of the wise woman of Tekoah to David, furnishes a memorable example of the extravagant adulation in which they indulged, and which seems to have been received with entire satisfaction by one of the wisest and holiest of men: "As an angel of God, so is my lord the king, to discern good and bad;" and again, "My lord is wise according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth."§ Equally hyperbolic was the reply of a Persian grandee to Chardin, who objected to the price which the king had set upon a pretty rich trinket: "Know that the kings of Persia

\* 2 Kings xi. 14. † Ch. xxiii. 3. ‡ Lowth on Isaiah. § 2 Sam. xiv. 17. 20.



have a general and full knowledge of matters, as sure as it is extensive ; and that equally in the greatest and in the smallest things, there is nothing more just and sure than what they pronounce." This incident admirably shews the strong prepossession of these Asiatics in favour of their kings, or rather of their own slavery ; and gives some plausibility to the remark of Mr. Harmer, that there may be more of real persuasion in such addresses than we are ready to apprehend. In the estimation of the Persian courtier, the knowledge of his prince was like that of an angel of God. If the ancient Egyptians supposed their princes were possessed of equal knowledge and sagacity, which is not improbable, the compliment of Judah to his brother Joseph was a very high one, and, at the same time, couched in the most artful terms : "Thou art even as Pharaoh ;" knowing, and wise, and equitable as he. But it cannot be inferred, with any degree of certainty, from these customs, that either the Persian grandee, or the brother of Joseph, really believed such compliments were due. The former, most probably, thought it incumbent upon him to support the dignity of his master, especially in the presence of many of his nobles, or expressed himself in such extravagant terms, merely in compliance with the etiquette of the court ; and as for Judah, it was his desire to soothe with good words and fair speeches the second ruler in Egypt, whose resentment he knew it was death to incur ; and no compliment could be supposed more acceptable to an Egyptian grandee than the one which he paid his unknown brother. The same remark applies, with little variation, to the woman of Tekoah ; her design was to soothe the mind of her sovereign, to mitigate, and, if possible, to extinguish his just resentment of the atrocious murder which Absalom had committed, and procure the restoration of the fractricide to his country, and the presence of his father.

It was a common practice in the east, and one which, on certain great and joyful occasions, has been practised in other countries, to strew flowers and branches of trees in the way of conquerors and renowned princes.



Herodotus states, that people went before Xerxes passing over the Hellespont, and burnt all manner of perfumes on the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtles. So did those Jews who believed Christ to be the promised Messiah, and the king of Israel; they cut down branches of the trees, and strewed them in the way.

The interest which the subjects of the Mogul felt, or rather pretended to feel, in his personal prosperity, was long manifested by a very curious ceremony. On his birth day, in obedience to an ancient custom, he is weighed in a balance, in the presence of his principal nobility. The ceremony is performed in a spacious apartment of his palace, into which none are admitted but by special permission. The scales in which the emperor was weighed when Sir Thomas Roe resided at his court, were plated with gold; and the beam on which they hang, by great chains, was made of the same precious metal. The emperor, sitting in one of these scales, was weighed first against silver coin, which was immediately afterwards distributed among the poor; then he was weighed against gold; after that against jewels. By his weight, (of which his physicians keep an exact yearly account,) they presume to give an opinion relative to the present healthful state of his body; of which, whatever be their real sentiments, they always speak in flattering terms.\* This ceremony of weighing the emperor of Hindostan, is performed twice every year, in the solar and the lunar anniversary of his birth; and according as he is lighter or heavier than before, the physician appointed to attend pronounces him in a prosperous or declining state.† Hence the doom of Belshazzar, written upon the wall, admits of a literal interpretation; it alludes to a custom which the Hindoos, when they emigrated from Persia, the land of their fathers, carried with them, and transmitted through a long succession of ages, down to modern times.

The orientals as a proof of the profoundest reverence, kissed the fringe of the robe which their sovereign wore. They carried their submission so far as to kiss

\* Harmer.

† Maurice's Hist. vol. 3. p. 323.

the letters in which his orders were communicated ; and they treated with almost equal respect the mandates of his chief ministers. The editor of the ruins of Balbec observed, that the Arab governor of that city respectfully applied the firman or letter, containing the commands of the grand signior, to his forehead, when he and his fellow travellers first waited upon him, and then applied it to his lips. To this custom Mr. Harmer thinks Pharaoh probably refers in these words to Joseph : “Thou shalt be over my house ; and according to thy word shall my people be ruled, (or kiss, as it is in the original) only on the throne will I be greater than thou.”\*

The Arabs of mount Carmel, when they present any petition to their chief, offer it with their right hand, after having first kissed the paper. To this custom the words of Solomon seem to allude : “Every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer.”† The Hebrew manner of expression is short and abrupt : Every lip shall kiss, one maketh to return a right answer ;‡ that is, every one shall be ready to present the state of his case, kissing it, as he delivers it to the judge, on whose integrity and abilities he can rely.

When Soliman ascended the throne, “the letter which was to be presented to the new monarch, was delivered to the general of the slaves, contained in a purse of cloth, of gold, drawn together with strings of twisted gold and silk, with tassels of the same. The general threw himself at his majesty’s feet, bowing to the very ground : then rising upon his knees, he drew out of the bosom of his garment, the bag containing the letter which the assembly had sent to the new monarch. Presently he opened the bag, took out the letter, kissed it, laid it to his forehead, presented it to his majesty, and

\* Gen. xli. 40.

† Prov. xxiv. 26.

‡ Rather: The lips shall he kiss, who returneth right words ; that is, A kiss upon the lips doth he give, who giveth a right answer. Solomon appears to be speaking of a judge as doing an act whose tendency, like that of giving a kiss, is to gain the affections of the people. Thus it is the judge that kisses ; and, therefore, there is here no place for our author’s illustration. I. C.

then rose up.\* To such a custom Job evidently refers in these words: "Oh, that mine adversary had written a book, surely I would take it upon my shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me,"† or, on my head.

Herodotus relates, that the kings of Persia had horses peculiar to themselves, that were brought from Armenia, and were remarkable for their beauty. If the same law prevailed in Persia as did in Judea, no man might ride on the king's horse, any more than sit on his throne, or hold his sceptre. This clearly discovers the extent of Haman's ambition, when he proposed to bring "the royal apparel which the king used to wear, and the horse that the king rode upon, and the crown which is set upon his head." The crown royal was not to be set on the head of the man, but on the head of the horse; this interpretation is allowed by Aben Ezra, by the Targum, and by the Syriac version. No mention is afterwards made of the crown as set upon the head of Mordecai, nor would Haman have dared to advise what by the laws of Persia could not be granted. But it was usual to put the crown royal on the head of a horse led in state; and this we are assured, is a custom in Persia, as it is with the Ethiopians to this day; from them it passed into Italy; for the horses which the Romans yoked in their triumphal chariots were adorned with crowns.‡

The eastern princesses were treated with a respect proportioned to the homage which was given to their lords. An Arabian princess who made a visit to the wife of the great emir, when d'Arvieux resided in his camp, was mounted on a camel, covered with a carpet, and decked with flowers; twelve women marched in a row before her, holding the camel's halter with one hand, while they sung the praises of their mistress, and songs which expressed the joy and happiness of being in the service of such a beautiful and amiable lady. Those who marched first, and were at a greater distance from her person, came in their turn to the head of the camel, and took hold of the halter, which place, as being the post of honour, they quitted to others, when the

\* Chardin's *Coron. of Soliman*, p. 44. † Job xxxi. 36. ‡ Gill *in loc.*

princess had gone a few paces. In this order they marched to the tent where they alighted. They then sung altogethcr, the beauty, birth, and good qualities of this princess. This account illustrates a passage in the prophet Nahum, in which he describes the introduction of the queen of Nineveh, or that imperial city itself, under the figure of a queen, to her conqueror : " And Huzzab shall be led away captive, she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves." Here the prophet describes her as led by her maids with the voice of doves, that is, with the voice of mourning; their usual songs of joy, with which they were accustomed to lead her along, as the Arab women did their princess, being turned into lamentations.\*

The last emblem of power and authority among the kings and governors of the east which I shall mention, is the horn. The Indian soldier wears a horn of steel on the front of his helmet, directly over the forehead. In Abyssinia the head-dress of the provincial governors, according to Mr. Bruce, consists of a large broad fillet bound upon their forehead, and tied behind their head. In the middle of this rises a horn, or conical piece of silver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called *kirn*, a slight corruption of the Hebrew word *keren*, a horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory. The crooked manner in which they hold the neck when this ornament is on their forehead, for fear it should fall forward, seems to agree with what the Psalmist calls speaking with a stiff neck: " Lift not your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck;" for it perfectly shows the meaning of speaking in this attitude, when the horn is held exact like the horn of a unicorn.† An allusion is made to this custom in another passage: " But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn."‡ To raise the horn was to clothe one with authority, or to do him honour; to lower it, cut it off, or take it away, to deprive one of power, or to treat him with disrespect. Such were the " horns

\* Harmer, vol. 2. p. 417.

† Nah. ii. 7.

‡ Psal. xcii. 10.



of iron” which Zedekiah made for himself, when he presumed, in the name of Jehovah, to flatter his prince with the promise of victory over his enemies: “Thus saith the Lord, with these” military insignia “shalt thou push the Syrians until thou hast consumed them.”\* They were military ornaments, the symbols of strength, and courage, and power.

But while the orientals had their emblems of honour, and tokens of regard, they had also peculiar customs expressive of contempt or dislike; of which the first I shall mention is cutting off the beard. This is reckoned so great a mark of infamy among the Arabs, that many of them would prefer death to such a dishonour. They set the highest value upon this appurtenance of the male; for when they would express their value for a thing, they say it is worth more than his beard; they even beg for the sake of it: “By your beard, by the life of your beard, do.” This shews, according to the oriental mode of thinking, the magnitude of the affront which Hanan offered to the ambassadors of David, when he took them and shaved off the one half of their beards.† It was still, in times comparatively modern, the greatest indignity that can be offered in Persia. Sha Abbas, king of that country, enraged that the emperor of Hindostan had inadvertently addressed him by a title far inferior to that of the great Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings, ordered the beards of the ambassadors to be shaved off, and sent them home to their master.‡ This ignominious treatment discovers also the propriety and force of the type of hair in the prophecies of Ezekiel; where the inhabitants of Jerusalem are compared to the hair of his head and beard, to intimate that they had been as dear to God as the beard was to the Jews; yet for their wickedness they should be cut off and destroyed.

To send an open letter, was considered as a mark of great disrespect. A letter has its Hebrew name from the circumstance of its being rolled or folded together. The modern Arabs roll up their letters, and then flatten them to the breadth of an inch; and, instead of sealing

\* Calmet, vol. 3 1 Kings xxii. 11.

‡ Maurice's Hist. of Hind. vol. 4. p. 476

† 2 Sam. x. 4.

them, paste up their ends. The Persians make up their letters in a roll about six inches long, a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink. In Turkey, letters are commonly sent to persons of distinction in a bag or purse; to equals they are also enclosed, but to inferiors, or those who are held in contempt, they are sent open or unenclosed. This explains the reason of Nehemiah's observation: "Then sent Sanballat his servant unto me - - with an open letter in his hand."\* In refusing him the mark of respect usually paid to persons of his station, and treating him contemptuously, by sending the letter without the customary appendages, when presented to persons of respectability, Sanballat offered him a deliberate insult. Had this open letter come from Geshem, who was an Arab, it might have passed unnoticed, but as it came from Sanballat, the governor had reason to expect the ceremony of enclosing it in a bag, since he was a person of distinction in the Persian court, and at that time governor of Judea.

The last mark of disrespect, which is by no means confined to the east, is to spit in the face of another. Chardin observes, that spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's actions, is, through the east, an expression of extreme detestation. It is, therefore, prescribed by the law of Moses, as a mark of great disgrace to be fixed on the man who failed in his duty to the house of his brother.† To such contemptuous treatment, it will be recollected, our blessed Redeemer submitted in the hall of the high priest, for the sake of his people. The practice has descended to modern times; for in the year 1744, when a rebel prisoner was brought before Nadir Shah's general, the soldiers were ordered to spit in his face; which proves that the savage conduct of the Jews corresponded with a custom which had been long established over all the east.

\* Neh. vi. 5.

† Deut. xxv. 9.

## CHAP. IX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE HONOURS SHEWN  
TO THE DEAD.

THE duties belonging to the dead, have been reckoned eminently sacred in every age, and among every people. The most barbarous nations have regarded the dust of their departed relatives as sacred and inviolable. In Greece, to refuse the manes of their departed friends any part of their accustomed regard, or to neglect any the least duty to which they were thought entitled, was deemed a greater crime than to violate the temples, and plunder the shrines of their gods. They preserved their memories with religious care and reverence; they went so far as to honour their remains with worship and adoration; at the grave of an enemy, they relinquished for ever their hatred and envy, and stigmatised a disposition to speak evil of the dead as cruel and inhuman. To prosecute revenge beyond the grave, was classed with the foulest actions of which any man could be guilty; no provocations, no affronts from the deceased while alive, or from their children after their death, were deemed sufficient to warrant so nefarious a deed. To disturb the ashes of the dead, fixed a stain on the character of the perpetrator, which no length of time, nor change of circumstances, could remove.\*

These sentiments, refined and directed by the dictates and influence of a purer faith, were deeply graven on the heart of a genuine Israelite. In mournful silence, he attended the dying bed of his friend or parent, to receive his last advice, and obtain his blessing. Persuaded that the souls of good men acquired a greater degree of vigour and elevation, as they drew near the end of their course, and were favoured with a clearer and more extensive prospect of things to come, he reckoned it his

\* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. 2. p. 161.

duty and his privilege to catch every sentence from the lips of the dying, and especially to mark the solemn moment when the vital functions ceased, and the liberated soul took her flight into the world of spirits. As soon as the last breath had fled, the nearest relation, or the dearest friend, gave the lifeless body the parting kiss, the last farewell and sign of affection to the departed relative. This was a custom of immemorial antiquity; for the patriarch Jacob had no sooner yielded up his spirit, than his beloved Joseph, claiming for once the right of the first born, "fell upon his face and kissed him." It is probable he first closed his eyes, as God had promised he should do, (Joseph shall put his hands upon thine eyes,) and then parted from his body with a kiss. In these particulars, the ancient Greeks clearly imitated the Jews; when they saw their friends and relations at the point of resigning their lives, they came close to the bed where they lay, to bid them farewell, and catch their dying words, which they never repeated without reverence. The want of opportunity to pay this compliment to Hector, his widowed spouse laments in these affecting strains:

Οὐ γὰρ μοι θνητῶν λήξεων ἐκχειρὰς οὐδέξας, ἔστ.

*Il. 24. l. 743.*

"For when dying, thou hast not stretched out thy hand from the bed to me: thou hast not given me sound advice, which I might still bear in sad remembrance, and, with tears, repeat night and day." They also took their last farewell, by kissing and embracing the dead body. Thus Ovid represents Niobe as kissing her deceased sons; and Corippus, Justin the younger, as falling upon Justinian, and kissing him with many tears.

The parting kiss being given, the company rent their clothes, which was a custom of great antiquity, and the highest expression of grief in the primitive ages. This ceremony was never omitted by the Hebrews when any mournful event happened, and was performed in the following manner; they took a knife, and holding the blade downwards, gave the upper garment a cut in the right side, and rent it an hand's breadth. For very near relations, all the garments are rent on the right side.

After closing the eyes, the next care was to bind up



the face, which it was no more lawful to behold. The Greeks also were careful to close the eyes of their departed friends, and to cover their faces; both to prevent the horror which the pale and unyielding features, and particularly the eyes of the dead, are apt to excite, and for the satisfaction of the dying, who are usually desirous to spare, as much as possible, the feelings of their surviving relations, and to appear, even after death, as little as may be, the objects of disgust or aversion to those whom they still esteem and love. Hence the ghost of Agamemnon complained that his wife Clytemnestra had neglected

Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἵλευν, σὸν τε στόμα' εἰσαι.

*Odys.*

“to close with her hands his eyes and his mouth.” And in Euripides, when Hippolytus felt himself at the point of death, he called upon his father Theseus quickly to cover his face with a sheet:

Κρυψὸν δέμου πρῶτον ὡς ταχὺς πεπλοῖς.

The next care of surviving friends is to wash the body, probably, that the ointments and perfumes with which it is to be wrapped up, may enter more easily into the pores, when they are opened by warm water. This ablution, which was always esteemed an act of great charity and devotion, is performed by women. Thus the body of Dorcas was washed, and laid in an upper room, till the arrival of the apostle Peter, in the hope that his prayers might restore her to life. After the body is washed, it is shrouded, and swathed with a linen cloth, although in most places, they only put on a pair of drawers and a white shift; and the head is bound about with a napkin: such were the napkin and grave clothes, in which the Saviour was buried.

The Greeks and Romans, after washing, anointed the body with oil, or some precious ointment. Homer frequently mentions the custom of anointing the dead, but takes notice of no other unguent but oil. Thus they anointed the body of Patroclus.

καὶ τότε δὴ λουσάθῃ, καὶ ἡλειψάσθαι λίπ' ἔλαιω.

“As soon as washed, they anointed him with oil.”

After it was washed and anointed, they wrapped it in a

garment, which seems to have been no other than the cloak of the deceased. Thus Misenus, being first washed and anointed, then (as the custom was,) laid upon a bed, was wrapped in the garments he had usually worn :

“ Pars calidos latices et athena undantia flammis  
Expediunt corpus que lavant frigentis et ungunt,” &c. *Virg.*

“ Some get ready warm water and caldrons bubbling from the flames, and wash and anoint his cold limbs. They fetch a groan ; then lay the bewailed body on a couch, and throw over it the purple robes, his wonted apparel.”\*

The body was then embalmed, which was performed by the Egyptians after the following method : the brain was removed with a bent iron, and the vacuity filled up with medicaments ; the bowels were also drawn out, and the trunk being stuffed with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, except frankincense, which were proper to exsiccate the humours, it was pickled in nitre, in which it lay for seventy days. After this period, it was wrapped in bandages of fine linen and gums, to make it adhere ; and was then delivered to the relations of the deceased entire ; all its features, and the very hairs of the eye-lids being preserved. In this manner were the kings of Judah embalmed for many ages.

But when the funeral obsequies were not long delayed, they used another kind of embalming. They wrapped up the body with sweet spices and odours, without extracting the brain, or removing the bowels. This is the way in which it was proposed to embalm the sacred body of our Saviour ; which was prevented by his resurrection. This last seems to be properly what the ancients denominated embalming ; for Moses observes, in reference to Jacob, “ Forty days were fulfilled for him (for so are fulfilled the days of those who are embalmed,) and the Egyptians mourned for him three-score and ten days.” We learn from two Greek historians, Herodotus and Diodorus, that the time of mourning was while the body remained with the embalmers ; which, according to Herodotus, was seventy

\* Davidson.

days. It lay in nitre thirty days, for the purpose of drying up all its superfluous and noxious moisture; and the remaining forty, (the time mentioned by Diodorus,) were employed in anointing it with gums and spices, to preserve it; which we infer from the words of Moses, was the proper embalming. The former circumstance explains the reason, why the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore and ten days; the latter explains the meaning of the forty days which were fulfilled for Israel, being the days of those that are embalmed.\*

The ancient Greeks were accustomed to lay out the body after it was shrouded in its grave clothes; sometimes upon a bier, which they bedecked with various sorts of flowers. The place where the bodies were laid out, was near the door of the house: there the friends of the deceased attended them with loud lamentations; a custom which still continues to be observed among that people. Dr. Chandler, when travelling in Greece, saw a woman at Megara, sitting with the door of her cottage open, lamenting her dead husband aloud; and at Zante, a woman in a house with the door open, bewailing her little son, whose body lay by her dressed, the hair powdered, the face painted, and bedecked with gold leaf.† This custom of mourning for the dead, near the door of the house, was probably borrowed from the Syrians; and if so, it will serve to illustrate an obscure expression of Moses, relative to Abraham; “And Sarah died in Kirjatharba; and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her.”‡ He came out of his own separate tent, and seating himself on the ground, near the door of her tent, where her corpse was placed, that he might perform those public solemn rites of mourning, that were required, as well by decency as affection, lamented with many tears the loss he had sustained.

While the body lay exposed in this manner, it was customary to give it constant attendance, to defend it from any violence or affront that might be offered: Whence Achilles says of his friend Patroclus,

*Ὅς μοι ἐνὶ κλισίῃ δεδαιγμένος οἶσσι παλκῶ, Ὡς. Il. b. 19. l. 211.*

\* Gen. 1. 2, 3.

† See Harmer's Obs. vol. 3. chap. vii. throughout.

‡ Gen. xxiii. 2.



“Round the dead corpse his sad companions mourn.” And a little before, we find him so passionately concerned lest flies and vermin should pollute the corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the battle, till Thetis promised to guard it.\* Not less attentive were the Jews, to the dust of their departed friends, of which Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, furnished a striking and affecting example; she “took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest, until water dropped” upon the dead bodies of her two sons, and the five sons of Michael, the daughter of Saul, who were put to death for the treachery of their father, “and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night.”†

Before the door of the house where the corpse lay, stood a vessel of water, the design of which was, that those who had been employed about the dead body might purify themselves by washing; for the heathen world thought themselves polluted by the contact of a dead body, and even considered the house where it lay, not altogether free from pollution. Euripides accordingly makes Helena say, “Our houses are sacred, not defiled by the death of Menelaus.”

Καθαρα γαρ ἡμιν δοματ', εὔγας ἐνθαδὲ  
ψυχῇ' ἀφῆκε Μενελαῶς.

The air proceeding from a dead body, was thought to pollute every thing into which it entered; this is the reason that every open vessel, as well as the whole house, underwent a general purification, immediately after the funeral solemnities were over. In these sentiments and customs, we discover a faint trace of the laws respecting dead bodies, which were given from the top of Sinai to the people of Israel. “He that toucheth the dead body of a man shall be unclean seven days. He shall purify himself with it on the third day, and on the seventh day he shall be clean.” - - “This is the law, when a man dieth in a tent; all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days.

\* 11. b. 19 l. 25.

† 2 Sam. xxi. 10.



And every open vessel which hath no covering bound upon it, shall be unclean.”\*

The body, after being exposed at the door of the house, or in some open apartment, the usual number of days, was laid in a coffin. This, however, seems to have been an honour commonly reserved for persons of better condition; for on any other supposition, it is not easy to account for the remark of the inspired writer, that the body of Joseph, after being embalmed, was put in a coffin in Egypt.†

The meaner sort of people seem to have been interred in their grave-clothes, without a coffin. In this manner was the sacred body of our Lord committed to the tomb.

The body was sometimes placed upon a bier, which bore some resemblance to a coffin or bed, in order to be carried out to burial. Upon one of these was carried forth the widow's son of Nain, whom our compassionate Lord raised to life, and restored to his mother. We are informed in the history of the kings of Judah, that Asa being dead, they laid him in the bed, which was filled with sweet odours. Josephus, the Jewish historian, describing the funeral of Herod the great, says, his bed was adorned with precious stones; his body rested under a purple covering; he had a diadem and a crown of gold upon his head, a sceptre in his hand; and that all his house followed the bed. The bier used by the Turks at Aleppo, says Russel, is a kind of coffin, much in the form of ours, only the lid rises with a ledge in the middle. Christians, according to the same author, are carried to the grave in an open bier of the same kind as that used by the people of Nain. But the Jews seem to have conveyed their dead bodies to their funerals without any support, as may be inferred from the history of Ananias and his wife Sapphira. “And the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out and buried him.”‡ With equal dispatch they carried forth Sapphira, and buried her by her husband. No hint is given of a bier in either of these cases; and the

\* Numb. xix. 11, 12, 14, 15. See Potter, vol. 2. 189.

† Gen. l. 26

‡ Acts v. 6.

incidents of the story follow one another so rapidly, that we cannot suppose they took time to go and bring one ; and as such a scene was not expected, we have no reason to conclude they had one in readiness. This simple method of conveying a dead body to the grave, was familiar to the most ancient Greeks ; for when Patroclus was carried forth by the myrmidons, Achilles went behind to support his head.

Οπιθεν δε παρη ογι διος Αχιλλειος.

*Il. b. 23. l. 136.*

The Israelites committed the dead to their native dust ; and from the Egyptians, probably borrowed the practice of burning many spices at their funerals. “ They buried Asa in his own sepulchres, which he made for himself, in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the apothecaries’ art ; and they made a very great burning for him.”\* The Old Testament historian entirely justifies the account which the evangelist gives, of the quantity of spices with which the sacred body of Christ was swathed. The Jews object to the quantity used on that occasion, as unnecessarily profuse, and even incredible ; but it appears from their own writings, that spices were used at such times in great abundance. In the Talmud, it is said, that no less than eighty pounds of spices were consumed at the funeral of Rabbi Gamaliel, the elder. And at the funeral of Herod, if we may believe the account of their most celebrated historian, the procession was followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices. Why then should it be reckoned incredible, that Nicodemus brought of myrrh and aloes about an hundred pounds weight, to embalm the body of Jesus ?

Nothing, in the estimation of the ancients, could compensate for the want of burial ; and to be deprived of a grave they reckoned one of the greatest calamities by which they could be overtaken. In Greece, a person guilty of suffering even the dead body of a stranger, found in the field, or on the shore, to remain unburied, was not permitted to converse with men, nor appear in the temples ; but was considered as profane and pollu-

\* 2 Chron. xvi. 14.

ted, the just object of divine vengeance, and human detestation. A Roman general was held by his fellow citizens in utter abhorrence, because he had left the bones of his soldiers without the rites of burial on the field of battle. The strong prepossessions of the heathen exerted no influence on the mind of God's ancient people: Instructed by the word of revelation, they well knew that the state of the lifeless body can neither facilitate nor retard the return of the spirit to God who gave it; but they justly thought it belonged to the decencies of life, and was even allied to humanity, to hide in the tomb a frame, which like their own was lately the habitation of a reasonable soul. These natural feelings give a peculiar emphasis to the words of the prophet: "His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost;\* and to the complaint of the Psalmist, "Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth." Mr. Bruce relates a circumstance which shews that these words, in whatever way they are to be understood, might be literally verified: In prosecuting his journey towards the capital of Abyssinia, he arrived, with his attendants, at the village of Garigana, whose inhabitants had all perished with hunger the year before; their wretched bones being all unburied and scattered upon the surface of the ground where the village formerly stood. They encamped among the bones of the dead; no space could be found free from them. To persons, however little civilized, and particularly to the Jews, who trembled at the idea of their bones being scattered about in the open field, such a spectacle must have been very revolting, and have filled the mind with many painful reflections.

Nearly connected with this desire is another equally strong and general, of reposing in the sepulchres of our fathers. To be buried in a foreign land, the Greeks looked upon as a very great misfortune, not much inferior to the loss of life. Thus Electra, in Sophocles, having preserved Orestes from Clytemnestra, by sending him into a foreign country, and many years after,

\* Jer. xxxvi. 30.

hearing he had ended his days there, wishes he had rather perished at first, than after so many years continuance of life, have died from home, and been deprived of the last offices of his friends. This sentiment is admirably expressed in the epitaph of Leonidas the Tarentine, quoted by Potter.

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλίας κεῖμαι χθονὸς ἐκτὲ Ταραντος  
Πατρὸς, τὸτ' δὲ μοι πικροτέρῳ θανάτῳ.

“Far from the land of Italy I lie, and from Tarentum, my native soil, which is more grievous to me than death itself.” This is the reason that the bodies of those who died in foreign countries were often brought home, by the kindness of their surviving relations, and interred with great solemnity in the sepulchres of their fathers. Thus Theseus was removed from Scyrus to Athens: Orestes from Tegea, and his son Tisamenus from Helice to Sparta; and Aristomenes from Rhodes to Messene. The desire of Jacob to be buried in his native land, was partly the natural feeling of the human breast, and partly the effect of religious principle; the unequivocal expression of his faith and hope, that the promise of Jehovah to bestow the land of Canaan upon his posterity, for an inheritance, should in due time be faithfully performed. The solemnity and earnestness of the charge which the dying patriarch gave with his latest breath, to his attending sons, shews how deeply he felt on that point: “And he charged them, and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people; bury me with my fathers in the cave, that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite; in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre; in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite, for a possession of a burying place.\*

The funeral procession was attended by professional mourners, eminently skilled in the art of lamentation, whom the friends and relations of the deceased hired, to assist them in expressing their sorrow. They began the ceremony with the stridulous voices of old women, who strove, by their doleful modulations, to extort grief from those that were present. The children in the

\* Gen. xlix. 29, 30.



streets through which they passed, often suspended their sports, to imitate the sounds, and joined with equal sincerity in the lamentations. “But whereunto shall I liken this generation; it is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.”\* Music was afterwards introduced to aid the voices of the mourners: the trumpet was used at the funerals of the great, and the small pipe or flute for those of meaner condition. Hired mourners were in use among the Greeks as early as the Trojan war, and probably in ages long before; for in Homer, a choir of mourners were planted around the couch on which the body of Hector was laid out, who sung his funeral dirge with many sighs and tears:

————— τοῦ μὲν ἐπιστά

Γρητοῖς ἐν ληχίσσι θίσαν, παρὰ δίσταν αοιδῆς, &c. *Il. b. 24. l. 720.*

“A melancholy choir attend around,  
With plaintive sighs and music’s solemn sound;  
Alternately they sing, alternate flow  
The obedient tears, melodious in their woe.” *Pope.*

In Egypt, the lower class of people call in women, who play on the tabor; and whose business it is, like the hired mourners in other countries, to sing elegiac airs to the sound of that instrument, which they accompany with the most frightful distortions of their limbs. These women attend the corpse to the grave, intermixed with the female relations and friends of the deceased, who commonly have their hair in the utmost disorder; their heads covered with dust; their faces daubed with indigo, or at least rubbed with mud, and howling like maniacs. Such were the minstrels whom our Lord found in the house of Jairus, making so great a noise round the bed on which the dead body of his daughter lay. The noise and tumult of these retained mourners, and the other attendants, appear to have begun immediately after the person expired. “The moment,” says Chardin, “any one returns from a long journey, or dies, his family burst into cries that may be heard twenty doors off; and this is renewed at different times, and con-

\* Mat. xi. 17.

tinues many days, according to the vigour of the passions. Especially are these cries long and frightful in the case of death, for the mourning is right down despair, and an image of hell."

The longest and most violent acts of mourning are when they wash the body; when they perfume it; when they carry it out to be interred. During this violent outcry, the greater part even of the relations do not shed a single tear. While the funeral procession moves forward, with the violent wailings of the females, the male attendants engage in devout singing.\*

To the dreadful noise and tumult of the hired mourners, the following passage of Jeremiah indisputably refers; and shews the custom to be derived from a very remote antiquity: "Call for the mourning women that they may come; and send for cunning women, that they may come; and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids gush out with waters."†

The relations of the deceased often testify their sorrow in a more serious and affecting manner, by cutting and slashing their naked arms with daggers. To this absurd and barbarous custom, the prophet thus alludes: "For every head shall be bald, and every beard clipped; upon all hands shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth:‡ And again, "Both the great and the small shall die in the land; they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves."§ It seems to have been very common in Egypt, and among the people of Israel, before the age of Moses, else he had not forbidden it by an express law: "Ye are the children of the Lord your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead."|| Mr. Harmer refers to this custom, the "wounds in the hands," of the prophet, which he had given himself, in token of affection to a person.¶ And Taylor seems to think that "the marks of the Lord Jesus, which the apostle Paul bore on his body, might be the scars of those wounds which he had in-

\* Russel's Hist. of Aleppo. † Jer. ix. 17. ‡ Jer. xlviii. 37. § Ch. xvi. 6.  
 ¶ Lev. xix. 38.      ¶ Zech. xiii. 6.

afflicted on his arms, as proofs of his love to his Redeemer." But it is not to be supposed that either of these inspired teachers would venture to display their affection to any person, by wilfully transgressing a divine law, couched in clear and precise terms; nor that such unwarrantable tokens of regard would be recorded with approbation in the sacred writings.

The funeral processions of the Jews in Barbary, are conducted nearly in the same manner as those in Syria. The corpse is borne by four to the place of burial: in the first rank march the priests, next to them the kindred of the deceased; after whom come those that are invited to the funeral; and all singing in a sort of plain song, the forty-ninth Psalm. To the more sedate singing of the Jewish mourners, Mr. Harmer is inclined to refer these words of Amos: "A man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say to him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee; and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord."\* "In the forty-ninth Psalm, the devout worshipper expresses his hope, that God will raise up his people to life, after they have been long in the state of the dead; but when, in a house so crowded with inhabitants, that there should be ten men in it, all should perish by the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, so that not one should remain, was it not natural, that he who searched that desolate abode, should say when he carried out the last dead body for interment, Be silent; it does not become us to make mention of God's care of Israel, in hereafter raising us from the dead, when he is thus visibly forsaking his people? Or in the words of our translation: Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord." It is evidently the design of the prophet, to warn his people that public calamities were approaching, so numerous and severe, as should make them forget the usual rites of burial, and even to sing one of the songs of Zion over the dust of a departed relative. This appears to be confirmed by a

\* Amos vi. 10.

prediction in the eighth chapter : “ And the songs of the temple shall be howlings in that day, saith the Lord God ; there shall be many dead bodies in every place ; they shall cast them forth with silence ;” they shall have none to lament and bewail ; none to blow the funeral trump, or touch the pipe and tabor ; none to sing the plaintive dirge, or express their hope of a blessed resurrection, in the strains of inspiration. All shall be silent despair.

The orientals bury without the walls of their cities, unless when they wish to bestow a distinguishing mark of honour upon the deceased. For this reason, the sepulchres of David and his family, and the tomb of Huldah the prophetess, were within the city of Jerusalem ; and the only ones to be found there. The sepulchres of the Hebrews, that were able to afford the necessary expense, were extensive caves or vaults, excavated in the native rock by the art and exertions of man. The roofs were generally arched ; and some were so spacious, as to be supported by colonnades. All round the sides were cells for the reception of the sarcophagi ; these were ornamented with appropriate sculpture, and each was placed in its proper cell. The cave or sepulchre admitted no light, being closed by a great stone which was rolled to the mouth, by the narrow passage or entrance. Many of these receptacles are still extant in Judea ; two in particular are more magnificent than all the rest, and for that reason supposed to be the sepulchres of the kings. One of these is in Jerusalem, and contains twenty-four cells ; the other containing twice that number, is without the city. “ You are to form to yourself,” says Lowth speaking of these sepulchres, “ an idea of an immense subterraneous vault, a vast gloomy cavern, all round the sides of which are cells to receive the dead bodies ; here the deceased monarchs lie in a distinguished sort of state, suitable to their former rank, each on his own couch, with his arms beside him, his sword at his head, and the bodies of his chiefs and companions round about him.”

“ Whoever,” says Maundrell, “ was buried there, this is certain, that the place itself discovers so great



an expensé both of labour and of treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the work of kings. You approach it at the east side, through an entrance cut out of the natural rock, which admits you into an open court of about forty paces square, cut down into the rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls. On the south side of the court, is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of the rock. This has a kind of architrave running along its front, adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, still discernible, but by time much defaced. At the end of the portico on the left hand, you descend to the passage into the sepulchres. Passing through it, you arrive in a large apartment about seven or eight yards square, cut out of the natural rock. Its sides and ceiling are so exactly square, and its angles so just, that no architect with levels and plummets could build a room more regular; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a chamber hollowed out of one piece of marble. From this room you pass into six more, one within another, all of the same fabric with the first. Of these the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them. In every one of these rooms, except the first, were coffins of stone placed in niches in the sides of the chambers. They had been at first covered with handsome lids, and carved with garlands; but now most of them are broken to pieces by sacrilegious hands. The sides and ceilings of the rooms were also dropping with the moist damps condensed upon them; to remedy which nuisance, and to preserve these chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each room a small channel cut in the floor, which served to drain the drops that fell constantly into it."

To these sepulchres, and their interior chambers, one within another, the wise man, by a bold and striking figure, compares the dwelling of a lewd woman: "Her house is the way to *hades*;" her first or outer chamber is like the open court that leads to the tomb, "going down to the chambers of death;" her private apartments, like the separate recesses of a sepulchre, are

the receptacles of loathsome corruption ; and he calls them, in allusion to the solidity of the rock in which they are hewn, the “long home” (בית עולם) *beth olam*, the house of ages.

The higher such sepulchres were cut in the rock, or the more conspicuously they were situate, the greater was supposed to be the honour of reposing there. “Hezekiah was buried in the chiefest,” says our translation, rather, in the highest part “of the sepulchres of the sons of David,” to do him the more honour. The vanity of Shebna, which so much displeased the Lord, was discovered in preparing for himself a sepulchre in the face of some lofty rock : “What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth a habitation for him in a rock.”\* Several modern travellers mention some monuments still remaining in Persia of great antiquity, which gave them a clear idea of Shebna’s pompous design for his sepulchre. They consist of several tombs, each of them hewn in a high rock near the top ; the front of the rock to the valley below, being the outside of the sepulchre, is adorned with carved work in relief. Some of these sepulchres are about thirty feet in the perpendicular from the valley. Diodorus Siculus mentions these ancient monuments, and calls them the sepulchres of the kings of Persia. The tombs of Telmissus, in the island of Rhodes, which Dr. Clark visited, furnish a still more remarkable commentary on this text. They “are of two kinds ; the first are sepulchres hewn in the face of perpendicular rocks. Wherever the side of a mountain presented an almost inaccessible steep, there the ancient workmen seem to have bestowed their principal labour. In such situations are seen excavated chambers, worked with such marvellous art, as to exhibit open façades, porticos with Ionic columns, gates and doors beautifully sculptured, in which are carved the representation as of embossed iron work, bolts and hinges of one stone.

“The other kind of tomb is the true Grecian soros, the sarcophagus of the Romans. Of this sort there are

\* Isa. xxii. 16.

several, but of a size and grandeur far exceeding any thing of the kind elsewhere, standing in some instances upon the craggy pinnacles of lofty precipitous rocks. Each consists of a single stone, others of still larger size, of more than one stone. Some consist of two masses of stone, one for the body or chest of the soros, and the other for its operculum; and to increase the wonder excited by the skill and labour manifested in their construction, they have been almost miraculously raised to the surrounding heights, and there left standing upon the projections and crags of the rocks, which the casualties of nature presented for their reception."

"At Macri, the tombs are cut out of the solid rock, in the precipices towards the sea. Some of them have a kind of portico, with pillars in front. In these they were almost plain. The hewn stone was as smooth as if the artist had been employed upon wood, or any other soft substance. They most nearly resemble book cases, with glass doors. A small rectangular opening, scarcely large enough to pass through, admits a stranger to the interior of these tombs; where is found a square chamber, with one or more receptacles for dead bodies, shaped like baths, upon the sides of the apartment, and neatly chiselled in the body of the rock. The mouths of these sepulchres had been originally closed by square slabs of stone, exactly adapted to grooves cut for their reception; and so nicely adjusted, that when the work was finished, the place of entrance might not be observed. Of similar construction were the sepulchres of the Jews in Palestine, and particularly that in which our Lord was buried."

"Many of these have the appearance of being inaccessible; but by dint of climbing from rock to rock, at the risk of a dangerous fall, it is possible to ascend even to the highest. They are fronted with rude pillars, which are integral parts of the solid rock. Some of them are twenty feet high. The mouths of these sepulchres are closed with beautiful sculptured imitations of brazen or iron doors, with hinges, knobs, and bars."

This intelligent traveller visited a range of tombs of the same kind on the borders of the lake of Tiberias,

hewn by the earliest inhabitants of Gallilee, in the rocks which face the water. They were deserted in the time of our Saviour, and had become the resort of wretched men, afflicted by diseases, and made outcasts of society ; for these tombs are particularly alluded to in the account of a cure performed upon a maniac in the country of the Gadarenes.

The tombs at Napolose, the ancient Sichem, where Joseph, Joshua, and others, were buried, are also hewn out of the solid rock, and are durable as the hills in which they are excavated. Constituting integral parts of mountains, and chiselled with a degree of labour not to be conceived from mere description, these monuments suffer no change from the lapse of ages ; they have defied and will defy, the attacks of time, and continue as perfect at this hour, as they were in the first moment of their completion.\*

The tombs of the lower orders are constructed of stone, at a small distance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for that purpose. Each family has a particular portion of it walled in like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained for many generations ; for, in these enclosures, the graves are all distinct and separate, having each of them a stone placed upright both at the head and feet, inscribed with the name of the person who lies there interred ; while the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stone, or paved all over with tiles. The graves of more wealthy citizens are further distinguished by some square chambers, or cupolas, that are built over them.† The sepulchres of the Jews were made so large, that persons might go into them. The rule for making them is this ; he that sells ground to his neighbour, to make a burying place, must make a court at the mouth of the cave, six feet by six, according to the bier and those that bury. It was into this court, that the women, who visited the sepulchre of our Lord, entered. Here they could look into the sepulchre, and the several graves in it, and see every thing within. The words of the sacred his-

\* Dr. Clarke's Travels in Turkey, &c.

† Shaw's Trav.



torian are : “ And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man, sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and they were affrighted.”\*

These different sorts of tombs and sepulchres, with the very walls likewise of the enclosures, are constantly kept clean, white washed and beautified ; and by consequence, continue to this day to be an excellent comment upon that expression of our Saviour’s : “ Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which, indeed appear beautiful outwards, but are within full of dead men’s bones and rottenness - - - Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous.”† It was in one of these chambers, or cupolas, which were built over the sepulchre, that the demoniacs, mentioned in the eighth chapter of Matthew, probably had their dwelling.

As the Jews did not make use of coffins, they placed their dead separately in niches, or little cells, cut into the sides of the caves, or rooms, which they had hewed out of the rock. This form of the Jewish sepulchre suggests an easy solution of a difficulty in the resurrection of Lazarus. The sacred historian states, that when our Lord cried with a loud voice, “ Lazarus come forth, he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave clothes.”‡ Upon this circumstance, the enemies of revelation seize with avidity, and demand with an air of triumph, How he should come out of a grave, who was bound hand and foot with grave clothes ? But the answer is easy : the evangelist does not mean that Lazarus walked out of the sepulchre, but only that he sat up, then putting his legs over the edge of his niche or cell, slid down, and stood upright upon the floor ; all which he might easily do, notwithstanding his arms were bound close to his body, and his legs were tied straight together, by means of the shroud and rollers with which he was swathed. Hence, when he was come forth, Jesus ordered his relations to loose him and let him go ; a circumstance plainly importing the

\* Mark xvi. 5.

† Matth. xxiii. 27. 29.

‡ John xi. 44.

historian's admission that Lazarus could not walk till he was unbound.

The Jewish tombs, like those of Macri, have entrances, which were originally closed with a large and broad stone rolled to the door, which it was not lawful, in the opinion of a Jew, to displace. They were adorned with inscriptions and emblematical devices, alluding to particular transactions in the lives of the persons that lay there entombed. Thus the place where the dust of Joshua reposed, was called Timnath-heres, because the image of the sun was engraved on his sepulchre, in memory of his arresting that luminary in his career, till he had gained a complete victory over the confederate kings. Such significant devices were common in the east. Cicero says, the tomb of Archimedes, was distinguished by the figure of a sphere and a cylinder.

The funeral ceremony of the Jews was finished by rolling the appointed stone to the door of the sepulchre; after which the mourning and lamentations were renewed. The ancient Israelites, in imitation of the heathen, from whom they borrowed the practice, frequently cut themselves with knives and lancets, scratched their faces, or pricked certain parts of their bodies with needles. These superstitious practices were expressly forbidden in their law: "Ye are the children of the Lord your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead."

The bereaved Greeks tore, cut off, and sometimes shaved their hair; they reckoned it a duty which they owed to the dead, to deprive their heads of the greatest part of their honours, or, in the language of Scripture, made a baldness between their eyes; for in Euripides, Electra finds fault with Helen for sparing her locks, and so defrauding her departed friends of their due respect.\* Lewis and Clarke discovered some traces of this very ancient custom among the savage tribes on the banks of the Missouri, who cut short their hair in the neck for the dead, and in deep mourning, over all the head.† Achilles, not more civilized than they, protested under the walls of Troy, that he would not bathe

\* Orestes 128.

† Travels in Louisiana.

himself in water till he had placed his friend Patroclus upon the funeral pile, raised over his ashes a mound of earth, and cut off his own hair in honour of the deceased.\* When the pile was prepared, they laid the body of Patroclus upon it, and cutting off their locks, covered it from head to foot with their hair.

Sometimes the hair was cast into the funeral pile, to be consumed with the dead body, and sometimes it was laid upon the grave; for Canace, in Ovid, bewails her misfortune, because she was debarred from performing this ceremony to her beloved Macareus:

“ Non mihi te licuit lacrimis perfundere justis,  
In tua non tonsus ferre sepulchra comas.”

Hence, to cut off the hair for the dead, was either a part of heathen superstition, or intimately connected with the undue honours which they paid to their departed friends. This idea is confirmed by the Scholiast upon Sophocles, who says, it was used partly to render the ghost of the deceased person propitious, which seems to be the reason they threw the hair into the fire to burn with him, or laid it on his body; partly that they might appear disfigured and careless of their beauty; for long hair was looked upon as very becoming, and the Greeks prided themselves in it, on account of which they are so frequently honoured by Homer with the epithet of *καρχηρονόους*.†

The same custom prevailed among the ancient Persians and the neighbouring states. On the death of Caesar Germanicus, some barbarous nations, at war among themselves, and with the Romans, agreed to a cessation of hostilities, as if their grief had been of a domestic nature, and on an occasion which alike concerned them both. Some princes, it was reported, cut off their beards, and shaved the heads of their wives, as an expression of their profound grief.‡ The Jews, and other nations of Syria, expressed their sorrow for the loss of their friends in the same manner. When the patriarch Job was informed of the death of his children, and the destruction of his property, he arose and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down

\* Il. 23. 45. and 151: † See Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. 2. p. 192. ‡ Sueton.

upon the ground and worshipped; and in the prophecies of Jeremiah, we read of eighty men who were going to lament the desolations of Jerusalem, having their beards shaven, and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves (in direct violation of the divine law,) with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord.\* Shaving, however, was, on some occasions, a sign of joy; and to let the hair grow long, the practice of mourners, or persons in affliction. Joseph shaved himself before he went into the palace;† and Mephibosheth let his hair grow during the time David was banished from Jerusalem, but shaved himself on his return. This practice was not unknown among the surrounding nations; for mariners were accustomed to shave themselves upon their deliverance from shipwreck; to which Juvenal makes this allusion:

——— “gaudent ibi vertice raso

Garrula securi narrare pericula nautæ.”

“And then shorn sailors boast what they endured.”

Hence Pliny, in one of his epistles, interprets his dream of cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some imminent danger. This difference is to be accounted for by the fashions of several nations: for where it was usual to wear long hair, there mourners shaved themselves; but where short hair was in fashion, there the length of hair was a token of mourning.

In ordinary sorrows they only neglected their hair, or suffered it to hang down loose upon their shoulders; in more poignant grief they cut it off; but in a sudden and violent paroxysm, they plucked it off with their hands. Such a violent expression of sorrow is exemplified in the conduct of Ezra, which he thus describes: “And when I heard this thing, I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head, and of my beard, and sat down astonished.”‡ The Greeks, and other nations around them, expressed the violence of their sorrow in the same way; for in Homer, Ulysses and his companions bewailing the death of Elpenor, howled and plucked off their hair:

Εζομενοι δε ενλαυθα γωνν τιλλοντο τε χαιρας.

\* Jer. xli. 5.

† Gen. xli. 14.

‡ Ezra. ix. 3.



They withdrew as much as possible from the world; they abstained from banquets and entertainments; they banished from their houses as unsuitable to their circumstances, and even painful to their feelings, musical instruments of every kind, and whatever was calculated to excite pleasure, or that wore an air of mirth and gaiety; they frequented no public solemnities, and often denied themselves the comforts and conveniences of life; they loathed the light of heaven, and sought only the dark shade and lonely retirement, which were supposed to bear some resemblance to their misfortunes. Thus Admetus in Euripides, overwhelmed with affliction for the death of Alcestis;

Παύσω δὲ καμύς, συμποτῶν δ' ὁμιλίας  
Στιφαυς τε, μῦσαν δ' ἢ κατ' εἰχὴ πρὶν δομῆς.

“I will no more indulge in public entertainments, in the conversation of my friends, in chaplets and music, which formerly cheered my dwelling.” Thus did the king of Persia testify his sorrow for the decree, into which his wily courtiers had betrayed him, and which, without the miraculous interposition of heaven, had proved fatal to his favourite minister: “Then the king went to his palace, and spent the night fasting; neither were instruments of music brought before him.”\*

Oriental mourners divested themselves of all ornaments, and laid aside their jewels, gold, and every thing rich and splendid in their dress. The Grecian ladies were directed in this manner to mourn the death of Achilles.

μητε χρυσοῦ φαίδρα καλλυεῖν ῥέβη, &c.

“Not clothed in rich attire of gems and gold, with glittering silks or purple.” This proof of humiliation and submission Jehovah required of his offending people in the wilderness: “Therefore, now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee. And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount Horeb.”† Long after the time of Moses, that rebellious nation again received a command

\* Dan. vi. 12.

† Exod. xxxiii. 5, 6.

of similar import; “Strip you, and make you bare, and gird sackcloth upon your loins.”\*

The garments of the mourner were always black; Progne, having notice of Philomela’s death, lays aside her robes, beaming with a profusion of gold, and appears in sable vestments; and Althæa, when her brethren were slain by Meleager, exchanged her glittering robes for black:

——— “et auratas mutavit vestibus atris.”

*Ovid.*

These sable vestments differed from their ordinary dress, not only in colour, but also in value, being made of cheap and coarse stuff, as appears from these lines of Terence;

“Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus  
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri  
Ejus anus causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua.”

“We found her busy at the loom, in a cheap mourning habit, which she wore I suppose for the old woman’s death.”

In Judea, the mourner was clothed in sackcloth of hair; and by consequence, in sable robes. If dead bodies in the east were shrouded in cloth of this kind, surviving relatives probably wore it in assimilation to the departed; and penitents, by assuming it, seemed to confess, that their guilt exposed them to death. Some of the eastern nations in modern times, bury in linen; but Chardin informs us, that others still retain the use of sackcloth for that purpose.

These signs of mourning were, in times of public calamity or danger, extended to domestic animals, and sometimes to inanimate objects, that every thing might correspond as much as possible with the general feeling. Admetus, upon the death of Alcestis, commanded his chariot horses to be shorn.

Τεθριππα τε ζευγυσθε, και μοναμπυκας

Πωλος σιδερω τεμνετ’ αυχενων φοβη.

*Eurip. Alcest. 428.*

“My chariot horses too my grief shall share,

Let them be shorn, cut off their comely manes.”

The people of Thessaly cut off their own hair, and their horses’ manes, at the death of Pelopidas. When

\* Isa. xxxii. 11.

Masistius was slain in a skirmish with the Athenians, the Persians shaved themselves, their horses, and their mules. On the prediction of Jonah being reported to the king of Nineveh, “he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing; let them not feed nor drink water. But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily to God.”\*

To sit in sackcloth and ashes, was a frequent expression of mourning in the oriental regions; and persons overwhelmed with grief, and unable to sustain the weight of their calamities, often threw themselves upon the earth, and rolled in the dust, and the more dirty the ground was, the better it served to defile them, and to express their sorrow and dejection. Thus Æneus mourned the death of his son Meleager:

“Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles  
Foedat humi fusos, spatiosum que increpat ævum.”

*Ovid. Met. b. 8. l. 528.*

“His hoary head and furrowed cheeks besmears  
With noisome dirt, and chides the tedious years.”

When Achilles received the news of his friend Patroclus’ death, he cast himself on the ground, and with furious hands spread the ashes upon his head, tore his garments, and rolled himself in the dust: And aged Priam lamented the fall of Hector in the same manner.

Ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ σιναχῶ, καὶ κηδεᾶ μυρία πίσσω,

Αὐλῆς ἐν χορταίσι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κοπρὸν.

*Il. b. 24. l. 640.*

“Sleep has never closed these eyes, from the time my son lost his life under thy hands; but without ceasing, I groan and ruminate on my innumerable sorrows, weltering in the mire.”

In this way, Tamar signified her distress, after being dishonoured by Amnon; “She put ashes on her head:” and when Mordecai understood that the doom of his nation was sealed, he “rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes.” Our Lord alludes to the same

\* Jonah iii. 6, 7; 8.

custom, in that denunciation ; “ Woe unto thee, Chorazin ! woe unto thee, Bethsaida ! for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, in sackcloth and ashes.”\*

Intimately connected with this, is the custom of putting dust upon the head. When the armies of Israel were defeated before Ai, “ Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads.” And Hushai came to meet his sovereign, when he fled before Absalom, with his coat rent, and dust upon his head. The mourner sometimes laid his hands upon his head ; for the prophet, expostulating with his people, predicts their humiliation in these words : “ Yea ; thou shalt go forth from him, and thine hands upon thine head ; for the Lord hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them.”† In both these cases, the head of the mourner was uncovered ; but they sometimes adopted the opposite custom, and covered their heads in great distress, or when they were loaded with disgrace and infamy. When Darius was informed that his queen was dead, and that she had suffered no violence from Alexander, he covered his head and wept a long while ; and then throwing off the garment that covered him, gave God thanks for Alexander’s moderation and justice. This custom was of great antiquity in Persia : for when Haman’s plot against Mordecai was defeated, he is said to have “ hasted to his house mourning, and having his head covered.”‡ The Jews are represented by Jeremiah as being “ ashamed and confounded, and covering their heads” in the time of a grievous famine :”§ and when David received the tidings of Absalom’s death, “ he covered his face, and cried with a loud voice.” That this was a common expression of extreme distress, appears from a passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel, where the sorrows of captive Israel are foretold, under the type of removing : “ Thou shalt cover thy face that thou see not the ground : for I have set thee for a sign unto the house of

\* Matth. xi. 21.

† Jer. ii. 37.

‡ Esth. vi. 7.

§ Jer. xiv. 3, 4.



Israel." It seems indeed to be a natural expression of grief or shame, and to have been accordingly practised among all nations. Thus Demosthenes being on a particular occasion hissed by the people, went home with his head covered. The heathen nations adored their deities with covered heads, except Saturn and Hercules, whose solemnities were celebrated with heads unveiled; and the Jews in worshipping the true God, covered their heads, from a spirit of bondage and fear. These are probably the reasons that the apostle thus expresses himself to the Corinthians; "Every man praying, or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head."\*

To cover the lips was a very ancient sign of mourning; and it continues to be practised among the Jews of Barbary to this day. When they return from the grave to the house of the deceased, the chief mourner receives them with his jaws tied up with a linen cloth, in imitation of the manner in which the face of the dead is covered; and by this the mourner is said to testify that he was ready to die for his friend. Muffled in this way, the mourner goes for seven days, during which the rest of his friends come twice every twenty-four hours to pray with him. This allusion is perhaps involved in the charge which Ezekiel received when his wife died, to abstain from the customary forms of mourning: "Forbear to cry; make no mourning for the dead; bind the tire of thy head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and *cover not thy lips*, and eat not the bread of men."† The law of Moses required a leper to have his clothes rent, his head bare, and a covering upon his upper lip, because he was considered as a dead man, "of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb."

Sitting on the ground was a posture which denoted severe distress. Thus the prophet represents the elders of Israel, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the captivity of those whom the sword had spared: "The elders of the daughter of Zion sit upon the ground, and keep silence; they have cast up dust upon their heads;

\* 1 Cor. xi. 4.

† Ezek. xxiv. 17.

they have girded themselves with sackcloth ; the virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground.”\* Judea is represented by a woman on several coins of Vespasian and Titus, in this very posture of sorrow and captivity, sitting on the ground. The Jews lamented their dispersion, by the rivers of Babylon, in the same mournful posture: “By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Zion.”† But what is more remarkable, we find Judea under the figure of a sorrowful woman sitting on the ground, in a passage of the prophet, where the same calamity, recorded on the medals of these Roman emperors, is foretold: “And she being desolate, shall sit upon the ground.”‡

Oriental mourners often proceeded to great excesses, beating their breasts and thighs, tearing their flesh, and making furrows in their faces with their nails. These signs of grief, although sometimes exhibited by men, were more frequent among females, whose passions are more violent and unmanageable. In this manner Anna bewails her sister Dido’s death :

“Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu,

Unguibus ora soror fœdans et pectora palmis.” *Æn.* 4. l. 673.

To smite upon the breast was a very common sign of penitential sorrow. Thus in the *Odyssey*, “Smiting upon his breast, he began to chide his heart;” and in the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, the latter “would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful unto me a sinner.” Significant of the same kind of sorrow was the custom, not less ancient, of smiting upon the thigh. This is mentioned as a circumstance which attended the repentance of Ephraim: “Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth.”§ But it was not in every instance an expression of penitential sorrow; for we learn from *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* smote upon his thigh when he received the news of the death of his generous friend *Abraham*.

\* *Lam.* ii. 10. † *Psa.* cxxxvii. 1. ‡ *Isa.* iii. 26. § *Jer.* xxxi. 19.

Another very singular method of expressing sorrow, was by burning brimstone in the house of the deceased. Livy mentions this practice as general among the Romans; and some commentators think it is referred to in these words of Bildad; "Brimstone shall be scattered upon his habitation."\* The idea corresponds with the design of the speaker, which is to describe the miserable end of the hypocrite.

The funeral obsequies of an oriental were concluded by a feast, according with the rank and wealth of surviving relations. Chardin was present at many of those funeral banquets among the Armenian Christians in Persia. To this custom the prophet Jeremiah refers in these words: "Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them, for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink, for their father or for their mother. Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting to sit with them to eat and to drink."† In the seventh verse the prophet speaks of the provisions which relations and acquaintances usually sent to the house of their departed friend; and of those healths which were drunk to the survivors of the family. In Barbary, when a person dies, the neighbours, relations, and friends send bread to the house of mourning, which the prophet Ezekiel calls "the bread of men."‡ It was supposed the family were so depressed by the loss of their relation, as to be unable to think of their necessary food. Those who sent the provisions made a visit to their sorrowful and bereaved friends after the funeral, to comfort them and assist at the entertainment, which was given in honour of the dead. In allusion to this custom, the prophet Jeremiah received this charge: "Thus saith the Lord, enter not into the house of mourning, neither go to lament, nor bemoan them; for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith the Lord." When all the people, therefore, came to cause David to eat meat while it was yet day, after the funeral of Abner, it was in strict compliance with the general custom of the country. The same observation applies to the circumstance mentioned

\* Job xviii. 15.

† Jer. xvi. 7, 8.

‡ Chap. xxiv. 17.

in the gospel of John, that "many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary to comfort them."\*

Chardin informs us, that "it is usual in the east to leave a relation of a person deceased to weep and mourn, till on the third or fourth day at farthest, the relations and friends go to see him, cause him to eat, lead him to a bath, and cause him to put on new vestments, he having before thrown himself upon the ground." The surprise of David's servants who had seen his bitter anguish while the child was sick, was excited by his doing that himself, which it was customary for the friends of mourners to do for them.†

The oriental mourner was distinguished by the slovenliness of his dress. He suffered the hair of his head, if not cut or plucked off in the excess of his grief, to hang dishevelled upon the shoulders; he neither trimmed his beard, nor washed his feet, even in the hottest weather; he did not wash his shirt, nor any of the linen he wore. During the whole time of mourning, he refused to change his clothes. In this state of total negligence, it appears that David mourned for his infant son; for after he learned from his attendants that the child was dead, the inspired historian observes, "Then David arose from the earth, and washed and anointed himself, and changed his apparel."

The time of mourning for the dead was longer or shorter, according to the dignity of the person. Among the modern Jews, the usual time is seven days, during which they shut themselves up in their houses; or if some extraordinary occasion forces them to appear in public, it is without shoes, as a token they have lost a dear friend. This explains the reason that when Ezekiel was commanded to abstain from the rites of mourning, he was directed to put his shoes on his feet.

It was a custom among the Jews, to visit the sepulchres of their deceased friends three days; for so long they supposed their spirits hovered about them; but when once they perceived their visage begin to change, as it would in that time in those warm countries, all hopes of a return to life were then at an end. After

\* John xi. 19.

† Harm. vol. 2. p. 495.



a revolution of humours, which, according to some authors, is completed in three days, the body tends naturally to putrefaction; and by consequence, Martha had reason to say, that her brother's body, which appears by the context to have been laid in the sepulchre on the same day he died, was now on the fourth day become offensive. But it appears from an incident in the same narrative, that in Judea they were accustomed to visit the grave of their deceased relations after the third day, merely to lament their loss, and give vent to their grief. If this had not been a common practice, the people that came to comfort the sisters of Lazarus, would not so readily have concluded, when Mary went hastily out to meet her Saviour, "She goeth to the grave to weep there." The Turkish women continue to follow this custom; they go before sun-rising on Friday, the stated day of their worship, to the grave of the deceased, where, with many tears and lamentations, they sprinkle their monuments with water and flowers. The Persians also visit the sepulchres of their principal imams or prelates; and the Mahommedans in Hindostan follow the same practice, which they probably learned from their neighbours the Persians, going to the grave, and lamenting their departed friends ten days after their decease. The Syrian women also proceed in companies on certain days to the tombs of their relations, which are built at a little distance from their towns, to weep there; and on these occasions they commonly indulge in the deepest expressions of grief. When Le Bruyn was at Rama, he saw a very great company of these mourning women going out of the town to weep at the tombs. He followed them, and seated himself on an elevated spot, adjacent to their sepulchres, near the place where they made their usual lamentations. They first went and placed themselves on the tombs, and wept there; after remaining about half an hour, some of them rose up and formed a ring, holding each other by the hands. Quickly two of them quitted the others, and took their station in the centre of the ring, where they made so much noise in screaming and clapping their hands, as, together with their

various contortions, might, in the opinion of the traveller, have subjected them to the suspicion of insanity. After that they returned, and seated themselves to weep again, till they gradually withdrew to their homes. The dresses they wore were such as they generally used, white, or any other colour; but when they rose up to form a circle together, they put on a black veil over the upper parts of their persons. Such, it may be concluded, was the weeping at Rama, described in the prophecies of Jeremiah: "A voice was heard in Rama, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not."\*

In other parts of Palestine and Syria, the friends and relations of the deceased went occasionally to the chambers or cupolas, which were built over the graves, to meditate on their loss, and indulge their grief in those remote and solemn retirements. This seems to have been a very general custom, and to have found its way into countries very distant from the land of promise. Humboldt records a curious and interesting fact of his discovering in the empire of Mexico, one or two of these sepulchral monuments, with a chamber over the grave, in the fashion of the east; a circumstance which countenances the idea, that the Mexicans came originally from Asia, where that mode of constructing sepulchres prevailed. The ancient Hebrews had an idolatrous custom of going among the tombs, to receive dreams, by which they endeavoured to form a judgment of events, and how to manage their affairs; for the prophet Isaiah charges them with remaining among the graves, and lodging in the monuments; which is rendered by the Seventy, sleeping in the tombs upon the account of dreams: and it is reasonable to believe, that the sepulchre of Moses was designedly concealed, lest in future times it should become the scene of superstitious veneration, or gross idolatry.

Oil is now presented in the east, to be burnt in honour of the dead, whom they reverence with a religious kind of homage. Mr. Harmer thinks it most natural

\* Jer. xxxi. 15.

to suppose, that the prophet Hosea refers to a similar practice, when he upbraids the Israelites with carrying oil into Egypt. They did not carry it thither in the way of lawful commerce ; for they carried it to Tyre without reproof, to barter it for other goods. It was not sent as a present to the king of Egypt ; for the Jewish people endeavoured to gain the friendship of foreign potentates with gold and silver. It was not exacted as a tribute ; for when the king of Egypt dethroned Jehoahaz the king of Judah, and imposed a fine upon the people, he did not appoint them to pay so much oil, but so much silver and gold. But if they burnt oil in those early times in honour of their idols, and their departed friends, and the Jews sent it into Egypt with that intention, it is no wonder the prophet so severely reproaches them for their conduct. Oil is in modern times very often presented to the objects of religious veneration in Barbary and Egypt. The Algerines, according to Pitts, when they are in the mouth of the straits, throw a bundle of wax candles, together with a pot of oil overboard, as a present to the marabot or saint who lies entombed there, on the Barbary shore, near the sea.

The custom of putting tears into the *ampulla* or *urnæ lacrymales*, so well known among the Romans, seems to have been more anciently in use in Asia, and particularly among the Hebrews. These lacrymal urns were of different materials, some of glass, some of earth, and of various forms and shapes. They were placed on the sepulchres of the deceased as a memorial of the affection and sorrow of their surviving relations and friends. It will be difficult to account, on any other supposition, for the following expressions of the Psalmist: "Put thou my tears into thy bottle."\* If this view be admitted, the meaning will be: "Let my distress, and the tears I shed in consequence of it, be ever before thee."

The kings and princes of the oriental regions, are often subjected to trial after their decease by their insulted and oppressed people, and punished according to the degree of their delinquency. While the chosen

\* Psal lvi. 8.

people of God were accustomed to honour, in a particular manner, the memory of those kings who had reigned over them with justice and clemency, they took care to stamp some mark of posthumous disgrace upon those who had left the world under their disapprobation. The sepulchres of the Jewish kings were at Jerusalem; where, in some appointed receptacle, the remains of their princes were deposited; and from the circumstance of these being the cemetery for successive rulers, it was said when one died and was buried there, that he was gathered to his fathers. But several instances occur in the history of the house of David, in which, on various accounts, they were denied the honour of being entombed with their ancestors, and were deposited in some other place in Jerusalem. To mark, perhaps, a greater degree of censure, they were taken to a small distance from Jerusalem, and laid in a private tomb. Uzziah, who had, by his presumptuous attempt to seize the office of the priesthood, which was reserved by an express law for the house of Aaron, provoked the wrath of heaven, and was punished for his temerity with a loathsome and incurable disease, “was buried with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings; for they said, He is a leper.”\* It was undoubtedly with a design to make a suitable impression on the mind of the reigning monarch, to guard him against the abuse of his power, and teach him respect for the feelings and sentiments of that people for whose benefit chiefly he was raised to the throne, that such a stigma was fixed upon the dust of his offending predecessors. He was, in this manner, restrained from evil, and excited to good, according as he was fearful of being execrated, or desirous of being honoured after his decease. This public mark of infamy was accordingly put on the conduct of Ahaz: “They buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem, but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel.”†

The Egyptians had a custom, in some measure similar to this, only it extended to persons of every rank and condition. As soon as a man died, he was ordered

\* 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.

† 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.



to be brought to trial; the public accuser was heard; if he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of the honours of sepulture. Thus were the Egyptians affected by laws which extended even beyond the grave, and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory and that of his family. But what was singular, the sovereign himself was not exempted from this public inquest when he died. The whole kingdom was interested in the lives and administration of their sovereigns, and as death terminated all their actions, it was then deemed for the welfare of the community that they should suffer an impartial scrutiny, by a public trial, as well as the meanest of their subjects. In consequence of this solemn investigation, some of them were not ranked among the honoured dead, and consequently were deprived of public burial. The custom was singular; the effect must have been powerful and influential. The most haughty despot, who might trample on laws human and divine in his life, saw by this rigorous inquiry, that at death he also should be doomed to infamy and execration.\* “What degree of conformity,” says Mr. Burder, “there was between the practice of the Israelites and the Egyptians, and with whom the custom first originated, may be difficult to ascertain and decide; but the latter appears to be founded on the same principle as that of the former; and as it is more circumstantially detailed, affords us an agreeable explanation of a rite but slightly mentioned in the Scriptures.”

\* Franklin's Hist. of An. and Mod. Egypt.

## CHAP. X.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF JUSTICE IN PALESTINE AND THE EAST.

IN the east, the right of calling an offender to account is claimed either by the person who receives the injury, or his nearest relation; and the same person, with the permission or connivance of his people, sustains at once the character of party, judge, and executioner. In such a state of things we are not to be surprised if the exercise of justice be often precipitate and tumultuary. The act of the Philistines, in burning the spouse of Samson and her father with fire, was entirely of this character; not the result of a regular sentence, but the summary vengeance of an incensed multitude.\* In the law of Moses, the right of the private avenger was distinctly recognized; but to prevent the dreadful effects of sudden and personal vengeance, cities of refuge were appointed at convenient distances through the land of promise, to which the man-slayer might flee for safety, till he could be brought to a regular trial, before a court of justice.

In almost every part of Asia, those who demand justice against a criminal throw dust upon him, signifying that he deserves to lose his life, and be cast into the grave; and that this is the true interpretation of the action, is evident from an imprecation in common use among the Turks and Persians, *Be covered with earth; Earth be upon thy head.* We have two remarkable instances of casting dust recorded in Scripture; the first is that of Shimei, who gave vent to his secret hostility to David when he fled before his rebellious son, by throwing stones at him, and casting dust.† It was an ancient custom, in those warm and arid countries, to lay the dust before a person of distinction, and particularly before kings and princes, by sprinkling the ground with water. To throw dust into the air while a person

\* Judg. xv. 6.

† 2 Sam. xvi. 13.

was passing, was therefore an act of great disrespect : to do so before a sovereign prince, an indecent outrage. But it is clear from the explanation of the custom, that Shimei meant more than disrespect and outrage to an afflicted king, whose subject he was ; he intended to signify by that action, that David was unfit to live, and that the time was at last arrived to offer him a sacrifice to the ambition and vengeance of the house of Saul. This view of his conduct is confirmed by the behaviour of the Jews to the apostle Paul, when they seized him in the temple, and had nearly succeeded in putting him to death ; they cried out, “ away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live ; and as they cried out and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle.”\* A great similarity appears between the conduct of the Jews on this occasion, and the behaviour of the peasants in Persia, when they go to court to complain of the governors, whose oppressions they can no longer endure. “ They carry their complaints against their governors by companies, consisting of several hundreds, and sometimes of a thousand ; they repair to that gate of the palace nearest to which their prince is most likely to be, where they set themselves to make the most horrid cries, tearing their garments, and throwing dust into the air, at the same time demanding justice. The king upon hearing these cries, sends to know the occasion of them ; the people deliver their complaints in writing, upon which he lets them know that he will commit the cognizance of the affair to such an one as he names ; in consequence of this, justice is usually obtained.”†

Those who were summoned before the courts of justice were said to be *προγεγραμμένοι εις κρισιν*, because they were cited to appear, by posting up their names in some public place ; and the judgment of the court was published or declared in writing. Such persons, the Romans called *proscriptos* or *proscribed*, that is, whose names were posted up in writing, in some public place, as persons doomed to die, with a reward offered to any

\* Acts xxii. 23.

† Chardin's Trav. Burder 1. ob. 503.

that should kill them. These are the terms which the apostle Jude applies to the ungodly, who had crept unawares into the church; they were before of old, *προγεγραμμενοι*, ordained to this condemnation; persons, who must not only give an account of their crimes to God, but are proscribed or destined to the punishment which they deserve. In Persia, malefactors were not allowed to look on the king; this was the reason that as soon as Haman was considered a criminal they covered his face. From Pococke, we find the custom still continues; for speaking of the artifice by which an Egyptian bey was taken off, he says, "A man being brought before him, like a malefactor just taken, with his hands behind him as if tied, and a napkin put over his head, as malefactors commonly have, when he came into his presence suddenly shot him dead."\*

It was the custom among the Jews for the judge to sit on a trial, and those who were judged to stand, especially while the court were examining the witnesses. The station of the accused was in an eminent place in the court, that the people might see them, and hear what was alleged against them, and the proofs of it, together with the defence made by the criminals. This explains the reason of the remark, by the evangelist Matthew, concerning the posture of our Lord at his trial; "Jesus stood before the governor;" and that, in a mock trial, many ages before the birth of Christ, in which some attention was also paid to public forms, Naboth was set on high among the people.† The accusers and the witnesses also stood, unless they were allowed to sit by the indulgence of the judges, when they stated the accusation, or gave their testimony. To this custom of the accusers rising from their seats, when called by the court to read the indictment, our Lord alludes, in his answer to the scribes and Pharisees, who expressed a wish to see him perform some miracle: "The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it."‡ According to this rule, which seems to have been invariably observed, the Jews who accused the apostle Paul, at the bar of Festus the

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 2. p. 403. † 1 Kings xxi. 9. ‡ Matth. xii. 42.



Roman governor, “stood round about,” while they stated the crimes which they had to lay to his charge.\* They were compelled to stand as well as the prisoner, by the established usage of the courts of justice in the east. The Romans often put criminals to the question, or endeavoured to extort a confession from them by torture. Agreeably to this cruel and unjust custom, “the chief captain commanded Paul to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging.”†

It was usual, especially among the Romans, when a man was charged with a capital crime, and during his arraignment, to let down his hair, suffer his beard to grow long, to wear filthy ragged garments, and appear in a very dirty and sordid habit; on account of which they were called *sordidati*. When the person accused was brought into court to be tried, even his near relations, friends, and acquaintances, before the court voted, appeared with dishevelled hair, and clothed with garments, foul and out of fashion, weeping, crying, and deprecating punishment. The accused sometimes appeared before the judges clothed in black, and his head covered with dust. In allusion to this ancient custom, the prophet Zechariah represents Joshua, the high priest, when he appeared before the Lord, and Satan stood at his right hand to accuse him, as clothed with filthy garments.‡ After the cause was carefully examined, and all parties impartially heard, the public crier, by command of the presiding magistrate, ordered the judges to bring in their verdict. The most ancient way of giving sentence, was by white and black sea shells, or pebbles. This custom has been mentioned by Ovid in these lines:

“Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque lapillis  
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.”

“It was a custom among the ancients, to give their votes by white or black stones; with these they condemned the guilty, with those acquitted the innocent.” In allusion to this ancient custom, our Lord promises to give the spiritual conqueror “a white stone; and in the

\* Acts xxv. 7.

† Acts xxii. 24. Burder *in loc.*

‡ Zech. iii. 3.

stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saying he that receiveth it ;”\* the white stone of absolution or approbation, and inseparably connected with it, a new name of dignity and honour, even that of a child of God and heir of glory, which is known only to himself, or the inhabitants of that world to which he shall be admitted, and who have already received it. When sentence of condemnation was pronounced, if the case was capital, the witnesses put their hands on the head of the criminal. and said, Thy blood be upon thine own head. To this custom the Jews alluded, when they cried out at the trial of Christ, “His blood be on us, and on our children.” Then was the malefactor led to execution, and none were allowed openly to lament his misfortune. His hands were secured with cords, and his feet with fetters ; a custom which furnished David with an affecting allusion, in his lamentation over the dust of Abner: “Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put in fetters.”†

Executions in the east are often very prompt and arbitrary. In many cases the suspicion is no sooner entertained, or the cause of offence given, than the fatal order is issued ; the messenger of death hurries to the unsuspecting victim, shews his warrant, and executes his orders that instant in silence and solitude. Instances of this kind are continually occurring in the Turkish and Persian histories. When the enemies of a great man among the Turks have gained influence enough over the prince to procure a warrant for his death, a capidgi, (the name of the officer who executes these orders) is sent to him, who shews him the order he has received to carry back his head ; the other takes the warrant of the grand signior, kisses it, puts it on his head in token of respect, and then having performed his ablutions, and said his prayers, freely resigns his life. The capidgi having strangled him, cuts off his head, and brings it to Constantinople. The grand signior’s order is implicitly obeyed ; the servants of the victim never attempt to hinder the executioner, although these capidgis come very often with few or no

\* Rev. ii. 17.

† 2 Sam. iii. 34.

attendants. It appears from the writings of Chardin, that the nobility and grandees of Persia, are put to death in a manner equally silent, hasty, and unobstructed. Such executions were not uncommon among the Jews under the government of their kings. Solomon sent Beniah as his capidgi, or executioner, to put Adonijah, a prince of his own family, to death; and Joab, the commander in chief of the forces in the reign of his father. A capidgi likewise beheaded John the Baptist in the prison, and carried his head to the court of Herod. To such silent and hasty executioners the royal preacher seems to refer in that proverb: "The wrath of a king is as messengers of death; but a wise man will pacify it:"\* his displeasure exposes the unhappy offender to immediate death, and may fill the unsuspecting bosom with terror and dismay, like the appearance of a capidgi; but by wise and prudent conduct, a man may sometimes escape the danger.

From the dreadful promptitude with which Beniah executed the commands of Solomon on Adonijah, and Joab, it may be concluded that the executioner of the court was as little ceremonious, and the ancient Jews nearly as passive as the Turks or Persians. The prophet Elisha is the only person on the inspired record, who ventured to resist the bloody mandate of the sovereign; the incident is recorded in these terms: "But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him; and the king sent a man from before him; but ere the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, see how this son of a murderer has sent to take away mine head? Look when the messenger cometh; shut the door, and hold him fast at the door—is not the sound of his master's feet behind him?"† But if such mandates had not been too common among the Jews, and in general submitted to without resistance, Jehoram had scarcely ventured to despatch a single messenger to take away the life of so eminent a person as Elisha.

Criminals were at other times executed in public; and then commonly without the city. To such executions without the gate, the Psalmist undoubtedly refers

\* Prov. xvi. 14.

† 2 Kings vi. 32.

in this complaint: "The dead bodies of thy saints have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven; the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth; their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them."\* The last clause admits of two senses: *1st*, There was no friend or relations left to bury them. *2d*, None were allowed to perform this last office. The despotism of eastern princes often proceeds to a degree of extravagance which is apt to fill the mind with astonishment and horror. It has been thought, from time immemorial, highly criminal to bury those who had lost their lives by the hand of an executioner, without permission. In Morocco, no person dares to bury the body of a malefactor without an order from the emperor; and Windus, who visited that country, speaking of a man who was sawn in two, informs us, that "his body must have remained to be eaten by the dogs if the emperor had not pardoned him; an extravagant custom to pardon a man after he is dead; but unless he does so, no person dares bury the body." To such a degree of savage barbarity it is probable the enemies of God's people carried their opposition, that no person dared to bury the dead bodies of their innocent victims.

In ancient times, persons of the highest rank and station were employed to execute the sentence of the law. They had not then, as we have at present, public executioners; but the prince laid his commands on any of his courtiers whom he chose, and probably selected the person for whom he had the greatest favour. Gideon commanded Jether, his eldest son, to execute his sentence on the kings of Midian: the king of Israel ordered the footmen who stood around him, and were probably a chosen body of soldiers for the defence of his person, to put to death the priests of the Lord; and when they refused, Doeg, an Edomite, one of his principal officers. Long after the days of Saul, the reigning monarch commanded Beniah, the chief captain of his armies, to perform that duty. Sometimes the chief magistrate executed the sentence of the law with his own

\* Psa. lxxix. 2, 3.



hands ; for when Jether shrunk from the duty which his father required, Gideon, at that time the supreme magistrate in Israel, did not hesitate to do it himself. In these times such a command would be reckoned equally barbarous and unbecoming ; but the ideas which were entertained in those primitive ages of honour and propriety, were in many respects extremely different from ours. In Homer, the exasperated Ulysses commanded his son Telemachus to put to death the suitors of Penelope, which was immediately done. The custom of employing persons of high rank to execute the sentence of the law, is still retained in the principality of Senaar, where the public executioner is one of the principal nobility ; and, by virtue of his office, resides in the royal palace.\*

The trial by ordeal, is well known in eastern countries, and was appointed by God himself in the law of Moses in cases of jealousy : “ The priest shall bring her near, and set her before the Lord ; and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel ; and of the dust that is in the floor of the tabernacle, the priest shall take and put it into the water, and give her to drink.”† Among the Hindoos, trials by ordeal are frequent, and conducted in many different ways, of which, one strikingly resembles the Jewish ordeal by the water of jealousy. Trial by the cosha, is thus described in the Asiatic Researches ; “ The accused is made to drink three draughts of the water, in which the images of the sun, of Devi, and other deities, have been washed for that purpose ; and if within fourteen days he has any sickness or indisposition, his crime is considered as proved.”‡

When the accused person was convicted of the crime laid to his charge, he was subjected to a capital or arbitrary punishment, according to the nature of his offence. One of the most common punishments in use among the Jews, was stoning, which appears to have been a most grievous and terrible infliction. When the criminal arrived within four cubits of the place of execution, he was stripped naked, only leaving a cover-

\* Bruce's Trav.

† Num: v. 14.

‡ Asiatic Res. vol. 4.

ing before; and his hands being bound, he was led up to the fatal spot, which was an eminence about twice the height of a man. The first executioners of the sentence, were the witnesses, who generally pulled off their clothes for that purpose: one of them threw him down with great violence upon his loins; if he rolled upon his breast, he was turned upon his loins again: and if he died by the fall, the sentence of the law was executed; but if not, the other witness took a great stone and dashed it on his breast as he lay upon his back; and then, if he was not despatched, all the people that stood by, threw stones at him till he died. Lapidation was also a common punishment in Greece, and was usually inflicted by the primitive Greeks on those that were taken in adultery, as we learn from the third Iliad, where Hector tells Paris, that for all his villanies, he should be stoned to death.

*Λαίον εσσο χιτώνα κακῶν ἐνέκ' ὅσσα ἐόργας.*

The capital punishment next in severity, was burning. They set the malefactor in dung up to the knees, and then tied a towel about his neck, which was drawn by the two witnesses, till they made his mouth gap, into which they poured melted lead down his throat, which consumed his bowels. This was called by the Jews, the burning of the soul; but as the same word is used to signify the burning of combustible matter which is cast into the fire, it is supposed that such a method was sometimes practised, which is called by the Jews the burning of the body, and was probably the death to which the patriarch Judah condemned Tamar his daughter-in-law: "Bring her forth, and let her be burnt."\*

Others were condemned to be slain with the sword, which was by decapitation, executed in the manner used in modern times. Such was the punishment which David inflicted on the Amalekite, for putting Saul to death. It seems also to be the usual punishment in Abyssinia, for taking away the life of a king; for Socinios, an Abyssinian monarch, being informed,

\* Gen. xxxviii, 24.

that one *Mahardin*, a Moor, had been the first to break through that respect due to a king, by wounding *Za Denghel*, his predecessor, at the battle of Bartcho, he ordered him to be brought at noon-day, before the gate of his palace, and his head to be then struck off with an axe, as a just atonement for violated majesty.\* The punishment of strangling, as described by the Jewish writers, resembled the Turkish punishment of the bow-string, rather than the present mode of executing by the gibbet. The offender was placed up to the loins in dung, and a napkin was twisted about his neck, and drawn hard by the witnesses, till he was dead.

Those who had committed great and notorious offences, and who deserved to be made public examples, were hanged upon a tree after they had actually suffered the death to which they were condemned; which shews, that this punishment was not the same with the Roman crucifixion, in which the malefactors were nailed to the gibbet, and left to expire by slow and excruciating torments. The Hebrew custom was no more than hanging up their bodies after they were dead, and exposing them for some time to open shame. For this purpose, a piece of timber was fixed in the ground, out of which came a beam, to which the hands of the sufferer were tied, so that his body hung in the posture of a person on the cross. When the sun set, the body was taken down; for the law says, "He that is hanged on a tree, is accursed of God;" not that the criminal was accursed because he was hanged, but he was hanged because he was accursed.

In the time of execution, they gave the malefactor a grain of frankincense in a cup of wine, in order to stupefy and render him less sensible of pain. This custom is traced to the charge of the wise man: "Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts."† The prophet makes an allusion to the powerful effects of this stupifying draught, in that prediction which announces the judgments of God upon the empire of Babylon: "Take the

\* Bruce's Trav. vol. 2. p. 262.

† Prov. xxxiv. 6.

wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them.”\* Hence the Jews, according to the custom of their country, gave our Lord wine mingled with myrrh at his crucifixion; but, besides the medicated draught, in derision of his kingly character, they offered him vinegar mingled with gall, instead of sweet wine, which was the drink of oriental sovereigns. The first cup might seem to indicate some degree of compassion in his enemies, but the next was a cruel insult to the unoffending sufferer.

But besides these capital punishments that were inflicted by the Jews according to their law, the sacred writers allude to several kinds of death to which malefactors were condemned in Syria and the circumjacent countries, of which the laws of Moses take no notice. One of these was the punishment of drowning, which was frequently practised by the ancient Syrians. The criminal had a heavy weight put about his neck, or was rolled up in a sheet of lead, and cast into a river or into the sea. Such is the account which our Lord himself gives of this punishment: “But whoso shall offend one of these little ones who believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.”†

In his prediction relative to the destruction of the temple, in another part of the same gospel, he makes an allusion to the horrible punishment of cutting a living criminal asunder, which, according to some writers, was sometimes inflicted in Judea, and in particular, suffered by the prophet Isaiah under the bloody reign of Manasseh: “The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrite.”‡ Many instances occur in ancient writers, of this method of executing criminals; and from Dr. Shaw and other modern travellers we learn, that it is still in use among some

\* Jer. xxv. 15, 16.

† Mat. xviii. 6.

‡ Mat. xxiv. 50, 51.



nations, particularly the western Moors in Barbary. It is thought to have come originally from Persia or Chaldea: and it certainly corresponds with the barbarous dispositions which those bitter and hasty nations too much indulged. Calmet informs us, that not many years ago, the Swiss executed this terrible punishment in the plain of Grenelles, near Paris, on one of their own countrymen who had been guilty of a great crime. They put him into a coffin and sawed him at length, beginning at the head, as a piece of wood is sawn. Parisates the king of Persia, caused Roxana to be sawn in two alive. The laws of the twelve tables, which the Romans borrowed from the Greeks, condemned certain malefactors to the punishment of the saw; but the execution of it was so rare, that, according to Aulus Gellius, none remembered to have seen it practised. But in the time of Caligula the emperor, many people of rank and fortune were condemned to be sawn in two through the middle.\*

The Greeks and Romans condemned some of their criminals to be cast down from the top of a rock. In the time of Pitts, the inhabitants of Constantine, a town in Turkey, built on the summit of a great rock, commonly executed their criminals who had been guilty of more atrocious crimes, by casting them headlong from the cliff. This punishment Amaziah the king of Judah inflicted on ten thousand Edomites, whom he had taken captive in war: "Other ten thousand left alive, did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them to the top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, and they were all broken in pieces."†

Pounding in a mortar, is a punishment still used among the Turks. The Ulemats, or body of lawyers in Turkey, are by law secured in two important privileges—they cannot lose their goods by confiscation, nor can they be put to death except by the pestle and mortar.‡ The guards of the towers who suffered prince Coreskie to escape from prison, were, some of them, impaled, and others pounded or beaten to pieces in

\* Suetonius.

† 2 Chron. xxv. 12.

‡ De Tott's Mem.

great mortars of iron, by orders of the Turkish government. This dreadful punishment appears to have been occasionally inflicted by the Jewish rulers, for Solomon clearly alludes to it in one of his Proverbs: "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him."\*

The head, the hands, and the feet of state criminals, were often cut off, and fixed up in the most public places, as a warning to others. This shocking custom is not unknown in the criminal proceedings of countries which lie at a great distance from Palestine. It may be traced up to a very remote antiquity, for the sacred historian informs us, that David commanded the hands and feet of the sons of Rimmon, who treacherously murdered Ishbosheth, to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of Hebron.†

Another mode of capital punishment, to which the inspired writers refer, is crucifixion. It was used in Greece, but not so frequently as at Rome. It consisted of two beams, one of which was placed across the other, in a form nearly resembling the letter T, but with this difference, that the transverse beam was fixed a little below the top of the straight one. When a person was crucified, he was nailed to the cross as it lay upon the ground, his feet to the upright, and his hands to each side of the transverse beam; it was then erected, and the foot of it thrust with violence into a hole prepared in the ground to receive it. By this means, the body, whose whole weight hung upon the nails which went through the hands and the feet, was completely disjointed, and the sufferer expired by slow and agonizing torments. This kind of death, the most cruel, shameful, and accursed that could be devised, was used by the Romans only for slaves, and the basest of the people. The malefactors were crucified naked, that is, without their upper garments; for it does not appear they were stripped of all their clothes, and we know that an oriental was said to be naked, when he had parted with his upper garments, which were loosely bound about him with a girdle.

\* Prov. xxvii 22.

† 2 Sam. iv. 12.

The miserable wretches that were fastened to the cross, often lived long in that dreadful condition; some are said to have lingered three days, and others nine. Eusebius speaks of certain martyrs in Egypt, that hung upon the cross till they were starved to death. Sometimes the malefactors were devoured by birds and beasts of prey; and after death, they were generally cast out into the open field, to become the prey of every devourer. To prevent the relations of the criminals or others, from taking them down and burying them, a guard was placed around the cross. A guard of Roman soldiers was accordingly stationed round the cross of Jesus, to watch him both before and after he died; for it appears from the inspired narrative, that Joseph of Arimathea durst not take down the sacred body of his Lord, till he had obtained permission from the Roman governor.

It was the custom to crucify without the walls of their cities, on some eminence, or on the top of a mountain. Hence, our Lord was led away to be crucified without the gate, on the top of Calvary, a mount in the neighbourhood of the city, which for that reason was chosen as the common place of execution. He "went forth bearing his cross," which, according to Plutarch, every person was compelled to do that suffered crucifixion. Among other instances of ignominy and suffering which accompanied the death of Christ, it is written, they platted a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head. In the opinion of Hasselquist, the naba or nabka of the Arabians, is, in all probability, the tree which furnished that instrument of insult and cruelty. It grows in great abundance in various parts of the east, and is well fitted for the purpose, being armed with many small and sharp spines, that, when applied with violence to the head, must produce exquisite pain. The crown might easily be made of the soft, round, and pliant branches of this thorny plant; and, what he considers as the strongest proof, is, the leaves much resemble those of ivy, in the darkness of their colour. The cruel and malicious enemies of the Saviour, would probably choose a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and victorious generals were usually

crowned, that there might be calumny even in the punishment. Others are of opinion, that it was the acacia, or white thorn, or the *juncus marinus*; but after all, the matter must be left indeterminate.\*

Another species of capital punishment which serves to illustrate the sacred text, is the pit into which condemned persons were precipitated. The Athenians, and particularly the tribe Hippothoontis, frequently condemned offenders to the pit. It was a dark noisome hole, and had sharp spikes at the top, that no criminal might escape; and others at the bottom, to pierce and torment those unhappy persons that were cast into it.

Similar to this place, was the Lacedæmonian *Καιάδας*, into which, Aristomenes the Messenian being cast, made his escape in a very surprising manner.† This mode of punishment is of great antiquity; for the speakers in the book of Job, make several allusions to it. Thus in the speech of Elihu: "He keepeth back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword."‡ - - - "Then he is gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit; I have found a ransom." - - - "He will deliver his soul from going down into the pit, and his life shall see the light." The allusions in the book of Psalms are numerous and interesting; thus, the Psalmist prays, "Be not silent to me; lest if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit." - - - "Let them be cast into deep pits, that they rise not up again."§ The following allusion occurs in the prophecies of Isaiah: "The captive exile hasteneth, that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail."||

Among the Romans, criminals were sometimes burnt alive; and to increase their torment, they were dressed in a tunic besmeared with pitch and other combustible matter. The holy Psalmist seems to allude to this kind of death in his prayer for deliverance from his enemies: "Let burning coals fall upon them; let them be cast into the fire." And Jehovah encourages his afflicted people with this gracious promise: "When

\* Burder 1. Ob. 422. † Potter's Gr. Ant. vol. 1. p. 135. ‡ Job xxxiii. 18 24.  
§ Psa. xxviii 1 and xl. 10. ¶ Isa. li. 14.



thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt.”\* This punishment was probably borrowed from the Assyrians, among whom it seems to have been very common; a striking instance of which occurs in the story of the three children, who were cast by the command of Nebuchadnezzar into the fiery furnace.

Criminals were sometimes hewed in pieces, and their mangled bodies given as a prey to ravenous beasts. This punishment seems to have been extremely common in Abyssinia when Mr. Bruce was there, and was probably handed down from the founders of that kingdom: “Coming across the market-place,” says the traveller, “I had seen Za Mariam, the Ras’s door-keeper, with three men bound, one of whom he fell *a hacking to pieces* in my presence; and upon seeing me running across the place, stopping my nose, he called me to stay till he should despatch the other two, for he wanted to speak with me, as if he had been engaged about ordinary business; that the soldiers, in consideration of his haste, immediately fell upon the other two, whose cries were still remaining in my ears; that the hyænas at night, would scarcely let me pass in the streets, when I returned from the palace; and the dogs fled into my house, to eat pieces of human carcasses at their leisure.”† This account elucidates the mode of execution adopted by the prophet Samuel in relation to Agag, the king of Amalek: “And Samuel said, (כאשר) As (or, in the same identical mode) thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.”‡ This was not a sudden and passionate act of vengeance, but a deliberate act of retributive justice. That savage chieftain had hewed many prisoners to death; and therefore, by the command of Jehovah, the Judge of all the earth, he is visited with the same punishment which he had cruelly used towards others.

Persons that were guilty of slighter crimes, were subjected to various arbitrary punishments, according to the nature and degree of their offence. The ancient

\* Isa. xliii. 2.

† Trav. vol 4. p. 81.

‡ 1 Sam. xv. 33.

Romans were subjected to a fine, which Livy informs us, at first never exceeded two oxen and thirty sheep; but it was afterwards increased. By the law of Moses, an offending Israelite was punished with fines, differing in value according to the injury sustained. Thus, the king of Israel, in reply to Nathan's parable of the ewe lamb, declared: "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die; and he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity."\* This sentence was required by the law of Moses: "If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep."† In some instances, the offender was amerced in a large sum of money; in others, he was only required to restore double.

Bonds were of two kinds, public and private; the former were employed to secure a prisoner in the public jail, after confession or conviction; the latter when he was delivered to a magistrate, or even to private persons, to be kept at their houses till he should be tried. The apostle Paul was subjected to private bonds, by Felix the Roman governor, who "commanded a centurion to keep him, and let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him."‡ And after he was carried prisoner to Rome, he "dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him."§

There were two prisons in Jerusalem; of which one was called the king's prison, which had a lofty tower that overlooked the royal palace, with a spacious court before it, where state prisoners were confined. The other was designed to secure debtors and other inferior offenders; and in both these the prisoners were supported by the public, on bread and water. Suspected persons were sometimes confined under the custody of state officers, in their own houses; or rather a part of the house which was occupied by the great officers of state, was occasionally converted into a prison. This

\* 2 Sam. xii. 6. † Exod. xxii. 1. ‡ Acts xxiv. 23. § Ch. xxviii. 30.

seems to be a natural conclusion from the statement of the prophet Jeremiah, in which he gives an account of his imprisonment: "Wherefore, the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison, in the house of Jonathan the scribe; for they had made that the prison." This custom, so different from the manners of our country, has descended to modern times; for when Chardin visited the east, their prisons were not public buildings erected for that purpose, but, as in the days of the prophet, a part of the house in which their criminal judges reside. "As the governor, or provost of a town," says our traveller, "or the captain of the watch, imprison such as are accused, in their own houses, they set apart a canton of them for that purpose when they are put into these offices, and choose for the jailor, the most proper person they can find of their domestics." The royal prison in Jerusalem, and especially the dungeon, into which the prisoner was let down naked, seems to have been a most dreadful place. The latter cannot be better described, than in the words of Jeremiah himself, who for his faithfulness to God and his country, in a most degenerate age, had to encounter all its horrors. "Then took they Jeremiah, and cast him into the dungeon that was in the court of the prison; and they let him down with cords; and in the dungeon there was no water, but mire; and his feet sunk in the mire."\* A discretionary power was given to the keeper, to treat his prisoners as he pleased; all that was expected of him being only to produce them when required. If he kept them in safe custody, he might treat them well or ill as he chose; he might put them in irons or not; shut them up close, or indulge them with greater liberty; admit their friends and acquaintances to visit them, or suffer no person to see them. The most worthless characters, the most atrocious criminals, if they can bribe the jailor and his servants with large fees, shall be lodged in his own apartment, and have the best accommodation it can afford; but if he be the enemy of those committed to his charge, or have received larger presents from their prosecutors, he will treat them

\* Jer. xxxviii. 6.



in the most barbarous manner. To illustrate the miserable condition of an oriental prisoner, Chardin relates a story of a very great Armenian merchant, who for some reason was thrown into prison. So long as he bribed the jailor with large donations, he was treated with the greatest kindness and attention ; but upon the party who sued the Armenian, presenting a considerable sum, first to the judge, and afterwards to the jailor, the prisoner first experienced a change of treatment. His privileges were retrenched ; he was then closely confined ; then treated with such inhumanity, as not to be permitted to drink but once in twenty-four hours, and this, in the hottest time of the year ; and no person was suffered to see him but the servants of the prison : at length he was thrown into a dungeon, where he was in a quarter of an hour brought to the point, which all this severe usage was intended to gain. After such a relation, we cannot be surprised to find the sacred writers placing so strong an emphasis on “the sighing of the prisoner,” and speaking of its coming before God, and the necessity of Almighty power being exerted for his deliverance. “Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee ; according to the greatness of thy power preserve thou those that are appointed to die.”\*

State criminals are often treated with still greater severity. Besides being forced to submit to a very mean and scanty allowance, they are frequently loaded with clogs, or yokes of heavy wood, in which they cannot either lie or sit at ease. In some of these wooden collars the head was bowed down, and the neck, hands, and feet were made fast. A round engine was at other times put about the neck, in such a manner that the sufferer could not lift his hand to his head ; or the feet and legs were secured by ponderous fetters, not unfrequently tortured by distending or dislocating the joints ; or the malefactor was stripped naked, and bound with cords to the rack.† Our Lord makes an allusion to this deplorable condition, in the parable of the wicked servant : “And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due

\* Psa. lxxix. 11.

† Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. 1. p. 131.



unto him.”\* This treatment Paul and Silas experienced at Philippi; the Roman magistrates, according to their usual custom, commanded the lictors violently to rend open their clothes, and scourge them with rods; after their bodies were cruelly lacerated with many stripes, they were thrown into prison, and their feet were made “fast in the stocks.”† It is generally supposed, that these were the cippi, or large pieces of wood used among the Romans, which not only loaded the legs of prisoners, but sometimes distended them in a very painful manner; so that it is highly probable, the situation of Paul and Silas here, might be made more painful than that of an offender sitting in the stocks, as used among us, especially if, (as is very possible,) they lay with their bare back, so lately scourged, on the hard or dirty ground; which renders their joyful frame, expressed by songs of praise, so much the more remarkable. Beza explains it of the *numellæ*, in which both the feet and the neck were fastened, in the most uneasy posture that can well be imagined.‡

Servitude was a punishment by which the criminal was reduced to the condition of a slave. Among the Athenians, it was never inflicted on any, except the *Ἀπιοι*, sojourners, and freed servants; because it was forbidden by one of Solon’s laws, that any free-born citizen should be treated as a bond servant. This law seems to have been derived from the Jewish code; which in certain circumstances, permitted an Israelite to be sold, but forbade the purchaser to work him as a slave, or retain him longer than the year of jubilee.§ Theft was one of those crimes, (perhaps the only one,) for which a free-born Israelite, who could not make restitution, might be reduced into a state of servitude; but if he was able to pay the appointed fine, he was entitled to be set at liberty.||

Scourging was a very common punishment among the Jews. It was inflicted in two ways; with thongs or whips made of ropes or straps of leather; or with rods, twigs, or branches of some tree. The offender was

\* Matth. xviii. 34. † Acts xvi. 24. ‡ Burder 1. Ob. 494. § Lev. xxv. 39.  
|| Exod. xxii. 3.

stripped from his shoulders to his middle, and tied by his arms to a low pillar, that his back might be more fully exposed to the lash of the executioner, who stood behind him upon a stone, to have more power over him, and scourged him both on the back and breast, in open court, before the face of his judges. Among the Arabians, the prisoner is placed upright on the ground, with his hands and feet bound together, while the executioner stands before him, and with a short stick strikes him with a smart motion on the outside of his knees. The pain which these strokes produce is exquisitely severe, and which no constitution can support for any length of time. The Romans often inflicted the punishment of the scourge; the instruments employed were sticks or staves, rods, and whips or lashes. The first were almost peculiar to the camp; the last were reserved for slaves, while rods were applied to citizens, till they were removed by the Porcian law.\*

The *lex talionis*, a punishment similar to the injury, is mentioned in the twelve tables; but seems to have been very seldom executed, because by law the removal of it could be purchased by a pecuniary compensation. This most equitable law holds a conspicuous place in the Jewish code; the application of which was made absolute, as will appear from the words in which it is couched: "And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe."†

Offenders were sometimes exposed to infamy or public disgrace. At Rome this punishment was executed either by the censors, or by law, and by the edict of the prætor. Those made infamous by a judicial sentence, were deprived of their dignity, and rendered incapable of enjoying places of power and trust; sometimes of being witnesses, or making a testament. In Judea, the punishment of infamy consisted chiefly in cutting off the hair of evil doers; yet it is thought that pain was added to disgrace, and that they tore off the hair with violence, as if they were

\* Adam's Roman Antiq. p. 272.

† Exod. xxi. 23, &c.

plucking a bird alive. This is the genuine signification of the Hebrew word used by Nehemiah in describing his conduct towards those Jews who had violated the law by taking strange wives: "And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and *plucked off* their hair."\* This kind of punishment was common in Persia. King Artaxerxes, instead of plucking off the hair of such of his generals as had been guilty of a fault, obliged them to lay aside the tiara. The emperor Domitian caused the hair and beard of the philosopher Apollonius to be shaved.†

The orientals, in some cases, deprive the criminal of the light of day, by sealing up his eyes. A son of the great Mogul was actually suffering this punishment when Sir Thomas Roe visited the court of Delhi. The hapless youth was cast into prison, and deprived of the light by some adhesive plaster put upon his eyes, for the space of three years; after which the seal was taken away, that he might, with freedom, enjoy the light; but he was still detained in prison. Other princes have been treated in a different manner, to prevent them from conspiring against the reigning monarch, or meddling with affairs of state; they have been compelled to swallow opium, and other stupifying drugs, to weaken or benumb their faculties, and render them unfit for business. Influenced by such absurd and cruel policy, Shah Abbas, the celebrated Persian monarch, who died in 1629, ordered a certain quantity of opium to be given every day to his grandson, who was to be his successor, to stupify him, and prevent him from disturbing his government. Such are probably the circumstances alluded to by the prophet: "They have not known, nor understood; for he hath shut their eyes that they cannot see; and their hearts that they cannot understand."‡ The verb (נָסַח) *tah*, rendered in our version, to shut, signifies to overlay, to cover over the surface; thus the king of Israel prepared three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand talents of refined silver to (נָסַח) overlay the walls of the temple.§ But it generally signifies to overspread, or daub over, as with mortar or plaster, of

\* Neh. xiii. 25. † Burder 1. ob. 141. ‡ Isa. xlv. 18. § 1 Chron. xxix. 4.



which Parkhurst quotes a number of examples ; a sense which entirely corresponds with the manner in which the eyes of a criminal are sealed up in some parts of the east. The practice of sealing up the eyes, and stupifying a criminal with drugs, seems to have been contemplated by the same prophet in another passage of his book : " Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed."\*

The Romans punished some of their criminals by exposing them to the rage of wild beasts in the theatres. Sometimes they cast them naked to the savage animals, exasperated by long fasting, to be devoured ; this punishment was reserved for wicked servants, and persons of the vilest character. Sometimes they sent men armed into the theatre, to fight with beasts, and if they could conquer them, and save themselves, they obtained their liberty ; but if not, they became the prey of their savage antagonists. It is the last custom to which the apostle refers in these words to the Corinthians : " If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus."† But persons appointed to certain death were brought forth on the theatre, in the after part of the day, to fight either with each other, or with wild beasts. To this kind of spectacles, which were quite common in all the provinces of the Roman empire, the apostle makes a pointed allusion in these words : " For I think that God hath set forth us, the apostles last, as it were appointed to death ; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men."‡ Doomed to certain death, they were exhibited *εσχατους*,§ last, or in the afternoon, when they had not the poor chance of escaping which those brought forth in the morning had. The words *απειδειξεν* exhibited, and *θεατρον*, a spectacle, on the theatre, have, in this connection, a beautiful propriety. The whole passage, indeed, is full

\* Harmer, vol 3. p. 510. † 1 Cor. v. 32. ‡ 1 Cor. iv. 9.

§ Perhaps, however, the true import of the word *εσχατος* (last) in this place, is *object*. See John viii. 9. and Schleusner's Lexicon I. C



of high eloquence, and finely adapted to move their compassion in favour of those who were so generously expiring and sacrificing themselves for the public good.\*

The ancients sometimes exposed criminals to a particular species of torture, by means of a tympanum or drum, on which they were extended in the most violent manner, and then beaten with clubs, which must have been attended with exquisite pain. To this mode of punishment, Doddridge is of opinion the apostle alludes in his epistle to the Hebrews, where he describes the sufferings of ancient believers: "Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance," because the word *ετυμπαίνεσθην*, tortured, is not a general term, but one which signifies the specific torture of the tympanum. It is, however, generally understood by interpreters, not as a mode of punishment distinct from others, but as a general term for all kinds of capital punishment and violent death: but the opinion of Doddridge ought to be preferred, because the original word possesses a specific character; and the passage viewed in that light is precise and impressive.

---

## CHAP. XI.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE PUBLIC GAMES IN GREECE.

GAMES and combats were instituted by the ancients in honour of their gods; and were celebrated with that view by the most polished and enlightened nations of antiquity. The most renowned heroes, legislators, and statesmen, did not think it unbecoming their character and dignity, to mingle with the combatants, or contend in the race; they even reckoned it glorious to share in the exercises, and meritorious to carry away the prize. The victors were crowned with

\* Doddridge *in loc.*

a wreath of laurel in presence of their country ; they were celebrated in the rapturous effusions of their poets : they were admired, and almost adored by the innumerable multitudes which flocked to the games, from every part of Greece, and many of the adjacent countries. They returned to their own homes in a triumphal chariot, and made their entrance into their native city, not through the gates which admitted the vulgar throng, but through a breach in the walls, which were broken down to give them admission ; and at the same time to express the persuasion of their fellow citizens, that walls are of small use to a city defended by men of such tried courage and ability. Hence the surprising ardour which animated all the states of Greece to imitate the ancient heroes, and encircle their brows with wreaths, which rendered them still more the objects of admiration or envy to succeeding times, than the victories they had gained, or the laws they had enacted.

But the institutors of those games and combats, had higher and nobler objects in view than veneration for the mighty dead, or the gratification of ambition or vanity ; it was their design to prepare the youth for the profession of arms ; to confirm their health ; to improve their strength, their vigour, and activity ; to inure them to fatigue ; and to render them intrepid in close fight, where in the infancy of the art of war, muscular force commonly decided the victory.

This statement accounts for the striking allusions which the apostle Paul makes in his epistles to these celebrated exercises. Such references were calculated to touch the heart of a Greek, and of every one familiarly acquainted with them, in the liveliest manner, as well as to place before the eye of his mind the most glowing and correct images of spiritual and divine things. No passages in the nervous and eloquent epistles from the pen of Paul, have been more admired by critics and expositors, even in modern times, than those into which some allusion to these agonistic exercises is introduced ; and, perhaps, none are calculated to leave

a deeper impression on the Christian's mind, or excite a stronger and more salutary influence on his actions.

Certain persons were appointed to take care that all things were done according to custom, to decide controversies that happened amongst the antagonists, and to adjudge the prize to the victor. Some eminent writers are of opinion, that Christ is called the "author and finisher of faith," in allusion to these judges. "Thus," says Mr. Dunlop, "he eases us of our burdens, animates our faintness, retards the progress of our enemies, and at length will, with his own hand, set upon our heads that beautiful diadem which he hath purchased with his own blood."\*

Those who were designed for the profession of athletæ, or combatants, frequented from their earliest years the academies maintained for that purpose at the public expense. In these places, they were exercised under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen to which they submitted was very hard and severe. At first, they had no other nourishment than dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy sort of bread called *μαζα*; they were absolutely forbid the use of wine, and enjoined continence.

When they proposed to contend in the Olympian games, they were obliged to repair to the public gymnasium at Elis, ten months before the solemnity, where they prepared themselves by continual exercises. No man that had omitted to present himself at the appointed time, was allowed to put in for any of the prizes; nor were the accustomed rewards of victory given to such persons, if by any means they insinuated themselves, and overcame their antagonists; nor would any apology, though seemingly ever so reasonable, serve to excuse their absence. No person that was himself a notorious criminal, or nearly related to one, was permitted to contend. Further, to prevent underhand dealings, if any person was convicted of bribing his adversary, a severe fine was laid upon him; nor was this



alone thought a sufficient guard against unfair contracts and unjust practices, but the contenders were obliged to swear they had spent ten whole months in preparatory exercises ; and besides all this, they, their fathers, and their brethren, took a solemn oath, that they would not by any sinister or unlawful means, endeavor to stop the fair and just proceedings of the games.\*

The spiritual contest, in which all true Christians aim at obtaining a heavenly crown, has its rules also, devised and enacted by infinite wisdom and goodness, which require implicit and exact submission, which neither yield to times nor circumstances, but maintain their supreme authority, from age to age, uninterrupted and unimpaired. The combatant who violates these rules forfeits the prize, and is driven from the field with indelible disgrace, and consigned to everlasting woe. Hence the great apostle of the Gentiles, exhorts his son Timothy, strictly to observe the precepts of the divine law, the rule of his conduct in the hand of the Mediator, without which, he can no more hope to obtain the approbation of God, and the possession of the heavenly crown, than a combatant in the public games of Greece, who disregards the established rules, can hope to receive from the hands of his judge the promised reward : “ And if a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully,”† or according to the established laws of the games.

Like the Grecian combatants, the Christian must be well-born ; born, “ not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of the Lord, which liveth and abideth for ever ;” he must be free : “ a citizen with the saints, and of the household of faith ;” he must “ abstain from fleshy lusts,” and “ walk in all the statutes and commandments of the Lord, blameless.” Such was Paul ; and in this manner he endeavoured to act : “ But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection : lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.”‡ The latter part of this verse Doddridge renders, “ lest after having served as an herald I should be disapprov-

\* Potter, vol. 1. p. 449.

† 2 Tim. ii. 5.

‡ 1 Cor. ix. 27.



ed; and says in a note, "I thought it of importance to retain the primitive sense of these gymnastic expressions." It is well known to those who are at all acquainted with the original, that the word κτευξας, means to discharge the office of a herald, whose business it was to proclaim the conditions of the games, and display the prizes, to awaken the emulation and resolution of those who were to contend in them. But the apostle intimates, that there was this peculiar circumstance attending the Christian contest, that the person who proclaimed its laws and rewards to others, was also to engage himself; and that there would be a peculiar infamy and misery in his miscarrying. Ἀδοκιμος, which we render *castaway*, signifies one who is disapproved by the judge of the games, as not having fairly deserved the prize.

The rule which the apostle applies to himself, he extends in another passage to all the members of the Christian church; all without exception must lead a sober and penitent life; "Those who strive for the mastery are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible." Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the athletæ endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguish and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed on themselves, of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions.

In order to attain the greater agility and dexterity, it was usual for those who intended to box in the games, to exercise their arms with the gauntlet on, when they had no antagonist near them, and this was called σιομαχια, in which a man would of course beat the air. In the foot race, the runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. While they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs

pliable, and in a right temper. They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making little excursions, which were a kind of trial of their speed and agility; in such exercises, they might be said with great propriety to *run uncertainly*, towards no particular point, and with no direct or immediate view to the prize. Both these allusions occur in the declaration of the apostle: "I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air."\* He did not engage in his Christian course, as one doubtful in himself, whether in pursuing the path of duty, he should have the honour of being crowned at last or not; as they are, who know that one only receives the prize; nor did he exercise himself unto godliness, like boxers or wrestlers, who sometimes fight in jest, or merely to prepare for the combat, or to display their strength and agility, while they had no resistance to encounter, no enemy to subdue, no reward to merit; but he pressed on, fully persuaded, that by the grace of God, he should obtain an incorruptible crown from the hands of his Redeemer.

The athleteæ took care to disencumber their bodies of every article of clothing, which could in any manner hinder or incommode them. The pugilists at first used a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats: but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering's falling off, modesty was in future sacrificed to convenience, and the apron was laid aside. In the foot race, they were anxious to carry as little weight as possible; and uniformly stripped themselves of all such clothes, as by their weight, length, or otherwise, might entangle or retard them in the course. The Christian also, must "lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset" him;† in the exercise of faith and self-denial, he must "cast off the works of darkness," lay aside all malice and guile, hypocrisies, and envyings, and evil speakings, inordinate affections, and worldly cares, and whatever else might obstruct his

\* 1 Cor. ix. 26.

† Heb. xii. 1.

holy profession, damp his spirits, and hinder his progress in the paths of righteousness.

The exercise of boxing, was sometimes performed by combatants, having in their hands balls of stone or lead. At first, their hands and arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with thongs of leather, called cestus, which were used both as defensive arms, and to annoy the enemy, being filled with plummets of lead and iron, to add force to the blows.

Besides protecting their hands with the cestus or glove, they covered their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence.

How fiercely soever the combatants fought, the length of the contest frequently reduced them to the necessity of making a pause: the battle was suspended for some minutes, which were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed, after which they renewed the fight, till one of the combatants, by dropping his arms or swooning away, yielded the victory.

This was one of the rudest and most dangerous of the gymnastic combats; because the antagonists ran the hazard, either of being disabled, or losing their lives. They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; or they quitted the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know themselves; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.\*

It is to this rude and dangerous exercise, the apostle refers in his reasoning with the Hebrew converts: "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin."† The contest in which they were engaged with their adversaries, had been severe and of long continuance; they had sustained no small loss of liberty and property, which they cheerfully resigned for the sake of Christ, in hope of a better inheritance in heaven; they were in danger of becoming weary and

\* Rollin's An. Hist. vol. 1. p. 71.      † Heb. xii. 4.



faint in their minds, from the length of the contest ; but though their antagonists had often tried to defeat and foil them, they had not been permitted to shed their blood, or take away their lives as they did to many of the saints in preceding ages. The combatant in the public games, who gave up the contest before he had lost a drop of his blood, merely because he had received a few contusions, or been roughly handled by his opponent, would have been infallibly branded with infamy. Not less shameful, and infinitely more dangerous, it would have been for any of these Hebrews to flinch from their duty, or desist from their Christian course, on account of the slighter difficulties and losses they had met with in striving against sin.

Wrestlers before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oil, in order to increase the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, in making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the Palæstra, sometimes by throwing fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in *Xystæ*, or porticoes of the *Gymnasia*.

Thus prepared, they began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers, was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed to this purpose ; they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body ; locking their limbs in each other's, seizing by the neck or throat, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks.

In this manner, the *athletæ* wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. To this combat, the words of *Eliphaz* seem to apply : " For he stretcheth out his hand against God " like a wrestler, challenging his antagonist to the contest,



“and strengtheneth himself,” rather vaunteth himself, stands up haughtily, and boasts of his prowess in the full view of “the Almighty,” throwing abroad his arms, clapping his hands together, springing into the middle of the ring, and taking his station there in the adjusted attitude of defiance. “He runneth upon him, even upon his neck,” or with his neck stretched out, furiously dashing his head against the other; and this he does, even when he perceives that his adversary is covered with defensive armour, upon which he can make no impression: “he runneth upon the thick bosses of his buckler.”\* But when it happened that the wrestler who was down, drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished.† Such appears to have been the manner in which Jacob wrestled with the angel: “And Jacob was left alone: and there wrestled a man with him, until the breaking of the day.”‡ The verb which we render to wrestle, is derived from the noun (אבק) *abak*, dust or fine sand, and means to struggle in the dust, or to sprinkle each other with small dust, after the manner of wrestlers. Hence, the victory was not contested by Jacob and the angel standing, as Rollin seems to suppose, but rolling in the dust.§ Thus in Virgil, the happy inhabitants of the Elysian fields were employed; “Some exercise their limbs on the grassy plains, contend in sports, and wrestle on the yellow sand.”

“Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris;  
 Contendunt ludo, et fulva luctantur arena.” *Æn.* 6. l. 643.

There is only another text in which the sacred writer

\* Taylor's *Calmet*, vol. 3. † Rollin's *An. Hist.* vol. 1. p. 69. ‡ Gen. xxxii. 24.

§ We are inclined to think our author has too hastily drawn this conclusion. Suppose, what is not certain, that the verb is derived as he suggests, the use of it is perhaps sufficiently accounted for, from the custom which he has just mentioned of wrestlers throwing dust upon each other.

may seem to make an allusion to this species of contest: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers;"\* but as the apostle in the verse before, directs the Ephesians to put on the whole armour of God, that they might be able to stand against the wiles of the devil, he must allude, not to the combat of the wrestler, who performed his exercises naked, but to the art of war, in which the combatant appeared in complete armour, and endeavoured to make the best use of every weapon, offensive or defensive, which art or nature supplied.

The only other athletic exercise to which the sacred writers allude, is the foot race. It seems to have been placed in the first rank of public games, and cultivated with a care and industry proportioned to the estimation in which it was held. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were celebrated at first with no other exercise. The lists or course where the athleteæ exercised themselves in running, was at first but one stadium in length, or about six hundred feet; and from this measure it took its name, and was called the stadium, whatever might be its extent. This, in the language of Paul, speaking of the Christian's course, was "the race which was set before him," determined by public authority, and carefully measured. On each side of the stadium and its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated, an innumerable multitude collected from all parts of Greece, to which the apostle thus alludes in his figurative description of the Christian life: "seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight."†

The most remarkable parts of the stadium, were its entrance, middle, and extremity. The entrance was marked at first, only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the stadium. To prevent any unfair advantage being taken by the more vigilant or alert candidates, a cord was at length stretched in front of the horses or men that were to run; and sometimes the space

\* Eph. vi. 12.

† Heb. xii. 1.

was railed in with wood. The opening of this barrier, was the signal for the racers to start. The middle of the stadium was remarkable, only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. From this custom, Chrysostom draws a fine comparison: "As the judges, in the races and other games, expose in the midst of the stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they were to receive; in like manner, the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them."

At the extremity of the stadium, was a goal, where the foot races ended; but in those of chariots and horses, they were to run several times round it without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race, by regaining the other extremity of the lists from whence they started. It is therefore to the foot race the apostle alludes, when he speaks of the race set before the Christian, which was a straight course, to be run only once, and not as in the other, several times without stopping.

According to some writers, it was at the goal, and not in the middle of the course, that the prizes were exhibited; and they were placed in a very conspicuous situation, that the competitors might be animated by having them always in their sight. This accords with the view which the apostle gives of the Christian life: "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high-calling of God in Christ Jesus."\* L'Enfant thinks, the apostle here compares our Lord to those who stood at the elevated place at the end of the course, calling the racers by their names, and encouraging them by holding out the crown, to exert themselves with vigour.†

Within the measured and determinate limits of the stadium, the *athletæ* were bound to contend for the prize, which they forfeited without hope of recovery, if

\* Phil. iii. 14. † Burder, vol. 1. No. 551.



they deviated ever so little from the appointed course. In allusion to this inviolable arrangement, the apostle tells the Corinthians : “ We will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed to us, a measure to reach even unto you. For we stretch not ourselves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you ; for we are come as far as unto you also, in preaching the gospel of Christ.”\* It may help very much to understand this and the following verses, if, with Hammond, we consider the terms used in them as *agonistical*. In this view of them, the measure of the rule, (το μετρον το κανονος,) alludes to the path marked out, and bounded by a white line, for racers in the Isthmian games, celebrated among the Corinthians ; and so the apostle represents his work in preaching the gospel as his spiritual race, and the province to which he was appointed as the compass or stage of ground, which God had distributed or measured out, (μερισεν αυτω,) for him to run in. Accordingly, “ to boast without his measure,” (ver. 15. εις τα αμικρα,) and to stretch himself beyond his measure, (υπερ εκτεινεσθαι,) refer to one that ran beyond or out of his line. “ We are come as far as to you,” (ver. 14. αχρι υμων εφθασαμιν,) alludes to him that came foremost to the goal ; and “ in another man’s line,” (ver. 16. εν αλλοτρω κανονι,) signifies in the province that was marked out for somebody else, in allusion to the line by which the race was bounded, each of the racers having the path which he ought to run chalked out to him, and if one stepped over into the other’s path, he extended himself over his line.”†

The chariot races were the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients ; and those from which the victors derived the greatest honour ; but the writer can find only one or two allusions to them in the sacred volume, and those involved in some uncertainty. One occurs in Paul’s first epistle to the Corinthians, where he informs them of his great success in collecting a church at Ephesus : “ But I will tarry at Ephesus until pentecost ; for a great door, and effec-

\* 2 Cor. x. 14.

† Burder, No. 529.



tual, is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries."\* The inspired writer, it is thought, alludes here to the door of the circus, which was opened to let out the chariots when the races were to begin; and by the word *αντιπαριστας*, which is translated *adversaries*, but which Doddridge renders *opposers*, means the same with antagonists, with whom he was to contend as in a course. This opposition rendered his presence more necessary to preserve those that were already converted, and to increase the number, if God should bless his ministry. Accordingly a celebrated church was planted at Ephesus; and so far as we can learn from the tenor of his epistle, there was less to reprove and correct among them than in most of the other churches to which he wrote.†

The other allusion occurs in his second epistle to the Thessalonians: "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you."‡ Some think these words allude to the applauses given to those who made a speedy progress in the races, which constituted so important a part of the Grecian games.§

The honours and rewards granted to the victors were of several kinds. They were animated in their course by the rapturous applauses of the countless multitudes that lined the stadium, and waited the issue of the contest with eager anxiety; and their success was instantly followed by reiterated and long continued plaudits; but these were only a prelude to the appointed rewards, which, though of little value in themselves, were accounted the highest honour to which a mortal could aspire. These consisted of different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. After the judges had passed sentence, a public herald proclaimed the name of the victor; one of the judges put the crown upon his head, and a branch of palm into his right hand, which he carried as a token of victorious courage and perseverance. As he might be victor more than

\* 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

† Burder, vol 1. No. 525.

‡ 2 Thess iii. 1.

§ Burder, No. 534.

once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received his reward, a herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the stadium, and proclaimed aloud his name and country; while the delighted multitudes, at the sight of him, redoubled their acclamations and applause.

The crown, in the Olympic games, was of wild olive; in the Pythian, of laurel; in the Isthmian or Corinthian, of pine tree; and in the Nemæan, of smallage or parsley. Now, most of these were evergreens; yet they would soon grow dry, and crumble into dust. Elsnor produces many passages, in which the contenders in these exercises are rallied by the Grecian wits, on account of the extraordinary pains they took for such trifling rewards; and Plato has a celebrated passage, which greatly resembles that of the apostle, but by no means equals it in force and beauty: "Now they do it, to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible." The Christian is called to fight the good fight of faith, and to lay hold of eternal life; and to this he is more powerfully stimulated by considering that the ancient athletæ took all their care and pains only for the sake of obtaining a garland of flowers, or a wreath of laurel, which quickly fades and perishes, possesses little intrinsic value, and only serves to nourish their pride and vanity, without imparting any solid advantage to themselves or others; but that which is placed in the view of the spiritual combatants, to animate their exertions, and reward their labours, is no less than a crown of glory which never decays; "a crown of infinite worth and duration; an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for them."\* More than conquerors through him that loved them, and washed them from their sins in his own blood; they, too, carry palms in their right hands, the appropriate emblems of victory, hardly contested, and fairly won. "After this I beheld, and lo a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and

\* 1 Peter i. 4. and v. 4.

tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes, and palms in their hands.”\*

But the victory sometimes remained doubtful, in consequence of which a number of competitors appeared before the judges, and claimed the prize; and sometimes a combatant, by dishonourable management, endeavoured to gain the victory.† The candidates, who were rejected on such occasions by the judge of the games, as not having fairly merited the prize, were called by the Greeks *αδοκιμοι*, or disapproved, and which we render *cast away*, in a passage already quoted from Paul’s first epistle to the Corinthians: “But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be (*αδοκιμος*) cast away,” rejected by the Judge of all the earth, and disappointed of my expected crown.

---

## CHAP. XII.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ANCIENTS.

THE ancient Hebrews, like the nations around them, were wholly unacquainted with the refinements of modern warfare. From the age of Abraham, the renowned father of their tribes, they had little other business to employ their leisure hours, but feeding their flocks and herds, or tilling a few acres of land in the districts which they visited, except in Egypt, where their severe bondage was still more unfavourable to the cultivation of military habits. In such circumstances, the defence of their flocks and their herds from the violence of roving hordes, which occasionally scoured the country in quest of spoil, generally produced the only wars in which they engaged. The rapid history of the patriarchs records a sufficient number of incidents, to shew,

\* Rev. vii. 9.

† *Æneid*, b. 5. l. 350.

that how rude and unpolished soever they may be deemed, they were by no means deficient in personal courage; and in the expedition of Abraham against the confederate kings, we can discern the rudiments of that military conduct, which has so often since his time, filled the world with admiration or dismay. It will be readily admitted, that when the chosen people went up out of Egypt, where they had been long and cruelly oppressed, and in consequence of their miseries, had contracted the abject and cowardly dispositions of the slave, they were quite incapable of warlike enterprises; but when their minds recovered the vigour and elevation which the freedom and hardships of the wilderness inspired, they discovered on many trying occasions, a boldness and resolution which were never surpassed by any of their antagonists. Till the reign of David, the armies of Israel were no better than a raw and undisciplined militia; and the simplicity of their conduct sufficiently appears from the story of Goliath, who defied all the warriors that fought under the banners of Saul; and with a haughty look, and a few arrogant words, struck them with so great a terror that they fled before him. But the troops of the surrounding kingdoms were neither more courageous nor more skilful in the use of arms, which is evident from the history of David's captains, the first of whom engaged single handed, three hundred men, and slew them at one time. And this is not the only instance of such daring and successful valour: he was one of three warriors who defended a plot of barley, after the people had fled, against the whole force of the Philistines, whom they routed with prodigious slaughter, after a desperate conflict.\* Nor is the sacred historian justly chargeable with transgressing the rules of probability in such relations, which, however strange and incredible they may appear to us, exactly accorded with the manners of the times in which he wrote. Homer often introduces Achilles, Hector, and other heroes engaging, and by the valour of their own arm putting to flight, whole squadrons of their enemies. Such feats are by no means

\* 1 Chron. xi. 14.



uncommon in the history of rude and unpolished nations, who, in the revolution of a few ages, became not less celebrated for their steady and disciplined heroism in the field, than for the sagacity of their measures in the cabinet. Under the banners of David, a prince of a truly heroic mind, the tribes of Israel often put to flight vast numbers of their enemies, and became a terror to all the circumjacent kingdoms.

Every man in Israel, from twenty years old and upwards, was by law a soldier, the priests and Levites not excepted. Benaiah the priest, son of Jehoiada, was one of the most renowned captains in the armies of David, and commander in chief of Solomon's troops, in the room of Joab. The armies of Israel were in fact a body of militia; and like the same kind of troops in some other countries, they were ready to assemble at the first notice. At the age of fifty they might demand their discharge; or if they preferred it, they might continue in arms.

In Greece too, the armies consisted for the most part of free citizens, whom the laws of their country obliged to appear in arms, when they arrived at a certain age, on the summons of a magistrate or commissioned officer. In Athens, as in Palestine, the youth were not led to the field till they had attained the age of twenty, though they were appointed to guard the city and the forts belonging to it, at eighteen years of age. But they were not permitted to retire from the service till they had completed their sixtieth year.

The Jews never spake of levying troops, but of choosing them; because all the males, from twenty years old and upwards, being liable to serve, they had always a great many more than they wanted. In allusion to the general muster of the people, and the selection of a certain number for the service of their country, our Lord observes, "Many are called, but few are chosen."\* The great mass of the people were called together by sound of trumpet, and on passing in review before the officers, those were chosen who were deemed most fit for service. This is the reason, the Hebrews usually called

\* Mat. xx. 16.

their soldiers young men, and *bahurim*, chosen. But no man, who felt a disposition to serve his country, was rejected; though an Israelite was not chosen, he might volunteer his services, and was then enrolled.

Nearly the same forms were used by the Romans during the republic. The consuls, after they were entered on their office, appointed a day when all those who were of the military age were summoned to appear in the capitol. On the day appointed, the consuls, assisted by the military or legionary tribunes, held a levy, when they ordered such as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one was obliged to answer to his name under a severe penalty.\*

The armies of Israel were often extremely numerous. Six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, marched out of Egypt to take possession of Canaan, the inheritance promised to their fathers; and after their establishment in that country, such immense masses of men appeared in the field, as fill the inquirer with equal surprise and hesitation. Unable to conceive how the narrow limits assigned to the twelve tribes, could furnish such powerful armies; some have questioned the purity of the text, and others have denied its inspiration altogether. It is readily granted, that the statement of numbers in all ancient records, is liable to great and important errors, especially when they are expressed by letters, as in Hebrew, many of which nearly resemble one another. But while this is admitted, still a variety of circumstances present themselves to the notice of a candid mind, which render the gross amount of the numbers given in the sacred page not only possible, but actually entitled to credit. In judging of this question, it is unfair to apply the usual proportion of fighting men to the mass of the population in modern Europe; for the cases are quite dissimilar. It is equally unfair to overlook the extraordinary fruitfulness of Canaan; its minute division among the tribes; the frugal habits of the inhabitants, and the peculiar composition of an Asiatic army, in which it is computed, that every soldier has commonly ten or twelve followers, and often many more.

\* Adams' Rom. An. 363.

The soil of Canaan, throughout its whole extent, swarmed with a hardy race of cultivators, all of whom, from twenty years old and upwards, were enrolled and liable to be called out to war. Numerous as their levies were, they did not exceed those of Xerxes, Darius, and other eastern monarchs. But as the accounts of these are supposed to be justly liable to suspicion, let us turn to the authentic page of Knolles, and from his "History of the Turks" state the numbers in the contending armies of Bajazet and Tamerlane. The army of the Tartar chief consisted, by the testimony of that historian, of "*four hundred thousand horse, and six hundred thousand foot* ; or, as some others that were there present affirm, *three hundred thousand horsemen, and five hundred thousand foot, of all nations.*" To arrest his progress, Bajazet assembled an army of *three hundred thousand men*, or, as some report, of *three hundred thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot*. The contending armies, in the late destructive war, were said at one time to be nearly as numerous.

These were indeed mighty empires, which may well be supposed to raise forces, to which the small state of Judea was incompetent. But if the Jewish armies were composed, like those of their neighbours, which cannot be reasonably doubted, the competency of that small kingdom to send such a force into the field, is by no means incredible. The justness of this remark will appear from the statement of Baron de Tott, in relation to the armies raised by the cham of Crim Tartary.

"It may be presumed," says he, "that the rustic frugal life which these pastoral people lead, favours population ; while the wants and excesses of luxury, among polished nations, strike at its very root. In fact, it is observed that the people are less numerous under the roofs of the Crimea and the province of Boodjack, than in the tents of the Noguais. The best calculation we can make, is from a view of the military forces which the cham is able to assemble. We shall soon see this prince raising *three* armies at the same time ; one of *a hundred thousand men*, which he commanded in person ; another of *sixty thousand*, commanded by the calga ;



and a third of *forty thousand*, by the nooradin. He had the power of raising *double the number*, without prejudice to the necessary labours of the state.”\*

To this important account may be added the following observations from Volney’s Travels. “*Sixty thousand men* with them, are very far from being synonymous with *sixty thousand* soldiers, as in our armies. That of which we are now speaking, affords a proof of this ; it might amount in fact to forty thousand men, which may be classed as follows : Five thousand Mamlouk cavalry, *which was the whole effective army* ; about fifteen hundred Barbary Arabs, on foot, and no other infantry, for the Turks are acquainted with none ; with them the cavalry is every thing. Besides these, each Mamlouk having in his suit *two* footmen, *armed with staves*, these would form a body of ten thousand valets, besides a number of servants and *serradgis*, or attendants on horseback, for the bey and kachefs, which may be estimated at two thousand ; all the rest were suttlers and the usual train of followers. Such was this army, as described to me in Palestine, by persons who had seen and followed it.”†

“The Asiatic armies are mobs, their marches ravages, their campaigns mere inroads, and their battles bloody frays. The strongest or the most adventurous party goes in search of the other, which not unfrequently flies without offering resistance. If they stand their ground, they engage pell-mell, discharge their carbines, break their spears, and hack each other with their sabres : for they rarely have any cannon ; and when they have, they are but of little service. *A panic frequently diffuses itself without cause* ; one party flies ; the other pursues and shouts victory ; the vanquished submits to the will of the conqueror, and the campaign often terminates without a battle.‡

These extracts clearly prove, that the soldiers compose but a very small part of an Asiatic army. “In fact,” says Taylor, “when we deduct those whose attendance is of little advantage ; it may not be very dis-

\* De Tott, vol. 1. p. 113.

† Volney’s Trav. vol. 1. p. 124.

‡ Volney’s Trav. vol. 1. p. 126.



tant from truth, if we say nine out of ten are such as in Europe would be forbid the army; and I would not absolutely despise the suggestion, that when we read 40 instead of 400, the true fighting corps of soldiers only are reckoned and stated. However that may be, I think we have seen enough to justify the possibility of such numbers as the Scripture hath recorded, being assembled for the purposes of warfare; of which purposes, plunder is not one of the least in the opinion of those who usually follow a camp. I think too, we may be pretty certain, that no conclusive estimate of the population of a kingdom can be drawn from such assemblages, under such circumstances; and therefore, that no calculation ought to be hazarded on such imperfect *data*.”\*

When the muster was completed, the troops were trained to the use of arms, by officers skilled in the art of war. The military exercises of the Hebrews resembled those of other nations around them. Swiftmess of foot was highly valued, as it gave the warrior a great advantage over his slower and more unwieldy antagonist. It is accordingly mentioned to the honour of Asahel, one of David’s captains, that he was swifter of foot than a wild roe; and the sweet singer of Israel, in his poetical lamentation over those two great captains, Saul and Jonathan, takes particular notice of this warlike quality: “They were swifter than eagles, stronger than lions.” Nor were the ancient Greeks less attentive to a qualification which the state of the military art in those days rendered so valuable. The foot races in the Olympic games were instituted by warlike chieftains, for the very purpose of inuring their subjects to the fatigues of war, and particularly of increasing their speed, which was regarded as an excellent qualification in a warrior, both because it served for a sudden attack and a nimble retreat. Homer, fully aware of its value in ancient warfare, says, that swiftmess of foot is one of the most excellent endowments with which a man can be favoured.

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μείζον κλέος ὄφρα κινῆσιν  
 ἢ ὅ, τι πόσσιν ἐρεξεί καὶ χερσὶν ἔησιν.

*Odys. b. 8. l. 147.*

\* Taylor’s Calmet, vol. 3.

To invigorate the frame, on the strength and firmness of which the victory almost entirely depended in primitive times, the Hebrew captains are said to have exercised their soldiers in lifting great weights. After the defeat of Saul, which seems to have been chiefly effected by the skill and valour of the enemy's archers, David commanded his officers to instruct their troops in the use of the bow, which, though employed by the Hebrew warriors from the earliest times, appears to have been rather neglected till that terrible catastrophe taught them the necessity of forming a body of skilful archers, which might enable them to meet their enemies in the field on equal terms. The Hebrew youth were also taught to hurl the javelin, to handle the spear, and to use the sling, in which many of them greatly excelled.

The alarm of war was given by the voice of a herald, or by a standard raised on the top of the highest mountain, to which was sometimes added the martial sound of the trumpet. Saul probably adopted the first method to assemble his troops, in order to repel the incursion of the Philistines, soon after his accession to the throne; for it is written, "The people were called together after Saul to Gilgal."\* The prophet Isaiah, in one of his predictions, alludes both to the voice of the herald and the raising of the standard: "Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand, that they may go unto the gates of the nobles."† But when Gideon was called from the thrashing floor, to lead the armies of Israel against the countless swarms which marched under the banners of Midian, it is said, "The spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he blew a trumpet, and Abiezar was gathered after him."‡ But as this signal could be heard only by a few, he sent messengers through all Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, who immediately joined his standard. The trumpet was used by many nations to gather the soldiers together, prepare them for the battle, give them notice of its commencement, and animate them to the fight. For these reasons, that instrument is called by Jeremiah, "The alarm of war."

\* 1 Sam. xiii. 5.

† Isa. xiii. 2.

‡ Judg. vi. 34.

As among the Romans, the soldiers were divided into legions, cohorts, and companies of an hundred men; so were the Hebrew warriors distributed into troops of a thousand, five hundred, fifty, and ten men, each commanded by their proper officer. The whole army was commanded by the king in person, or by a general officer bearing his commission.

In the early periods of the Jewish commonwealth, the soldiers served without pay. The Grecian soldiers, in like manner, were all maintained at their own expense; no name was more opprobrious than that of a mercenary, it being considered as a disgrace for any person of ingenuous birth and education to serve for pay. The Carians were the first who introduced the custom of serving for hire, which was considered so infamous, that all the writers of those times represent them as a base and servile people; the very name of Carian became synonymous with slave. But in a few ages, this custom, so far from being regarded as unworthy of their birth and education, was practised by the whole nation of the Greeks, who not only received pay for serving their own country, but also enlisted under the banners of foreign kings, and fought their battles for hire; their kings and chief magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such expeditions.

Foreigners resident in the country were permitted to serve in the Jewish armies, and they sometimes rose to a very high rank; for both Urijah and Ittai, who seemed to have held principal commands in the armies of David, were aboriginal Canaanites. But in succeeding ages, the kings of Judah, affecting to imitate the policy of the surrounding potentates, or distrusting the omnipotent protection of Jehovah, occasionally hired large bodies of foreign troops to fight their battles, who like mercenaries of later times, after expelling the invaders, sometimes turned their arms against their employers, and ravaged the country which they came to protect.

In the first periods of the Jewish history, the armies of Israel consisted all of footmen. At length Solomon raised a body of twelve thousand horse, and



fourteen hundred chariots, some with two, and others with four horses; but whether that magnificent prince intended them for pomp or war, is uncertain. Infantry was also the chief strength of the Greek and Roman armies. Cavalry is not so necessary in warm climates, where the march of troops is less incommoded with bad roads; nor can they be of so much use in mountainous countries, where their movements are attended with great difficulty and hazard. The eastern potentates, however, brought immense numbers of horse into the field, and chiefly trusted to their exertions, for defence or conquest. The people of Israel, who were appointed to "dwell alone," and not to mingle with the nations around them, nor imitate their policy, were expressly forbidden to maintain large bodies of cavalry; and they accordingly prospered, or were defeated, as they obeyed or transgressed this divine command; which a celebrated author observes, cannot be justified by the measures of human prudence. Even upon political reasons, says Warburton, the Jews might be justified in the disuse of cavalry, in the defence of their country, but not in conquering it from a warlike people, who abounded in horses. Here at least, the exertion of an extraordinary providence was wonderfully conspicuous. The kings who succeeded Solomon, certainly raised a body of horse for the defence of their dominions, which they recruited from the studs of Egypt, in those times equally remarkable for their vigour and beauty. But the Jewish cavalry were seldom very numerous; and under the religious kings of David's line, who made the divine law the rule of their policy, they were either disembodied altogether, or reduced to a very small number. In the reign of Hezekiah, when the country was invaded by the king of Assyria, the Jews seem to have had no force of this kind, for, said Rabshakeh, "Now, therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my lord, the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them."\*

In the primitive ages, the warrior managed his char-

\* 2 Kings xviii. 23.



ger with a rope or switch, and the accent of his voice; for the bridle was the invention of a more polished age. This was the practice of the Greeks, and of several other nations. To these the bridle succeeded, of which the most remarkable were those called *lupata*, having bits of iron, somewhat resembling wolves' teeth. Harness, which Pliny attributes to the inventor of bridles, and which probably came into fashion about the same time, was made of different materials, as leather, cloth, or the skin of wild beasts. Parthenopæus covered his horse with the skin of a lynx; and Æneas, with that of a lion. Sometimes they adorned them with rich and costly trappings;\* and put bells about their necks and on their legs.

Mr. Harmer says, he has not met with any account of horses decked after this manner in the east; but the fact is expressly stated by Major Rooke, in his travels to the coast of Arabia Felix. When he was at Mocha, the Turkish cavalry had a field day in the great square, which from the mode of exercise, called to his mind the idea of our ancient tilts and tournaments. The horses were sumptuously caparisoned, being adorned with gold and silver trappings, bells hung round their necks, and rich housings. The riders were in handsome Turkish dresses, with white turbans, and the whole formed to the major a new and pleasing spectacle. This custom obtained in Greece, as is evident from Aristophanes, who calls the artificers that joined the bells to the furniture of the war horses, *καρδιωτα αροπωλοι*. Mr. Burder traces this custom to the idolatrous veneration which the heathens of the east entertained for the sun, whom they called Baal or Bel, from his supposed dominion over all things; whence the word came at last to denote a lord, or master in general. He was considered as the author of vibratory motion, the source of musical sound; and such instruments as emit a sound by percussion are called bells, from Bell or Bel, the name by which the sun was denoted among the Druids.

For the same reason, a bell seems in very early times to have been made a sign or symbol of victory or do-

\* Æneid b. 7. l. 275.

minion. Thus, as horses were employed in war, and are celebrated in the earliest ages for their strength, stately port, and undaunted courage, bells became a part of their martial furniture.\* The Jewish warrior adorned his charger with the same ornaments which the prophet foretels should in future times be consecrated to the service of God: “In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, Holiness unto the Lord.”†

The warriors of primitive times were carried to the field in chariots, drawn for the most part by two horses. The custom of riding and fighting upon horses, was not introduced into Greece and the regions of Asia bordering on the Hellespont, till some time after the Trojan war; for Homer, whose authority in such cases is indisputable, always conducts his heroes to battle in chariots, never on horseback. In what age the chariot was first used in battle cannot now be ascertained; but by the help of the sacred volume, we can trace the practice to a very remote antiquity, for the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan appear, from the number of armed chariots which they possessed when Joshua invaded their country, to have been trained to that mode of warfare long before. “And the children of Joseph said, The hill is not enough for us; and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are of Bethshean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel.”‡ This by no means intimates, that the chariots were made of iron, but only that they were armed with it. Such chariots were by the ancients called *currus falcati*, and in Greek *δρεπανοφυγαι*. They had a kind of scythes, of about two cubits long, fastened to long axle trees on both wheels; these being driven swiftly through a body of men, made great slaughter, mowing them down like grass or corn.§ The efficacious resistance which the Canaanites from their chariots of iron, opposed to the arms of Israel, is emphatically marked by the sacred historian. “And the Lord was with Judah, and they

\* Burder, No. 1160. † Zech. xiv. 20. ‡ Josh. xvii. 16.

§ Burder, No. 765.

drive out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron.”\* The native princes of Canaan, fully aware of the great advantages to be derived from this species of force, in combating the armies of Israel, which consisted, as has been already observed, entirely of infantry, continued to improve it with a care and diligence proportioned to its importance. In the time of the judges, not long after the death of Joshua, Jabin the king of Canaan, sent nine hundred chariots of iron into the field against the people of Israel;† and in a succeeding war, between this people and their inveterate enemies the Philistines, the latter met them in the field with “thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore for multitude.”‡

The chariots of princes and heroes were contrived both for service and ornament, being richly embossed with gold and other metals. Homer adorned the chariot of Rhesus with a profusion of gold and silver :

Ἄρμα δὲ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργυρῷ ἐνσηκῆται.

*Il. b. 5.*

“The chariot of Diomed was ornamented with gold and tin.”

Ἄρμα τὰ τε χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένα, κασσιτερωτά.

They were likewise furnished with splendid hangings ; for Homer says of Lycaon’s chariot,

— ἀμφὶ δὲ πτελοὶ  
Πιπλῶνται.

“Like wings its curtains are expanded wide.”

The chariots of Solomon, by far the richest and most magnificent sovereign of his time, were certainly finished in a style of elegance corresponding with the wealth and taste of the royal owner. It is in allusion to these, that the mystical chariot of the everlasting gospel is thus described : “King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love for the daughters of Jerusalem.”§

\* Judg. i. 19. † Judg. iv. 19. ‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 5. § Song iii. 9, 10.



The Scriptures furnish us with very little information relating to the military evolutions of the Hebrews, the form of their battalions, or the general order of battle, although they frequently speak of troops in battle array. The manner of their encamping, and the order of their march in the wilderness, are minutely described by Moses, and furnish a noble example of military arrangement. The number of this prodigious multitude was known by exact lists; each man was set down in his tribe; each tribe in its quarter under one of the four divisions, according to the order of birth-right among the patriarchs, and the quality of their mothers. They marched by sound of trumpet, always in the same order; and always quartered in the same situation about the tabernacle of the covenant, which was the centre of the camp. When the first alarm was given by sound of trumpet, the camps on the east side struck their tents and commenced their march: when the second alarm was given, the camps on the south side took their journey; every division moved in its turn by the mandate of God to his servant Moses. Every tribe was placed under the command of its own prince; and followed its own standard, which was carried by a standard-bearer at the head of the column. "In the first place went the camp of the children of Judah according to their armies, and over his host was Nahshon the son of Amminadab," and in their rear, the hosts of Issachar and Zebulon. "Then the tabernacle was taken down, and the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari, set forward, bearing the tabernacle." Then the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward, followed by the hosts of Simeon and Gad, under their respective princes. Then the Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary; and the bearers of the tabernacle set it up in their next encampment, by the time they arrived. Then the armies of Ephraim, followed by those of Manasseh and Benjamin, began their march. Then the standard of Dan set forward, followed by the hosts of Asher and Naphtali, bringing up the rear of all the camps.\* Every station, and movement, and time of

\* Numb. x. 14, &c.



marching, was fixed by express command; and, in this admirable order, that immense multitude traversed the desert forty years, without the least confusion or inconvenience, from the countless numbers which crowded their camps. From this account, it will be evident, that the way of encamping, and every thing else that we admire with so much reason in the Greeks and Romans, was taken from the ancient models of the orientals, and particularly from the divinely appointed arrangements of the ancient Hebrews.

In the primitive ages, the arms of the warrior were made of brass, which seems to have been the only metal with which they were acquainted. This important fact is attested by Homer, who has been followed in this particular by all the writers of antiquity who give an account of those times. In the *Iliad*, the battle axe was made of brass, and highly polished;\* the arrow was headed with brass;† the coat of mail was composed of brass;‡ the spear was made of the same metal;§ in fine, the warrior is represented as sheathed in dazzling brass.|| Plutarch states, that when Cimon the son of Miltiades, conveyed the bones of Theseus from the isle of Scyros to Athens, he found interred with him, a sword of brass, and a spear with a head of the same metal. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples, since we are expressly told by Hesiod, that in those ages, iron was unknown; but their arms, all sorts of instruments, and their very houses, were made of brass.

Τοις δ' ἦν χαλκία μιν τεύχη, χαλκοὶ δὲ τε οἴκοι;  
Χαλκῷ δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἐκ ἴσκι σιδήρεος.

In Virgil, the whole field of battle gleamed with brass :

— “ac late fluctuat omnis  
Aere renidenti tellus.”

*Geor. 2. l. 280.*

The armour of the Asiatic nations was made of the same metal, or profusely adorned with it, and polished into dazzling brightness, to strike their enemies with terror. The gigantic champion of the Philistines had an helmet

\* B. 13. l. 612.

† B. 13. l. 650.

‡ B. 1. l. 371.

§ B. 3. l. 470. 482.

|| B. 2. l. 578.

of brass upon his head ; and was armed with a coat of mail of the same metal : “ The weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass ; and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders.” But in those early times, the arts were more advanced in Canaan and other nations of Asia than in Greece, as they had discovered the method of smelting iron, and begun to employ it in the fabrication of arms in the time of Goliath, for his spear’s head weighed six hundred shekels of iron.\*

The arms of the Hebrew soldiers are distinguished into two sorts ; some of them being contrived for their own defence, others to annoy their enemies. On this subject, Dr. Potter remarks ; “ The primitive Grecians, we are told, were better furnished with the former, whereas the barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter ; the generals of these being most concerned how to destroy their enemies, while the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the dictates of human nature, to study how to preserve their friends ; for which reason, Homer always takes care to introduce his brave and valiant heroes well armed into the battle, and the Grecian lawgivers decreed punishments for those that threw away their shields, but excused those that lost their swords or spears ; intimating hereby, that their soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves, than to offend their enemies.” These sentiments, however, were not, as this learned author supposes, peculiar to the Greeks ; they seem, in reality, to have been derived from the oriental nations, for Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, was covered with defensive armour, while he had only two offensive weapons, a sword by his side, and a spear in his hand ; and not satisfied with so much defensive armour, he had one bearing a shield who went before him. The Hebrews were not less attentive to the personal safety of their warriors, for when Saul accepted of David’s generous offer, to enter the lists with the formidable Philistine, he clothed him “ with his armour ; and he put an helmet of brass upon his head ; also, he armed him with a coat of mail.

\* 1 Sam xvi. 7.

And David girded his sword upon his armour, and he assayed to go."\* And although no censure was pronounced, and no punishment decreed in the law of Moses, against those warriors that threw away their shields, yet, the loss of them was lamented by the Hebrew bard as a public dishonour.

The first piece of defensive armour entitled to our notice, is the helmet, which protected the head. This has been used from the remotest ages, by almost every nation of a martial spirit. The champion of the Philistines had a helmet of brass upon his head, as had also the king of Israel, who commanded the armies of the living God. This martial cap was also worn by the Persians and Ethiopians in the day of battle. The Grecian helmets were very often made of the skins of beasts; but the helmet of the Jewish warrior seems to have been uniformly made of brass or iron; and to this sort of casque only, the sacred writer seems to refer. In allusion to this piece of defensive armour, Paul directs the believer to put on for a helmet the hope of salvation,† which secures the head in every contest, till, through him that loved him, he gain a complete victory over all his enemies. That well-grounded hope of eternal life which is attended with ineffable satisfaction, and never disappoints the soul; like a helmet of brass, shall guard it against fear and danger, enable it patiently to endure every hardship, and fortify it against the most furious and threatening attacks of Satan and all his confederates. Such adversaries, this solid hope is not less calculated to strike with dismay, than was the helmet of an ancient warrior in the day of battle his mortal foes, by its dazzling brightness, its horrific devices of Gorgons and Chimæras, and its nodding plumes which overlooked the dreadful cone.‡

Another piece of defensive armour used in those early times, was the breastplate or corslet: with this Goliath was accoutred; but in our version, the original term is rendered a coat of mail; and in the inspired

\* 1 Sam. xvii. 38.

† Eph. vi. 17. and 1 Thess. v. 8.

‡ Potter's Gr. An. vol. 2, p. 26.

account of the Jewish armour, it is translated harbergeon. It was between the joints of this harness (for so we render it in that passage) that Ahab received his mortal wound, by an arrow shot at a venture.\* To this species of armour the prophet Isaiah alludes, where the same Hebrew word is used as in the preceding texts, but is here rendered breastplate;† and in the prophecies of Jeremiah it is translated brigandine.‡ From the use of these various terms, in translating the Hebrew term (שִׁרְיוֹן) shirion, it seems to have covered both the back and breast of the warrior, but was probably intended chiefly for the defence of the latter; and, by consequence, took its name from that circumstance.

The corslet was made of flax or of wool woven very thick; of ox hide, of brass, or of iron. The metallic corslet consisted not of one solid piece, but of scales, hooks, or rings, connected like the links of a chain, that the warrior might move in it with greater ease. The sides of it were coupled together with a sort of buttons, in the same manner as the Roman lorica, which it nearly resembled. This piece of defensive armour Saul wore for the security of his person in the day of battle; but it was not proof against the missile weapons of his enemies, for in his last engagement with the Philistines, he fell pierced by their arrows, through the rings of which his coat of mail was composed.

The breastplate is frequently mentioned in the sacred volume. It was probably a half corslet, defending the breast, as its name imports, but leaving the back exposed to the enemy. Breastplates were not always formed of the same materials; some were made of line or hemp twisted into small cords, and close set together; but these were more frequently used in hunting than in war. The most approved breastplates were made of brass, iron, or other metals, which were sometimes so admirably hardened, as to resist the greatest force. Plutarch reports, that Zoilus, an artificer, having made a present of two iron brigandines to Demetrius Poliorcetes, for an experiment of their hardness, caused an arrow to be shot out of an engine called ca-

\* 1 Kings xxii. 34.

† Isa. lix. 17.

‡ Jer. xli. 4



tapulta, placed about twenty-six paces off, which was so far from piercing the iron, that it scarcely rased or made the least impression upon it. These facts may serve to display the inestimable value of "the breastplate of righteousness;" which the apostle recommends to the hearers of the gospel; a piece of spiritual armour which the fiery darts of the devil cannot pierce. The scales of brass, which composed the breastplate of the ancient warrior, often reflected the light so as to dazzle the eyes of his antagonist, and strike him with terror:

—— "Rutulum thoraca indutus, aenis  
Horrebat squamis."

"Dressed in his glittering breastplate, he appeared  
Frightful with scales of brass."

Not less formidable to the grand adversary of our salvation, are the grace, righteousness, and true holiness, in the daily exercise of which, the genuine believer spends his days.

The single plates being sometimes pierced through by spears and missive weapons, two or three were often placed upon one another, to render the breastplate a stronger defence. Thus, Virgil:

"Loricam consortam hamis auroque trilicem." *Æn. b. 3. l. 467.*  
"The threefold coat of mail beset with hooks and gold."

In allusion to this improved breastplate, the great apostle of the Gentiles exhorts the Thessalonians to put on the breastplate of faith and love, whose double folds are necessary to defend the vital parts of the new man against the desperate wounds with which he is threatened by his spiritual adversaries.

The military girdle was another piece of defensive armour; it surrounded the other accoutrements; the sword was suspended in it, as in modern times, in the soldier's belt; and it was necessary to gird the clothes and armour of the combatants together. Thus, Homer:

Λυσε δὲ οἱ ζώνηα παναιολόν, ἣδ' ἐπένευθε  
Σάμα τε καὶ μίτην, ἣν χαλκῆς κάμον ἀνδρῶς.

"He then unbraced his rich embroidered belt, and all his armour underneath it, which skillful smiths had fabricated." This was so essential to a warrior, that among the Greeks ζωνεσθαι to gird, came to be a general

name for putting on armour. Homer thus introduces Agamemnon commanding the Grecians to arm :

*Ατρείδης δὲ βοήσεν, ἰδὲ ζώνουσθαι ἀνωγνεν.*

“Atrides strait commands them all to arm, or gird themselves.” We learn from Plutarch, that the Romans had the same custom ; and it prevailed also among the Persians, for Herodotus relates, that Xerxes having reached Abdera, when he fled from Athens, and thinking himself out of danger, *λυσεν τὴν ζώνην* loosed his girdle, that is, put off his armour. The same phrases occur in many parts of the sacred volume, the military belt being not less necessary to the Hebrew soldier, on account of his loose and flowing dress. To gird and to arm, are therefore synonymous terms in Scripture ; for those who are said to be able to put on armour, are, according to the Hebrew and Septuagint, gird with a girdle ; from whence came the expression of girding to the battle. This was the species of girdle which Jonathan bestowed on David, as one of the pledges of his entire love and friendship. He stripped himself, not only of his wearing apparel, but what a warrior valued at a much higher price, his military habiliments also ; his sword, his bow, and his girdle, and gave them to David.

The girdle is mentioned by the apostle, in his particular description of the Christian armour, addressed to the church at Ephesus : “Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth.”\* As warriors are accustomed to gird themselves with a broad belt, to keep up their long garments, to bind them and their armour close together, and to fortify their loins, that they may be stronger, and more fitted for the labours and fatigues of war ; so must believers encompass themselves with sincerity and uprightness of heart, and with truth and honesty of conversation, that righteousness may be the girdle of their loins, and faithfulness the girdle of their reins, that they may be steady, active, and resolute, in every spiritual encounter.

The legs of the Grecian warrior were defended with greaves of brass, copper, or other metals. Potter

\* Eph. vi. 14.

thinks it is probable, that this piece of armour was at first either peculiar to the Grecians, or at least more generally used by them than any other nations; because we find them so perpetually called by the poet, *εὐκνημίδες Ἀχαιοί*. But they seem to have been equally common among the warriors of Canaan, and other eastern countries. When Goliath appeared in complete armour, and challenged the armies of Israel to furnish a man able to contend with him in single combat, he wore greaves of brass upon his legs. This piece of armour is also recommended by the apostle, in these words: "And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."\* The soldier is wont to wear greaves of brass, or a sort of strong boots, to guard his feet and legs against briars and thorns, the iron spikes which the enemy scatters in his way, and the sharp pointed stones which retard his march: so must the heart and life of the Christian be disengaged from worldly thoughts, affections, and pursuits, that would hinder him in his heavenly course; and be filled with holy resolutions, by divine grace to hold on his way, in spite of every hardship and danger, fortified against the many snares and temptations that beset him in his progress, and prepared for the assault, from what enemy or quarter soever it may come.

The feet were protected with shoes of stout, well prepared leather, plaited or spiked on the sole, to prevent the combatant from slipping. Moses seems, at least according to our translation, to have had some allusion to shoes of this kind, in his farewell address to the tribes: "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass, and as thy days so shall thy strength be."† And the apostle Paul, in his description of the spiritual armour: "Having the feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace." "Not iron," says Taylor, "nor steel; but patient investigation, calm inquiry, assiduous, laborious, lasting; if not rather with firm footing in the gospel of peace."

The Hebrew soldiers used two kinds of shields, the (צנח) tsinna, and the (מגן) magen. From the middle

\* Eph. vi. 15.

† Deut. xxxiii. 25.

of the tsinna rose a large boss, surmounted by a dagger, or sharp pointed protuberance, which was extremely useful in repelling missive weapons, and bearing down their enemies when they came to close fight. A shield of this construction was partly a defensive and partly an offensive weapon. Martial seems to allude to the tsinna in this line :

“In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellat.”

“Should you get into a crowd, your slave with his boss would repel them all.” The ancient bucklers generally covered the whole body ; for Virgil represents the troops as standing close covered under their bucklers.

“Clypeique sub-orbe tegantur.”

And in Tyrtæus, the mighty buckler covered the thighs, legs, and breast, belly, and shoulders too :

Μηρῶς τε, κνήμας τε κατὰ, κερτα, καὶ ὤμους  
 Ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλψάμενος

The magen was a short buckler, intended merely for defence, and of great service in the warfare of those days. To these must be added the (סִהָרָא) *sihara*, or round shield ; and these three differed from one another, nearly as the *scutum*, *Clypeus*, and *Parma*, among the Romans. The tsinna was double the weight of the magen, and was carried by the infantry ; the others, as being more light and manageable, were reserved for the cavalry.

The holy Psalmist often mentions this weapon in the songs of Zion, to signify the complete protection which he expected from above, which he so largely experienced, and in which he wholly trusted. In that sublime ode which he sung in the day that the Lord delivered him from the power of all his enemies, we find this passage : “The Lord is my buckler, and the horn of my salvation.”\* He had been long accustomed to contemplate the character of God, under this most expressive figure ; for while he wandered in exile, far from the courts of the tabernacle, where so much of his happiness was placed, we find him pouring out his soul in these strains : “Behold, O God, our Shield, and look upon the face of thine Anointed ; for the Lord

\* Psal. lxxxix. 9. 11.



God is a sun and shield ; the Lord will give grace and glory ; no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.”\* The great apostle of the Gentiles earnestly recommends this weapon among others, to the use of the churches under the present dispensation : “ Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.”† The shield is of primary importance in the day of battle, because it covers the whole person ; or, if too small for this, may be turned every way for the defence of one or another part of the body, and of their other accoutrements, which may be most exposed to danger, and for warding off the sharp and poisoned arrows of the enemy. In the spiritual warfare, a true and lively faith in Christ, the believer’s shield in every age ; in his blood and righteousness for every blessing of the new covenant ; in his inexhaustible fulness of grace and mercy ; and in the efficacy of his mediation in the midst of the throne, is not less necessary and important. This is the Christian’s grand defence, which enables him effectually to refute and silence every charge of guilt ; to repel every attempt of Satan to hurry him into sin ; to disarm the force of those furious temptations or sudden suggestions, that, like poisoned arrows, penetrate and inflame the soul with horror, anguish, and guilt, wherever they strike. Behind the impenetrable cover of this shield, the believer effectually resists the devil, and puts him to flight ; he overcometh the world, and escapes from the pollutions of sin : “ The word of God abideth ” in him, enabling him “ to overcome the wicked one ; ” and “ this is the victory that overcometh the world --- even our faith.”‡

The oriental warrior had a person who went before him in the hour of danger, whose office it was to bear the great massy buckler, behind which he avoided the missile weapons of his enemy. Goliath had his armour bearer carrying a shield before him, when he came up to defy the armies of Israel. When David went first to court, he was made armour bearer to Saul ; and Jonathan had a young man who bore his armour

\* Eph. vi. 16.

† Psal. xviii. 2.

‡ 1 John ii. 14. and v. 4

before him in the day of battle. Besides the large and ponderous buckler, the gigantic Philistine had another of smaller size, called *cidon*, which we render target in one part of our version, and shield in another. It might either be held in the hand when the warrior had occasion to use it; or, at other times, be conveniently hung about his neck, and turned behind; and, therefore, the historian observes, he had “a target of brass between his shoulders.”

The shield was more highly valued by the ancients than all their other armour. It was their delight to adorn it with all kinds of figures, of birds and beasts, especially those of generous natures, as eagles and lions: they emblazoned upon its capacious circle, the effigies of their gods, the forms of celestial bodies, and all the works of nature. They preserved it with the most jealous care; and to lose it on the day of battle was accounted one of the greatest calamities that could befall them, worse than defeat, or even than death itself; so great was their passion for what is termed military glory, and the estimation in which it was held, that they had a profound regard for all sorts of arms, the instruments by which they attained it; and to leave them in the hands of their enemies, to give them for a pledge, or dispose of them in a dishonourable way, was an indelible disgrace both in Greece and at Rome, for which they could hardly ever atone.\*

But these sentiments were not confined to Greece and Rome; among no people were they carried higher than among the Jews. To cast away the shield in the day of battle, they counted a national disgrace, and a fit subject for public mourning. This affecting circumstance was not omitted in that beautiful elegy, which David, a brave and experienced soldier, composed on the death of Saul, and the loss of his army: “The shield of the mighty was vilely cast away.” On that fatal day, when Saul and the flower of Israel perished on the mountains of Gilboa, many of the Jewish soldiers, who had behaved with great bravery in former battles, forgetful of their own reputation and

\* Potter's Gr. An. vol. 2. p. 55

their country's honour, threw away their shields, and fled from the field. The sweet singer of Israel adverts to that dishonourable conduct, with admirable and touching pathos : " Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings ; for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil."\* The apostle has availed himself of this general feeling in his epistle to the Hebrews, to encourage them in the profession of the gospel, and in a courageous, firm, and constant adherence to the truth : " Cast not away, therefore, your confidence." Abide without wavering in the profession of the faith, and in the firm belief of the truth ; and aim at the full assurance of the grace of faith, which, as a spiritual shield, should be sought with unwearied diligence, and retained with jealous care.

The ancient warrior did not yield to the moderns in keeping his armour in good order. The inspired writer often speaks of furbishing the spear, and making bright the arrows ; and the manner in which he expresses himself in relation to this part of the soldier's duty, proves, that it was generally and carefully performed. But they were particularly attentive to their shields, which they took care frequently to scour, polish, and anoint with oil. The oriental soldier seems to have gloried in the dazzling lustre of his shield, which he so highly valued, and upon which he engraved his name and warlike exploits. To produce the desired brightness, and preserve it undiminished, he had recourse to frequent unction ; which is the reason of the prophet's invitation : " Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield."† As this was done to improve its polish and brightness, so it was covered with a case, when it was not in use, to preserve it from becoming rusty. This is the reason the prophet says, " Kir uncovered the shield." The words of David already quoted from his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, may refer to this practice of anointing the shield, rather than anointing the king : " The shield of the migh-

\* 2 Sam. i. 22.

† Isa. xxi. 5.

ty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though it had not been anointed with oil:" the word *he* being a supplement, the version now given, is perfectly agreeable to the original text.

The offensive weapons of the eastern warriors, like those of the Greeks and Romans, were of two kinds; those with which they engaged in close fight, and those with which they attacked their enemies at a distance. In the first class, the sword has the strongest claim upon our attention, for, except the bow, it is the most ancient weapon on the records of Scripture. It was with the sword that the sons of Jacob executed their cruel and indiscriminate vengeance on the people of Shechem; and the weapon which Jacob himself used when he attacked and defeated the Amorite, as the dying patriarch incidentally mentions in a conversation with Joseph: "Moreover, I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow."\* It was also one of the weapons which Israel used in the wilderness, which they borrowed, rather asked among other valuable articles, from the Egyptians, when they were ready to commence their perilous march, and with which the sacred historian informs us, they went up harnessed, or armed, out of the land of Egypt.

The sword, according to ancient custom, was hung in a belt put round the shoulders, and reaching down to their thighs. It was suspended on the back part of the thigh, almost to the ground, but was not girded upon it; the horseman's sword was fixed on the saddle by a girth. When David, in spirit, invites the Redeemer of the church to gird his sword upon his thigh, and the spouse says of the valiant of Israel, "Every man has his sword upon his thigh, because of fear in the night:" they do not mean that the weapon was literally bound upon their thigh, but hung in the girdle on the back part of it; for this was the mode in which, by the universal testimony of ancient writers, the infantry wore their swords. The sword is, by a figure

\* Gen. xlviii. 22



of speech, employed to signify the keen and piercing words of an enemy : “ His words, says the Psalmist, “ were softer than oil ; yet were they drawn swords : ” \* and again ; “ swords are in their lips ; for who, *say they*, doth hear ? ” † Solomon uses the same comparison in one of his proverbs : “ There is, that speaketh like the piercings of a sword. ” ‡ These allusions seem to be justified by real occurrences ; for Thevenot informs us, that the Turks sometimes fight, having a naked sword between their teeth, and a musquet in their hands. || The apostle John perhaps alludes to such an incident, in that bold, poetical image : “ Out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword : ” § his words pierced the hearts of his enemies, filled them with terror, awed them into submission.

Close to the scabbard was hung a dagger or poniard, which was seldom used in fight, but on all occasions supplied the want of a knife, as is evident from a passage in the third Iliad.

*Ατρείδης δὲ ἐρυτταμένος χεῖρεσσι μάχαιραν, &c.*

“ Drawing his dagger, which was always put close by his sword, Atrides straightway cut some hair from the lamb’s head.”

On one occasion, however, Ehud, a judge of Israel, used this weapon with terrible effect against the oppressor of his nation. His dagger, it would appear, was literally girded upon his thigh, under his raiment ; but this was for the purpose of concealment ; and, by consequence, furnishes no example of the way in which it was commonly worn.

One of the principal offensive weapons used by the ancients in later ages, was the spear or pike, the body of which was made of wood. The head was of metal, as was also the transverse point at the bottom, which being thrust into the ground, upheld the spear in its erect position, when the soldiers rested from the toils

\* Psal. lv. 21.

† Psal. lix. 7.

‡ Prov. xii. 18.

§ Rev. i. 16.

‡ Every reader, it is believed, will perceive that this illustration might very well have been spared. I. C.

of war. Homer, speaking of Diomedes's followers, says,

— ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι

Εὐδόν, ὑπὸ κρατίνῃ δ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας, εἴχεα δὲ σφιν, &c.

“They found him without, before the tent, with his arms, and his followers sleeping around him; their shields were placed under their heads, and their spears were fixed upright in the ground, upon their brazen points.—The hero himself, reposed in profound sleep upon the skin of a wild bull.”

Aristotle remarks, that the same custom was practised in his days among the Illyrians. Long before the age in which he flourished, it was common in Palestine and other nations of the east; for when David went down to reconnoitre the camp of Saul, he found him, like Diomedes, fast asleep in the centre of his army, and his spear stuck upright at his bolster.\*

The ancients used two kinds of spears in battle: the first is the *δορυ σκελον* of the Greeks, with which they fought in close combat; the last is a species of missile weapon, the *παλτα* and *βελη* of the Grecians, which they threw at their antagonists before they drew their swords. In this way, Hector and Achilles, Menelaus and Paris, and the rest of Homer's heroes, uniformly began their attacks. Both these weapons were used by the Hebrews in their combats with their enemies, for we frequently read in the sacred Scriptures, of the spear, the dart, and the javelin: with the former, they engaged in close fight; with the latter, they annoyed their enemies from a distance.

They endeavoured to check the progress of the enemy, and repel his distant attacks, by several kinds of darts or javelins, some of which they projected with the hand, others by the help of a strap girt round their middle. With one of these weapons, the king of Israel thought to rid himself of David, whose brilliant reputation he meanly envied, and whose rising popularity he weakly feared: “And there was a javelin in Saul's hand. And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall with it. And David avoided out of his presence twice.”†

\* 1 Sam. xxvi. 7.

† 1 Sam. xviii. 11.

"The battle axe, if we may judge from Homer's description of battles, was often carried to the field by the primitive Greeks. With this terrible weapon, the ancient combatant endeavoured to hew in pieces, as well the armour of his antagonist, which he could not penetrate with his spear or javelin, as the antagonist himself. This assertion is confirmed by the prophet, who mentions the weapon, and its principal use in fight : "Thou art my battle axe and weapons of war ; for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms ; and with thee will I break in pieces the horse and his rider ; and with thee will I break in pieces the chariot and his rider."\*

The bow is the first weapon mentioned in the holy Scriptures, and seems to have been quite familiar to the immediate descendants of Abraham : "Take," said Isaac, "thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison." Here, indeed, the reference is to hunting ; but we learn from the remark of Jacob to his favourite son, that the weapon which was found so useful in this art, was soon turned against our species ; and it still continues to maintain its place in some countries, among the instruments of human destruction.

We learn from Homer, that the Grecian bow was at first made of horn, and tipped with gold. But the matter of which it was fabricated, seems for the most part to have been wood, which the workman frequently adorned with gold and silver. One of these ornamented weapons procured for Apollo, a celebrated Cretan, the significant name of *Αργυροτοξος*, the bearer of the silver studded bow. But the Asiatic warrior often used a bow of steel or brass, which, on account of its great stiffness, he bent with his foot. Those that were made of horn or wood, probably required to be bent in the same way ; for the Hebrew always speaks of treading his bow, when he makes ready for the battle ; and to tread and bend the bow are in all the writings of the Old Testament convertible phrases. The bow of steel is distinctly mentioned by the Hebrew bard :

\* Jer. li. 21.

“He teaches my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by mine arms.” This was a proof of great strength, and of uncommon success in war, which he ascribes, with equal piety and gratitude, to the infinite power and goodness of Jehovah. To bend the bow, was frequently proposed as a trial of strength. After Ulysses had bent his bow, which all the suitors of Penelope had tried in vain, he boasted to his son Telemachus of the deed, because it was an undeniable proof that he had not lost his ancient vigour, in which he was accustomed to glory. Herodotus relates, that when Cambyses sent his spies into the territories of Ethiopia, the king of that country, well understanding the design of their visit, thus addressed them: When the Persians can easily draw bows of this largeness, then let them invade the Ethiopians. He then unstrung the bow, and gave it to them to carry to their master. The Persians themselves, according to Xenophon, carried bows three cubits in length. If these were made of steel or brass, which are both mentioned in the sacred volume, and of a thickness proportioned to their length, they must have been very dangerous weapons even in close fight; and as such they are represented by the prophet Isaiah: “Their bows also shall dash the young men in pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eyes shall not spare children.”\* In time of peace, or when not engaged with the enemy, the oriental warriors carried their bow in a case, sometimes of cloth, but more commonly of leather, hung to their girdles. When it was taken from the case, it was said, in the language of Habakkuk, to be “made quite naked.”†

The arrows were usually made of light wood, with a head of brass or iron, which was commonly barbed. Sometimes they were armed with two, three, or four hooks. The heads of arrows were sometimes dipped in poison; an art in which one of Virgil’s heroes was eminently skilled:

“Vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicius alter  
 Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.” *Æn.* 9. l. 771.

\* Isa. xiii. 18.

† Hab. iii. 9.



“Next Amycus, the destroyer of the savage kind, than whom none more skilful to anoint the dart, and arm its steel with poison.” Horace mentions the *venenatæ sagittæ*, the poisoned arrows of the ancient Moors in Africa. They were used by many other nations in different parts of the world; and, if we may believe the reports of modern travellers, these cruel weapons are not yet laid aside by some barbarous tribes. The poison used for this inhuman purpose was of the deadliest kind; and the slightest wound was followed by almost instant death. From this statement it will appear, that arrows were by no means contemptible instruments of destruction, although they are not to be compared with the tremendous inventions of modern warfare. We are not therefore to be surprised that so many striking allusions to the arrow, and the trodden bow, occur in the loftier strains of the inspired writers. The bitter words of the wicked are called “their arrows;” “their teeth are spears and arrows;” and the man that bear-eth false witness against his neighbour, is “a sharp arrow.” But in these comparisons, there is perhaps a literal meaning, which supposes a connexion between the mouth and the arrow. The circumstance related by Mr. Park, might possibly have its parallel in the conduct of the ancients; and, if it had, clearly accounts for such figures as have been quoted: “Each of the negroes took from his quiver a handful of arrows, and putting two between his teeth, and one in his bow, waved to us with his hand to keep at a distance.”

Some are of opinion, that the “fiery darts,” concerning which, the apostle Paul warned his Ephesian converts, allude to the poisoned arrows, or javelins, which were so frequently used in those times; others contend, that the allusion is made to those missile weapons, which were sometimes employed by the ancients in battles and sieges, to scatter fire in the ranks, or among the dwellings of their enemies. These were the *πυρφορα βαλη* of Arrian, and the *πυρφοροι οιστοι* of Thucydides, the heads of which were surrounded with combustible matter, and set on fire, when they were launched against the hostile army.

The lightning and other meteors, are, by a very beautiful figure of speech, called in Scripture the arrows of the Almighty. In the ninety-first psalm, it evidently denotes the pestilence: "Thou shalt not be afraid --- for the arrow that flieth by day," explained in the next clause, "nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction, that wasteth at noon day." The pestilence (דבר) having received its commission from God, flies like an arrow from the bow of the mighty, with amazing swiftness and force, to the destined victim, and none is able to avoid or resist the blow. The Arabs employ the same figure to denote the pestilence: "Is not, said Solyman, "the pestilence God's arrow, which will always hit the mark?" The Turks, like their emperor, thinking it absurd to fly from the ravages of the plague, demand, in similar terms, "Is not the plague the dart of Almighty God? And can we escape from the blow he aims at us? Is not his hand steady to hit the person he aims at? Can we run out of his sight, or beyond his power?" But the exposition of this text rests upon higher authority than theirs: the Spirit of God himself applies the term to signify the famine, the wild beast, and the pestilence: "When I shall send upon them the evil arrows of famine, which shall be for their destruction --- So will I send upon you famine and evil beasts, and they shall bereave thee; and pestilence and blood shall pass through thee."\*

But one of the most common missiles in primitive battles, was the large stone. Thus, in Homer, the commander-in-chief of the Grecian forces, after he had put his enemies to flight, pursued them with stones:

Αὐτὰρ ὅταν ἄλλων εὐεπτόλκετο σιγῆς ἀνδρῶν,

ἔγχει τ', ὅρσι τε, μεγαλοῖσι τε χερμαδίοισιν.

Il. b. 11. l. 264.

In the fifth book, Diomedes knocks down Æneas with the same rude weapon, and broke his leg. Ajax and Hector encounter each other in the same way; and the latter had his buckler shivered to pieces with a stone, scarce inferior in size to a millstone.†

This statement shows, that the hints given by the

\* Ezek. v. 16. 17. see Taylor's Calmet, vol. 5

† See also Il. b. 12. l. 906.

inspired writers, concerning the use of such weapons in Palestine, have nothing in them absurd or ridiculous, as they perfectly agree with the custom of ancient warriors in other parts of the world. The Hebrews appear to have attacked one another very often with these weapons, for in the Mosaic code we find this law: "If men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed; if he rise again and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit; only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed."\* "And if he smite him with throwing a stone, wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer; the murderer shall surely be put to death."† Thus Shimei discovered the furious malignity of his heart, when he supposed the affairs of his sovereign were irretrievably ruined: "He cast stones at David, and at all the servants of king David;"‡ and the Jews testified their indignation at the reply of our Saviour in the same way: "They took up stones to cast at him."§ This conduct was evidently the relic of a very ancient custom, which had gradually fallen into disuse, as the policy and conduct of the warrior improved, till, among the Jews at least, it was confined to the movements of private rage, or popular fury. But the use of stones in war was not entirely laid aside, till many ages after the days of Homer; the defenders of besieged places rolled them down with terrible effect upon the heads of their enemies; and in the field, projected them from engines of different kinds. Among these instruments of destruction, the most common was the sling.

This weapon was managed with great art and dexterity by the natives of the Balearcan islands, and by the Achæians in Greece. They discharged bullets of various kinds; as, arrows, stones, and plummetts of lead, some of which weighed not less than an Attic pound, or a hundred drachms. After whirling it two or three times about their head, they disengaged the bullet with so great force, that neither head-piece,

\* Exod. xxi. 18. † Numb. xxxv. 17. ‡ 2 Sam. xvi. 6. § John viii. 59

buckler, nor any other armour was a sufficient defence against it; and so vehement was its motion, that, (as Seneca reports,) the plummets were frequently melted.\* The arms, says Polybius, which the Achaians chiefly used were slings. They were trained to the art from their infancy, by slinging from a great distance, at a circular mark of a moderate circumference. By long practice, they took so nice an aim, that they were sure to hit their enemies, not only on the head, but on any part of the face they chose. The Benjamites appear to have attained a degree of skill and accuracy not inferior to the Achaians; for the sacred historian states, that they could sling stones to an hair's breadth, and not miss."† Seven hundred men of this tribe, says our version, were left-handed; the text should rather be rendered, ambidexters; for in the first book of Chronicles, it is said, "The men of Benjamin could use both the right hand and the left;" that is, they did not constantly use their right hand as others did, when they shot arrows or slung stones, but were so expert in their military exercises, that they could perform them with equal ease and certainty with their left hand as with their right.

When the Hebrews were besieged by their enemies, they erected engines on their towers and bulwarks, to shoot arrows and hurl stones; and when they sat down before a place with the view of besieging it, they dug trenches; they drew lines of circumvallation; they built forts and made ramparts; they cast up mounts on every side, and planted battering rams upon them, to breach the walls, and open a way into the city. These engines, it is probable, bore some resemblance to the balistæ and catapultæ of the Romans, which were employed for throwing stones and arrows, and were, in reality, the mortars and carcasses of antiquity. Josephus asserts, that Uzziah the king of Judah taught his soldiers to march in battalia, after the manner of the Macedonian phalanx, arming them with swords, targets, and corslets of brass, with arrows and darts. He also provided a great number of engines to batter

\* Potter, vol. 2. p. 50.

† Judges xx. 16.



cities, and to shoot stones and darts, besides hooks of different forms, and other instruments of a similar kind.

Taylor describes "an engine used for throwing very heavy stones, by means of a strong bow, whose circular arms are tightly held by two vertical beams, nearly upright; the cord of the bow is drawn back by means of a windlass, placed between two beams also, behind the former, but uniting with them at top; in the centre is an arm, capable of swinging backward and forward; round this arm the bowstring passes; at the bottom of this arm is placed the stone, in a kind of seat. The bowstring being drawn backward, by the power of the windlass drawing the moving arm, the rope is suddenly let go from this arm by a kind of cock, when the bowstring, recovering its natural situation, with all its power violently swings forwards the moving arm, and with it the stone, thereby projecting the stone with great force and velocity."

"Another machine for throwing stones, consists of two arms of a bow, which are strengthened by coils of rope, sinews, or hair, (women's hair was reckoned the best for the purpose.) These arms being drawn backward as tight as possible, by a windlass placed at some distance behind the machine, the string of the bow is attached to a kind of cock, and the stone to be discharged being placed immediately before it, on touching the cock, the violent effort of the bow threw off the stone to a great distance." The arms of this bow were of iron. The BALISTA of the Romans.

"Besides these kinds of instruments, which were extremely powerful, others of smaller size, and lesser powers, were constructed, for the purpose of being carried about; these were somewhat like our ancient cross-bows; and the bowstring was drawn back by various contrivances, often merely by strength of arm, or by reducing the board that carried the arrow to its station, backwards, by pressing it against the ground."

To a bow of this latter kind, our author with great probability supposes, Jacob refers in his description of his son Joseph: "But his bow abode in strength, and

the arms of his hands," rather, alluding to the compound arms of the bow, the arms of its handles "were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob."\* As the arms of a bow of steel are strengthened by the coil of rope or hair, which augments their powers; whose elasticity (spring) is the very strength of the instrument, and on whose retention of this elastic power, depends the action of the whole machine; so, God, by enduing Joseph with patience and self-possession under calamity and rough usage, (compared to many discharges of the bow, which are calculated to diminish or exhaust its elasticity), supported him, maintained his piety, and at length rewarded it by prosperity."†

The bow whose arms have been newly bound with rope or hair, but not with sufficient firmness to prevent the pieces of which they are made from slipping aside, would effectually prevent an archer from hitting the mark at which he aimed. "Such a bow might well be called deceitful—not to be trusted." To such an instrument, the prophet Hosea seems to refer, in his complaint of Israel's apostacy: "Though I have bound and strengthened their arms, yet do they imagine mischief against me." They turn, but not forward (על לא), "they are like a deceitful bow."

Before quitting this part of the subject, it is necessary to direct the reader's attention to a body of soldiers among the Jews, that were distinguished by the name of the Cherethites and the Pelethites. These formed two distinct bands, whose duty it was to guard the person of the king. They were light armed troops; the Cherethites archers, and the Pelethites spearmen and slingers. Each of these two bodies had its own commander; and, by being constantly near the king's person, they possessed great authority. They seem to have been the first soldiers among the Jews who served for pay.

Under the commander-in-chief of the army were tribunes, who had each the command of a thousand men; these had under them ten centurions, each, as

\* Gen. xxix. 24.

† See Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.

their name imports, commanding a hundred men: the next in rank were the commanders of fifties; and the lowest rank in the army were the commanders of ten. A secretary of war took an account of the number of troops in the army; and heralds attended the general, for the purpose of declaring war, or treating of peace. The Hebrews employed spies to examine the country which they meant to invade, or the state of the army they were preparing to attack. It was in those days not less honourable to go as a spy into the camp of an enemy, than in modern times to reconnoitre the position of a hostile army; and the perilous duty was commonly undertaken by the commander-in-chief, or some officer of high rank. Gideon, raised up by Jehovah himself, to lead the Hebrew forces to battle, went down, by the divine command, to the camp of Midian to examine their position, and procure the necessary information before he made his attack. Homer likewise represents Tydides as thus answering a command to penetrate the Trojan camp:

Νέστορ ἐμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ, &c. *Il. b. 10. l. 220.*

“Nestor, the heart and generous soul of a hero, prompts me to enter the hostile camp of the Trojans in our neighbourhood. But if any other hero will accompany me, it would inspire me with greater confidence and boldness; for when two go together, one perceives before another what is proper to be done; but one that is alone, though he should perceive, yet his purpose is more tardy, and his measures weaker and more indecisive.”

The choice of an associate was accordingly left to Diomedes himself, who selected Ulysses, a leader equally famed for prudence and valour, with whom he instantly proceeded to execute his purpose. The similarity between this scene and the one in the book of Judges must strike the mind of every reader: “And it came to pass the same night, that the Lord said unto him, Arise, get thee down unto the host, for I have delivered it unto thine hand; but if thou fear to go down, go thou with Phurah thy servant down to the host, and thou shalt hear what they say; and afterwards shall

thine hands be strengthened to go down unto the host; then went he down with Phurah, his servant, unto the outside of the armed men that were in the host.”\*

Nor were the Hebrew soldiers unskilled in the stratagems of war. Every reader of the sacred volume must be familiarly acquainted with the admirable contrivance of Gideon, which, by the favour of Heaven, led to one of the most complete victories ever gained over the innumerable host of a proud invader. A modern piece of Arab history greatly illustrates the defeat of the Midianites, by that renowned captain. Achmed, an Arabian prince, contested with Bel Arab the imanship of Oman; but finding himself too weak at first to risk the issue of a battle, he threw himself, with a few soldiers, into a little fortress, built in a mountain, where he had deposited his treasures. His rival, at the head of four or five thousand men, invested the place, and would have forced the new iman to surrender, had he not quitted the fortress with two of his domestics; all three disguised like poor Arabs, who were in search of grass for their camels. Achmed withdrew to a town, a good day's journey from the besieged fortress, where he was much beloved: he found no difficulty in collecting some hundreds of the inhabitants, with whom he marched against his enemy. Bel Arab had placed his camp between some high mountains near the fortress. Achmed having ordered a coloured string to be tied round the heads of his soldiers, that they might be distinguished from their enemies, sent several small detachments to sieze the passes of those mountains. He gave each detachment an Arab trumpet, to sound an alarm on all sides, as soon as the principal party should give the signal: measures being thus taken, the iman's son gave the signal at day break, and the trumpets sounded on every side. The whole army of Bel Arab being thrown into a panic at finding all the passes guarded, and judging the number of the army to be proportionate to the noise they made, was put to the rout. Bel Arab himself marched with a party to the place where the son of the new iman was

\* Judg. vii. 9.



keeping guard; he knew Bel Arab, fell upon him, killed him, and, according to the custom of the Arabs, cut off his head, which he carried to his father.\*

The king of Israel mentions another stratagem, which has been more than once successfully tried in the east. It is thus described by the sacred historian: "And the king arose in the night, and said unto his servants, I will now shew you what the Syrians have done to us; they know that we are hungry, therefore are they gone out of the camp to hide themselves in the field, saying, When they come out of the city, we shall catch them alive, and get into the city."† In the history of the revolt of Ali Bey, we have an account of a transaction very similar to the stratagem supposed to have been practised by the Syrians. The pasha of Damascus having approached the sea of Tiberias, found sheik Daher encamped there; but the sheik deferring the engagement till the next morning, during the night divided his army into three parts, and left the camp with great fires blazing, all sorts of provisions, and a large quantity of spirituous liquors, giving strict orders not to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the camp, but to come down and attack just before the dawn of day. In the middle of the night, the pasha thought to surprise sheik Daher, and marched in silence to the camp, which, to his great astonishment, he found entirely abandoned; and imagined the sheik had fled with so much precipitation, that he could not carry off the baggage and stores. The pasha thought proper to stop in the camp to refresh his soldiers. They soon fell to plunder, and drank so freely of the liquors, that, overcome with the fatigue of the day's march, and the fumes of the spirits, they were not long ere they sunk into a profound sleep. At that time, two shieks, who were watching the enemy, came silently to the camp, and Daher having repassed the sea of Tiberias, meeting them, they all rushed into the camp, and fell upon the sleeping foe, eight thousand of whom they butchered on the spot; and the pasha, with the remainder of the troops, escaped with much difficulty,

\* Harmer's Obs.

† 2 Kings vii. 12.

to Damascus, leaving all their baggage in the hands of the victorious Daher.\*

It was the custom of the Greeks, before they engaged in war, to send ambassadors to the state that had given them cause of complaint, to demand satisfaction for the injuries which they had received; for it was an established maxim in their policy, that however well prepared for war, peace, upon honourable terms, was always to be preferred. This custom of demanding satisfaction, and offering conditions of peace, had been transmitted to them from the founders of their commonwealth; for Statius relates, that Tydeus went in the character of an ambassador from Polinices to treat with his brother Eteocles, king of Thebes, before he proceeded to invest that city. Nor was the Trojan war undertaken till conciliatory measures had been tried in vain; for Ulysses and Menelaus were despatched on an embassy to Troy, to demand restitution.† The equitable proposals of these ambassadors were rejected by the Trojans, overruled by Antimachus, a person of great repute among them, whom Paris had gained over to his party by a large sum of money.‡ Invasions without notice they considered rather as robberies than lawful wars; as designed rather to ravage the property of the innocent and unsuspecting, than to repair the losses they had sustained, and prevent the renewal of outrage. Instances, however, occur of wars commenced without previous notice, even by nations of high reputation for justice and humanity; but this was done only when the provocation was deemed so great, as no recompense could atone for it, no submission expiate.

What custom enjoined on the Greeks, the law of God required of his chosen people: before they declared war against an offending neighbour, they were commanded to settle the dispute, if possible, by negotiation. Maimonides asserts, that, in obedience to this law, Joshua sent a messenger with offers of peace to the seven nations of Canaan, before he entered their coun-

\* Burder's Or. Cus. No. 908.

+ II. b. 11. l. 12.

† II. b. 3. l. 205.

try.\* And the most ancient Jewish writers agree with him, that Joshua sent three messengers to the seven nations before he invaded them, although he had undertaken to destroy them by the command of God; and those that accepted the conditions, were suffered to retain their possessions. This account receives no little confirmation from the frequent notices respecting the remains of these people, which occur in the sacred Scriptures.

But whatever might be the law of war with regard to the seven nations, the people of Israel were bound to offer conditions of peace to the surrounding states, before commencing military operations. The terms proposed were three: 1. That they should take upon them the observation of the seven precepts of Noah, and, consequently, renounce idolatry; 2. pay a yearly tribute; 3. become their subjects, and live in due subjection to them as their governors, who, though they could not make them slaves, might employ them in the public works. If the conditions were refused, every male approaching to a state of manhood was to be destroyed; but the women, and the male and female children were to be spared; while all the property of the vanquished became the booty of the victors.

The Amalekites were the only exception to this law; and the reasons for dooming them to utter destruction, are assigned by the inspired writer, with sufficient clearness and precision: "Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when you were come forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary, and he feared not God."† That cruel and rapacious nation attacked the chosen people of God, when they were just escaped from a long and grievous bondage; when they had no country for the Amalekites to seize, and when, by keeping at a distance from their territories, they gave them no just cause of alarm. The phrase, "he met thee by the way," seems also to intimate, that Amalek sent no herald, according to the established custom of

\* Lewis' Jewish Antiquities.

† Deut. ii 5, 18.

those times, to declare war, and to state the reasons of it; they fell upon them in a treacherous and cowardly manner, suddenly and without provocation; they did not offer them battle like a generous enemy, but hung upon their rear, and cut off the faint and the weary, that were not able to keep up with their brethren, but reduced to linger behind. Add to all this, that Amalek feared not God, who had given so many stupendous proofs of his power in Egypt and at the Red sea, for the deliverance of his people, and who was still seen in the visible symbol of his presence, the pillar of cloud and fire conducting them through the pathless desert; all this they disregarded from a spirit of malignant hostility to Israel, and impious contempt of Jehovah, the God of that chosen and holy nation. For these reasons, the Amalekites were to be exterminated, not immediately, but after the Hebrews had obtained the quiet possession of Canaan. This injunction was never to be forgotten, but was to be imprinted deeply on their hearts; for Jehovah swore, he would have war with Amalek, from generation to generation, till the remembrance of that devoted race was utterly blotted out from under heaven.

Aware of the dangers and calamities of war, ancient Israel were accustomed to perform very solemn devotions before they took the field; and it would seem, they had certain places particularly appropriated to this purpose. Samuel convened the people to Mizpeh, in order to prepare, by a solemn address to the throne of Jehovah, for the war which they meditated against the Philistines: "And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the Lord."\* At other times, they asked counsel of God by the Urim and Thummim, or by a prophet of the Lord. Such a custom was common in Egypt, when Pococke visited that country. Near Cairo, says that traveller, beyond the mosque of sheik Duisse, and in the neighbourhood of a burial place of the sons of some pashas on a hill, is a solid building of stone about three feet wide, built with ten steps, being at the top about

\* 1 Sam. vii. 5



three feet square, on which the shiek mounts to pray, on any extraordinary occasion, when all the people go out at the beginning of a war, and here in Egypt, when the Nile does not rise as they expect it should; and such a place they have without all the towns of Turkey.

When they were resolved to begin the war, it was customary to offer sacrifices, and make large vows, to be paid on the success of their enterprise. Thus, when Darius invaded Attica, Callimachus made a vow to Minerva, that, if she would grant the victory to the Athenians, he would sacrifice upon her altars as many he-goats as should equal the number of the slain among their enemies. Nor was this custom peculiar to Greece, but frequently practised in most other countries, of which the histories of Rome, Persia, and other nations, furnish many examples. It seems to have been of immemorial antiquity, for when Jephthah accepted the command of his nation against the Ammonites, he solemnly vowed to offer in sacrifice to God, whatever should come forth from the doors of his house to meet him, when he returned after a successful termination of the war.\*

After the troops were assembled, a public sacrifice was offered upon the national altar, which was succeeded by a martial feast prepared for the whole army; and, to confirm their purpose and inflame their courage, a hymn to Jehovah closed the festival. The hundred forty-ninth psalm was, in the opinion of Doddridge, composed on such an occasion; it was sung when David's army was marching out to war against the remains of the devoted nations of Canaan, and first went up in solemn procession to the house of God, there, as it were, to consecrate the arms he put into their hands. On that occasion, the devout monarch called on his associates in arms, (ver. 5.) "to sing aloud upon their beds;" that is, the couches upon which they reclined at the banquet attending their sacrifices, which gives a clear and important sense to a very obscure and difficult passage. To these military sacrifices and ban-

\* Judg. xi. 31.

quets, the people were summoned by the sound of two silver trumpets of a cubit long, according to Josephus, but, like ours, wider at the bottom. These were blown by two priests, as the law of Moses required; and they were sounded in a particular manner, that the people might know the meaning of the summons. Then the anointed for the war, going from one battalion to another, exhorted the soldiers in the Hebrew language, no other being allowed on that occasion, to fight valiantly for their country, and for the cities of their God. Officers were appointed to give notice, that those whose business it was, should make sufficient provision for the army, before they marched; and every tenth man was appointed for that purpose. This arrangement was made by a resolution of the tribes, recorded in the book of Judges: "And we will take ten men of an hundred throughout all the tribes of Israel, and an hundred of a thousand, and a thousand out of ten thousand, to fetch victuals for the people, that they may do when they come to Gibeah of Benjamin, according to all the folly that they have wrought in Israel."\* Mr. Harmer contends, that "these men were not intended so much to collect food for the use of their companions in that expedition, as to dress it, to serve it up, and to wait upon them in eating it." But although the difference is not very material, the supposition that the tenth part of the army was to forage for the rest is more natural, and at the same time more agreeable to the literal meaning of the text, which signifies to hunt the prey.

When the answer of the hostile state was unfavourable, and encouragement was given to engage in the war, the troops were encamped in the open field till the preparations were completed, and they were ready to march. The arrangements of the Hebrew camp were first made, as already remarked, by God himself. Every family and household had their particular ensigns, besides the great banner which they displayed in the midst of the army, under which they encamped or pursued their march. How these banners and ensigns

\* Judg. xx. 10

were distinguished from one another, we have no means of ascertaining. The later Jews allege, that Judah carried in his standard the figure of a lion, and Reuben the figure of a man; Ephraim of an ox; and Dan of an eagle; but these are merely the conjectures of a heated imagination, and are entitled to no serious attention. It is more probable, that the name of each tribe was embroidered on the standard under which they marched; or perhaps they were distinguished, as in some other countries, only by their colours. Mr. Harmer is inclined to a different opinion; he thinks, the standards of the tribes were not flags, but little iron machines carried on the top of a pole, in which fires were lighted to direct their march by night, and so contrived, as sufficiently to distinguish them from one another. This is the kind of standard by which the Turkish caravans direct their march through the desert to Mecca, and seems to be very commonly used by travellers in the east. Dr. Pococke tells us, that the caravan with which he visited the river Jordan, set out from thence in the evening, soon after it was dark, for Jerusalem, being lighted by chips of deal full of turpentine, burning in a round iron frame, fixed to the end of a pole, and arrived at the city a little before day break. But he states also, that a short time before this, the pilgrims were called before the governor of the caravan, by means of a white standard that was displayed on an eminence near the camp, in order to enable him to ascertain his fees.

In the Mecca caravans, they use nothing by day, but the same moveable beacons in which they burn those fires, which distinguish the different tribes in the night. From these circumstances, Harmer concludes, that, "since travelling in the night must in general be most desirable to a great multitude in that desert, and since, we may believe, that a compassionate God for the most part, directed Israel to move in the night, the standards of the twelve tribes were moveable beacons, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, rather than flags or any thing of that kind." On this reasoning, the following remarks are offered: 1. The people of



Israel and the Mecca pilgrims, were in very different circumstances; the former did not need such fire beacons, because they enjoyed the light and direction of a pillar of fire, which, for any thing we know to the contrary, was quite sufficient to enlighten and guide the step of every one in the camp. 2. Flags were actually carried in the caravan to Mecca, beside the fire beacons; for a white standard was raised on an eminence, to summon the pilgrims into the governor's presence. We may therefore suppose, that the many thousands of Israel might have their flags in the desert, to guide the motions of the tribes; and this conjecture receives some countenance from the fact, that such ensigns have been used in the east from the remotest ages. 3. The chosen people were not under the same necessity of travelling in the night, because they were defended from the intense heat of the sun by the pillar of cloud, which was expanded like an immense curtain over their hosts all the day.

In our translation, the church represents her Saviour as the standard bearer in the armies of the living God: "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand;" or, according to the margin, a standard bearer among ten thousand.\* These phrases are made synonymous, on the groundless supposition, that a standard bearer is the chief of the company; for among the modern orientals, a standard bearer is not the chief, more than among the nations of Europe. He is, on the contrary, the lowest commissioned officer in the corps who bears the colours. This, however, seems to be merely a mistake of our translators, in rendering the phrase *Dagul meribabah*. If we understand by the word *Dagul*, such a flag as is carried at the head of our troops, then, as the Hebrew participle is the *pahul*, which has a passive, and not an active sense, it must signify one before whom a standard is borne; not the person who lifts up and displays it, but him in whose honour the standard is displayed. It was not a mark of superior dignity in the east to display the standard, but it was a mark of dignity and

\* Song v. 10.



honour to have the standard carried before one; and the same idea seems to be entertained in other parts of the world. The passage then is rightly translated thus: My beloved is white and ruddy, and honourable, as one before whom, (or around whom,) ten thousand standards are borne.\*

The compliment is returned by her Lord in these words: "Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners;" and again, "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible as an army with banners?"† Mr. Harmer imagines that these texts refer to a marriage procession surrounded with flambeaux. But what is terrible in a company of women, even although "dressed in rich attire, surrounded with nuptial flambeaux," blazing ever so fiercely? Besides, his view sinks the last member of the comparison, and indeed seems to throw over it an air of ridicule: Who is this that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and dazzling, like a bride lighted home with flambeaux? The common translation certainly sustains much better the dignity of the last clause, while it gives the genuine meaning of (צב) aim, which, in every passage of Scripture where it occurs, signifies either terrible, or the tumult and confusion of mind which terror produces.

The form of the Hebrew camp varied according to circumstances. In the wilderness it was of a quadrangular form, surrounded, say the Jewish writers, with an enclosure of the height of ten handbreadth, to prevent the soldiers from deserting their colours. It was not a regular square, for the court of the tabernacle was in the midst of the camp, and the sides of that

---

\* The precise meaning of the word צב it is difficult to determine. It seems, however, to be, *elevated as a standard*; that is, *signalized, distinguished*; so that the passage may well be translated as in our common version, or thus: "My beloved is white and ruddy, distinguished among ten thousands." The sense given by the LXX: (εκληροχισμενος) and by Symmachus (εκληρογμενος) is not materially different. I. C.

† Song vi. 4. 10

being unequal, those towards the east and west, of no more than fifty cubits' length, but those towards the north and south, of a hundred cubits' length, made the encampment about it also unequal. The distance of the camp from the tabernacle is reckoned to have been about two thousand cubits. This camp, the Jews say, made a square of twelve miles in compass about the tabernacle. Within this was another, called the camp of the Levites, whose duty it was to guard the tabernacle on all sides, that no profane foot might enter its hallowed courts.

### CHAP. XIII.

#### THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED:

THE encampments of Israel in Canaan seem to have been open and unguarded on all sides. When David reconnoitred the camp of Saul, the king "lay in the trench, and all the people pitched round about him."\* The Hebrew term *magal* never signifies a ditch and rampart, as our translators seem to have understood it, but a chariot or wagen way, a high-way, or the rut of a wheel in the ground. Nor is it to be understood of a ring of carriages, as the marginal reading seems to suppose, and as Buxtorf interprets the word; for it is not probable, that Saul would encumber his army with baggage in so rapid a pursuit, nor that so mountainous a country was practicable for wagons. It seems, then, simply to mean, the circle these troops formed, in the midst of which, as being the place of honour, Saul reposed.

An Arab camp is always circular, when the dispositions of the ground will permit, the chieftain being in the middle, and the troops at a respectful distance around him. Their lances are fixed near them in the ground, all the day long, ready for action. This

\* 1 Sam. xxvi. 5. Il. b. 7. l. 436

was precisely the form and arrangement of Saul's camp, as described by the sacred historian.

The most usual time of going forth to war, was at the return of spring: the hardships of a winter campaign were then unknown. In the beginning of spring, says Josephus, David sent forth his commander-in-chief, Joab, to make war with the Ammonites. In another part of his works, he says, that as soon as spring was begun, Adad levied and led forth his army against the Hebrews. Antiochus also prepared to invade Judea at the first appearance of spring; and Vespasian, earnest to put an end to the war in Judea, marched with his whole army to Antipatris, at the commencement of the same season. The sacred historian seems to suppose, that there was one particular time of the year, to which the operations of war were commonly limited: "And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at the time kings go forth to battle, that David sent Joab, and his servants, and all Israel, and they destroyed the children of Ammon, and besieged Rabbah."\* The kings and armies of the east, says Chardin, do not march but when there is grass, and when they can encamp, which time is April. But in modern times, this rule is disregarded, and the history of the crusades records expeditions and battles in every month of the year.

Before the idolatrous nations of Syria and Palestine undertook a warlike expedition, or entered into battle, they endeavoured to bring down a curse upon their enemies, which should inevitably secure their overthrow. Influenced by an opinion, which long prevailed in those parts of the world, that some men had a power, by the help of their gods, to devote not only particular persons, but whole armies to destruction, Balak sent for Balaam to curse Israel, before he would venture to attack their camp: "Come, now, therefore, and curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me; peradventure, I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land; for I

\* 2 Sam. xi. 1.

wot, that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.”\* This was done sometimes by words of imprecation, of which there was a set form among some people, which Eschines calls the determinate curse. Besides this, they sometimes offered sacrifices, and used certain rites and ceremonies with solemn charms. We discover evident traces of this custom in the conduct of Balaam, who built seven altars, and offered on every altar a bullock and a ram, in the vain hope of procuring an alteration in the purpose of the Most High; and when his hopes were disappointed in one place, he removed to another, renewing his sacrifices and incantations, supposing he might find some position where God might be more favourable to his wishes. It appears also from the history of the transaction, that Balaam did not rely for success merely on the number and quality of his oblations, but, in his eagerness to merit the splendid rewards of Balak, had recourse to the arts of divination; for at the second failure he complains, “Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.” And after the third attempt, it is said, “When Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not as at other times to seek for enchantments, but he set his face towards the wilderness.”

Some of the solemn charms used by the heathen on such occasions, are mentioned in the life of Crassus, from the pen of Plutarch. The historian states, that Atticus, a tribune of the people, made a fire at the gate, out of which the general was to march against the Parthians, into which he threw certain things to make a fume, and offered sacrifice to the most angry gods, with horrid imprecations. These, he says, according to ancient traditions, had such a power, that no man who was loaded with them could avoid being undone. Under the influence probably of the same opinion, the renowned champion of the Philistines, sure of the favour and protection of his deities, and, consequently,

\* Numb. xxii. 6



persuaded that his enemies must necessarily be the objects of their displeasure and vengeance, cursed David by his gods, devoting him to utter destruction : And so the Romans used to do, in these words: *Dii Deaque perdant.*

These preparatory measures taken, the hostile army began its march, and entering the enemy's country, laid it waste with fire and sword. For this purpose, the horsemen spread themselves on every side, dividing themselves into small parties in their dreadful progress, till, if not checked by the timely resistance of the inhabitants, scarcely a single dwelling escaped their indiscriminate ravage. To such a scene of pillage and desolation the prophet Habakkuk evidently refers: "Their horsemen shall spread themselves; and their horsemen shall come from far."\* The Baron de Tott, in his entertaining work, has given us an account of the manner in which an army of modern Tartars conducted themselves, which serves greatly to illustrate this passage: "These particulars," says the Baron, "informed the cham or prince, and the generals, what their real position was; and it was decided, that a third of the army, composed of volunteers, and commanded by a sultan and several mirzas, should pass the river at midnight, divide into several columns, subdivide successively, and thus overspread New Servia, burn the villages, corn, and fodder, and carry off the inhabitants of the country. The rest of the army, in order to follow the plan concerted, marched till they came to the beaten track in the snow, made by the detachment. This we followed, till we arrived at the place where it divides into seven branches, to the left of which we constantly kept, observing never to mingle or confuse ourselves with any of the subdivisions which we successively found; and some of which were only small paths, traced by one or two horsemen. Flocks were found frozen to death on the plain, and twenty columns of smoke, already rising in the horizon, completed the horrors of the scene, and announced the fires which had laid waste New Servia." The

\* Hab. i. 8.

difficulties which have attended the explanation of this prediction, are thus happily removed, and the propriety of the expression fully established.

To restrain the licentiousness and cruelty to which soldiers in general become so prone, God himself expressly forbid the armies of Israel to hurt or cut down the fruit trees to employ them in their works against a besieged city, because they contributed to the support of human life. Such as were not fruit-bearing trees might be cut down to raise bulwarks, or otherwise to distress the enemy; but not merely for the sake of waste and desolation. The Moabites, however, were punished with the utmost rigour by the express command of Jehovah himself, who had a right, when he pleased, to suspend the law which depended upon his own will: "And this is but a light thing in the sight of the Lord; he will deliver the Moabites also into your hand; and ye shall smite every fenced city, and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and stop all wells of water, and mar every good piece of land with stones."\* This ancient mode of warfare, which, on ordinary occasions, was forbidden to the Hebrews, is still followed by the Arabs who infest that unhappy country. In their military expeditions, they burn the corn, cut down the olive trees, carry off the sheep, and, except taking the life of their enemy, do him all the mischief in their power.†

The inhabitants of the invaded country endeavoured to distress their enemies, and force them to retire, by diverting the streams into other channels, and stopping up the wells. To those who inhabit a colder latitude, and live in a country abounding with water, such operations may seem to be a very inefficient means of defence; but in the east, where water is very scarce, and the heat of the climate hardly to be endured, they are often terribly efficacious. It was therefore, no feeble measure, which Hezekiah proposed, when Sennacherib invaded his dominions, and threatened to lay siege to his capital, "to stop all the fountains, and the brook which ran through the midst of the land." The

\* 2 Kings xix. 23.

† Harm. vol. 3. p. 213.

same stratagem was again tried in an age long posterior to the times of that excellent monarch ; and it had the effect of reducing a European army to very great distress. In the eleventh century of the Christian era, the inhabitants of Jerusalem having received advice, that the crusaders were advancing to besiege the city, stopped up their wells and cisterns for five or six miles round, that they might be obliged from the want of water, to desist from their design. This precaution reduced the Christian army to great perplexity and distress, although it did not hinder them from persevering in the siege till they compelled the Saracens to surrender. While the inhabitants had a plentiful supply of water, as well from their cisterns which received the rain of heaven, as from the fountains without the walls, the water of which was conveyed by aqueducts into two very large basins within the city, the besiegers were reduced by thirst to the last extremity. The men preserved their lives with great difficulty, by procuring a little water from some fountains at four or five miles' distance ; but their horses and other cattle died in great numbers, and occasioned a dangerous pestilential contagion.

When the Greeks came within sight of their enemies in the open field, they drew up their whole army in one line, trusting the success of the day to a single onset ; while the Romans, who far excelled them in the art of marshalling an army, ranging their hastati, principes, and triarii in distinct bodies behind one another at proper distances, were able, after the defeat of their first line, twice to renew the battle ; and could not be entirely routed till they had lost three several engagements. The armies of Israel seem to have been drawn up in the manner of the Greeks, in one front, prepared to decide the victory by one grand effort.

Immediately before the signal was given, and sometimes in the heat of battle, the general of a Grecian army made an oration to his troops, in which he briefly stated the motives that ought to animate their bosoms ; and exhorted them to exert their utmost force and vigour against the enemy. The success which sometimes



attended these harangues was wonderful; the soldiers, animated with fresh life and courage, returned to the charge, retrieved in an instant their affairs, which were in a declining and almost desperate condition, and repulsed those very enemies by whom they had been often defeated. Several instances of this might be quoted from Roman and Grecian history, but few are more remarkable than that of Tÿrtæus, the lame Athenian poet, to whom the command of the Spartan army was given in one of the Messenian wars. The Spartans had at that time suffered great losses in many encounters; and all their stratagems proved ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of success, when the poet, by his lectures of honour and courage, delivered in moving verse to the army, ravished them to such a degree with the thoughts of dying for their country, that, rushing on with a furious transport to meet their enemies, they gave them an entire overthrow, and by one decisive battle, brought the war to a happy conclusion.\*

Such military harangues, especially in very trying circumstances, are perfectly natural, and may be found perhaps in the records of every nation. The history of Joab, the commander-in-chief of David's armies, furnishes a striking instance: "When Joab saw that the front of the battle was against him, before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of Israel, and put them in array against the Syrians; and the rest of the people he delivered into the hand of Abishai his brother, that he might put them in array against the children of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me; but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will come and help thee. Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good in his sight."† In a succeeding age, the king of Judah addressed his troops, before they marched against the confederate armies of Moab and Ammon, in terms becoming the chief magistrate of a holy nation,

\* Potter, vol. 2. p. 76.

† 2 Sam. x. 9, 10.



and calculated to make a deep impression on their minds: "And as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem: Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper."\* To express his own confidence in the protection of Jehovah, and to inspire his army with the same sentiments, after consulting with the people, he "appointed singers unto the Lord, and that should praise the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army, and to say, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever"† This pious conduct obtained the approbation of the living and true God, who rewarded the cheerful reliance of his people with a complete victory over their enemies, unattended by loss or danger to them; for "when they began to praise, the Lord turned every man's sword against his fellow," in the camp of the confederates, till not one escaped. Animated with joy and gratitude for so great a deliverance, the pious king returned to Jerusalem at the head of his troops, preceded by a numerous band of music, celebrating the praises of the God of battles. A custom not unlike this, and perhaps derived from some imperfect tradition of it, long prevailed in the states of Greece. Before they joined battle, they sung a hymn to the God of war, called *παιαν ἐμὲατηριος*; and when victory declared in their favour, they sung another to Apollo, termed *παιαν ἐπινικιος*.

The soothsayers inspected all the sacrifices, to pre-  
 sage the success of the battle; and, till the omens  
 proved favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign  
 their lives to the enemy, than to defend themselves.  
 These superstitious rites they borrowed from the Ba-  
 bylonians, who were exceedingly addicted to divina-  
 tion. The prophet Ezekiel records a remarkable  
 instance of this, in his prophecy against Jerusalem:  
 "For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the  
 way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination:  
 he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images,

\* 2 Chron xx. 20.

† Verse 21.

he looked in the liver.”\* Jerome says, the mode of divining by arrows was this: “They wrote on several arrows the names of the cities they intended to besiege, and then putting them promiscuously all together into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out in the manner of lots, and that city whose name was on the arrow first drawn out, was the first they assaulted.” Della Valla mentions another method of divination by arrows, different from the former: “He saw at Aleppo, a Mahomedan, who caused two persons to sit upon the ground, one opposite to the other, and gave them four arrows into their hands, which both of them held with their points downward, and as it were in two right lines, united one to the other. Then, a question being put to him about any business, he felt a murmur his enchantments, and thereby caused the said four arrows of their own accord to unite their points together in the midst, (though he that held them stirred not his hand,) and according to the future event of the matter, those of the right side were placed over those of the left, or on the contrary.” This practice, Della Valla refers to diabolical influence.

Some writers are of opinion, that the arrows were cast into the air, and the inquirer was to shape his course the same way that the arrow inclined in its descent. This was perhaps the reason that the king of Babylon made the head of his arrows bright, that the sun beam reflected upon their polished heads, might enable him to trace their path with greater ease and certainty. It is, however, still more probable, that he divined by looking upon the iron heads of the arrows, and observing the various appearances in them; which accounts in the most satisfactory manner for the care with which they were brightened.

To this method of divination, was added the inspection of the liver. This was also the first and principal part of the intestines, which the Grecian soothsayers examined. If it was corrupted, they thought that the blood, and by consequence all the body must be so too; and therefore, if it was found in a very bad

\* Ezek. xxi. 21.

state, they desisted immediately, without regarding the supposed indications of the other parts. If it exhibited a pleasing and natural redness; if it was sound, without spot or blemish; if its head was large; if it had two heads, or if there were two livers; if its lappets were turned inwards: then prosperity and success were expected. But if, on the other hand, it was too dry, or the parts tied together, especially if it was without a lappet, or the liver itself was altogether wanting, they looked for nothing but dangers, disappointments, and misfortunes.

The chosen people of Jehovah, not less eager than others to know the issue of their military expeditions, or if Heaven regarded their undertakings with a favourable eye, had frequent recourse to the holy Oracle; they consulted the prophet of the Lord; they offered sacrifices, and consulted with the high priest who bore the Urim and Thummim in his breastplate, by means of which he discovered the will of the Deity; or, presenting himself at the altar of incense, received the desired response by an audible voice from the most holy place. The son of Jesse, in a time of great distress and perplexity, consulted the oracle by means of an ephod, a part of the sacerdotal vestments: "And David said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech's son, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod; and Abiathar brought hither the ephod to David. And David inquired at the Lord, saying, Shall I pursue after this troop? Shall I overtake them? And he answered him, Pursue; for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all."\* Here was no brightening of arrows, after the custom of superstitious heathens; no consulting with images, nor inspecting of intestines, from which nothing but vague conjecture can result; but a devout and humble application to the throne of the true God; and the answer was in every respect worthy of the Divine character; it was clear and precise, at once authorizing the pursuit, and promising complete success.

After the introduction of trumpets into Greece, her armies generally began the attack at the sound of this

\* 1 Sam xxx 8.

warlike instrument; but the Lacedæmonians were particularly remarkable for beginning their engagements with the soft tones of the flute, which were intended to render the combatants cool and sedate, and enable them to march with a firm and majestic step against their enemies. In the armies of Israel, the courage of the soldiers was roused and sustained by a concert of various instruments; in which were distinguished the martial sounds of the silver trumpet, and the gentler notes of the harp and the psaltery.\* In the beginning of their onset, they gave a general shout to encourage and animate one another, and strike terror into their enemies. This circumstance is distinctly stated in the first book of Samuel: "And David rose up early in the morning, and left the sheep with a keeper, and took, and went, as Jesse had commanded him; and he came to the trench, as the host was going forth to the fight, and shouted for the battle. For Israel and the Philistines had put the battle in array, army against army."† This custom seems to have been used by almost every nation under heaven; and is mentioned by all writers who treat of martial affairs. Homer compares the confused noise of two armies in the heat of battle, to the deafening roar of torrents rushing with impetuous force from the mountains into the subjacent valleys.‡ In the sixteenth Iliad, the fierce bands of Achilles pour from their ships into the plain with a joyful shout.

*Εκ νηων ἐχέοντο, βοή δ' ἀσέβητος υἱέωσι.*

In the wars which the Hebrews prosecuted in Canaan, and in the surrounding countries, the generals fought at the head of their armies, performing at once the part of a private soldier, and the various duties of a resolute commander. In the heroic ages, the Grecian generals exposed their persons in the same way. Homer, in all his battles, places the principal officers in the front, and calls them *προμαχοί* and *πρίμοι*, because they fought before their armies: Thus when he led up the Trojans, the godlike Paris fought at their head:

*Τρωσιν μὲν προμαχίξεν Ἀλεξάνδρος θεοειδής.*

\* 2 Chron. xx. 28.

† 1 Sam. xvi. 20.

‡ Il. b. 5. l. 452.



And when Achilles sends out his soldiers to defend the Grecian ships, having allotted to the rest of his officers their several posts, he places Patroclus and Automedon, as chief commanders before the front.\*

The Lacedæmonians were not allowed to prosecute their victory when their enemies fled from the field, nor to persist long and eagerly in the pursuit. The Spartans, says Plutarch, having routed an enemy, pursued him till they had completed their victory, and then sounded a retreat; thinking it base and unworthy of true Grecians to cut men in pieces, who had ceased to resist them, and left them masters of the field. This manner of dealing with those they had conquered, not only shewed their magnanimity and greatness of soul, but served also a political purpose; for their enemies knowing, that they killed only those who made resistance, and gave quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by an early flight. The Hebrew generals, also, restrained on certain occasions the valour of their men, and recalled them early by sound of trumpet from the pursuit. Absalom was no sooner slain and the victory secured, than "Joab blew the trumpet, and the people returned from pursuing after Israel; for Joab held back the people."† Another instance occurred in the battle, which was fought by the pool of Gibeon, between the adherents of David and the house of Saul: "So Joab blew a trumpet, and all the people stood still, and pursued after Israel no more, neither fought they any more."‡ But on many other occasions, they continued the pursuit a long time; as Joab himself intimates in his reply to Abner: "As God liveth, unless thou hadst spoken, surely then in the morning, the people had gone up every one from following his brother."

The ancient Grecians frequently committed their cause to the issue of a single combat, and decided their quarrels by two or more champions on each side; and their kings and great commanders were so eager in the pursuit of glory, and so tender of the lives of their subjects, that they frequently sent challenges to their rivals,

\* Il. b. 16. l. 218.

† 2 Sam. xviii. 16.

‡ Chap. ii. 28.

to end the quarrel by a single encounter, that by the death of one of them, the effusion of more blood might be prevented. Ancient history contains many remarkable instances of such combats; Xanthus, king of Bœotia, challenged the king of Attica, to terminate the dangerous war in which their states were engaged in this way, and lost his life in the contest; and Pittacus, the famous Mitylenian, killed Phryno the Athenian general, in a single combat.\* This custom was not unknown in Palestine and other eastern countries, for the champion of the Philistines challenged the armies of Israel, to give him a man to fight with him: and when he fell by the valour of David, his countrymen, struck with dismay, immediately deserted their standards, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight.

The challenge given on those occasions, was generally couched in the most insolent language, and delivered with a very contemptuous air. Thus, Homer makes one chief address another in these terms: "Bold as thou art, too prodigal of life, approach and enter the dark gates of death." But this is a tame and spiritless defiance, compared with the proud and insulting terms which Goliath addressed to his young and inexperienced antagonist: "Come to me, and I will give thy flesh to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field;" or the bold and manly, but devout reply of the youthful warrior: "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied. This day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hand, and I will smite thee, and take thine head from thee, and I will give the carcases of the host of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel."†

The Philistines no sooner saw their champion fallen, and his head severed from his body, than, seized with a panic fear, they fled, and the armies of Israel pursued with loud acclamations. Another instance of panic which struck the army of the Philistines, a short time

\* Potter's Gr. An. vol. 2. p. 89.

† 1 Sam. xvii. 45.

before, when Jonathan and his armour-bearer fell upon their garrison and put them to flight, is described in these terms: "And there was trembling in the host, in the field, and among all the people; the garrison and the spoilers, they also trembled; and the earth quaked; so it was a very great trembling." In the Hebrew, it is a trembling of God; that is, a fear which God sent upon them, and consequently, which the strongest mind could not reason down, nor the firmest heart resist. This fear, the Greeks and other heathen nations called a panic; because Pan, one of their gods, was believed to be the author of it. Bacchus, in his Indian expedition, led his army into some defiles, where he was surrounded by his enemies, and reduced to the last extremity. By the advice of Pan, his lieutenant-general, he made his army give a sudden shout, which struck the enemy with so great astonishment and terror, that they fled with the utmost precipitation. Hence, it was ever afterwards called a panic, and supposed to come directly from heaven. It is thus expressed by Pindar:

— ἢ γὰρ  
 Δαιμονοισι φοβοῖς  
 Φυγόνται καὶ παῖδες Θεῶν.

"When men are struck with divine terrors, even the children of the gods, betake themselves to flight."

The flight of the Syrians, in the reign of Jehoram, king of Israel, was produced by a panic, which so completely unmanned them, that, says the sacred historian, "all the way was full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians had cast away in their haste."\* The flight of Saladin's army, which was defeated by Baldwin IV. near Gaza, in the time of the crusades, was marked with similar circumstances of consternation and terror. To flee with greater expedition, they threw away their arms, and clothes, their coats of mail, their greaves and other pieces of armour, and abandoned their baggage, and fled from their pursuers almost in a state of complete nudity.

It was customary in the ancient combats, for the vanquished person to stretch out his hands to the conquer-

\* 2 Kings vii. 15.

or, signifying that he declined the battle, yielded the victory, and submitted to the direction of the victor. So, Turnus in Virgil:

——— “Vicisti et victum tendere palmas  
Ausonii videre.”

*Æn. b. 12. l. 936.*

“You have overcome, and the Ausonians have seen thy vanquished foe stretch forth his suppliant hands.” To this custom, our Lord alludes in his prediction to Peter: “When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee.”\* The aged apostle was to stretch out his hands as a token of submission to that power, under which he would fall and perish.†

Many of the oriental cities were defended by strong walls and lofty towers, long before the nations of Greece and Rome had any fixed or settled habitations. When the armies of Israel entered Canaan, they found Jericho, and other towns, strongly fortified; for the reduction of which they were indebted, not to their own bravery, nor the effect of their military engines, but to the miraculous power of heaven. After they became more expert in military affairs, and provided with suitable means of attack, they undertook and prosecuted sieges in due form. When they endeavoured to get possession of a tower or castle, they seem to have attempted it first by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it in all quarters at once. When this method proved ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their enterprise; but if determined to prosecute it, they prepared for a longer siege, in the management of which they seem to have followed no constant and settled method. In attacking and defending cities, they probably employed much the same means as the Greeks and Romans afterwards adopted, and carried to so great a state of perfection. The renowned warriors of Greece and Rome began their operations against a fortified town with lines of circumvallation, which sometimes consisted of a double wall or rampart, raised of turfs, called in Greek *πλινθοί* and *πλινθία*, in Latin *cespites*. The interior fortification was designed to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies from the town, and to deprive it of all

\* John **xxi.** 18.

† Burder, Ob. 1308.



possibility of succour from without ; the exterior, to secure them from foreign enemies that might come to the relief of the besieged. The middle space, which was sixteen feet, was taken up with lodges for guards and centinels, built at due distances from one another ; yet so close, that at a distant view the whole pile appeared to be one broad wall, with turrets on both sides, after every tenth of which was a larger tower, extended from wall to wall.\* Such appear to be the works which Moses refers to in his directions for the management of a siege : “ When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof, by forcing an ax against them ; for thou mayest eat of them ; and thou shalt not cut them down (for the tree of the field is man’s life) to employ them in the siege : Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down ; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it be subdued.”†

The terrible distress to which the inhabitants of a besieged city were sometimes reduced by these works of circumvallation, is described by the same pen in strong but just colours, in a succeeding chapter : “ And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons, and of thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee ; so that the man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eyes shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he shall leave ; so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he hath nothing left him in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her daughter, and toward her young

\* Potter’s Gr. An. vol. 2. p. 90.

† Deut. xx. 19, 20.

one that cometh out from between her feet, and thee toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them, for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates."\* The same calamity was predicted by our Lord a short time before his death, in his affecting lamentation over Jerusalem: "For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side."†

Another contrivance which the besiegers employed, was the *agger* or mount, which they raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the top of the besieged walls: the sides were supported with bricks or stones, or secured with strong rafters to hinder it from falling; the fore part only remained bare, because it was to be advanced by degrees nearer the city. The pile itself consisted of all sorts of materials, as earth, timber, boughs, stones; into the middle were cast also wickers, and twigs of trees to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other parts. The whole fabric is thus described by Lucan:

———"tunc omnia late

Procumbunt nemora et spoliantur robore sylvæ," &c.

"The groves are felled, and strongest timber sought;  
From thickest forest largest oaks are brought,  
To make strong rafters to support the pile,  
Lest the earth break in and frustrate all their toil,  
Unable to sustain the tower's weight."‡

The prophet Habakkuk manifestly refers to the mount, in that prediction, where he describes the desolating march of the Chaldeans, and the success of their arms: "They shall deride every strong hold; for they shall heap up dust and take it."§

Moveable towers of wood were usually placed upon the mount, which were driven on wheels fixed within the bottom planks, to secure them from the enemy. Their size was not always the same, but proportioned to the towers of the city they besieged: the front was usually covered with tiles; and in later times the sides

\* Deut. xxviii. 53, &c. † Luke xix. 43. See also Jer. xix. 9.

‡ Potter's Gr. An. vol. 2. p. 94.

§ Hab. i. 10.

were likewise guarded with the same materials; their tops were covered with raw hides, and other things, to preserve them from fire balls and missive weapons: they were formed into several stories, which were able to carry both soldiers and several kinds of engines.\* All these modes of attack were practised in the days of Isaiah, who threatens Jerusalem with a siege conducted according to this method: "And I will encamp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount; and I will raise forts against thee."† The prophet Ezekiel repeats the prediction in almost the same words, adding only the name of the engine which was to be employed in battering down the walls: "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem; and lay siege against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it; and set battering-rams against it round about."‡

The battering-ram was an engine with an iron head, resembling the head of a ram, with which they beat down the enemies' walls. Of this, Potter mentions three kinds; the first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long beam with an iron head, which the soldiers drove with main force against the wall; the second was hung with ropes to another beam, by the help of which they thrust it forward with much greater force; the third differed from the former only in being covered with a testudo, or shroud, to protect the soldiers that worked it from the darts of the enemy. The beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty feet in length, and covered with iron plates, lest those who defended the walls should set it on fire; the head was armed with as many horns as they pleased. Josephus reports, that one of Vespasian's rams, the length of which was only fifty cubits, which came not up to the size of several of the Grecian rams, had an head as thick as ten men, and twenty five horns, each of which was as thick as one man, and placed a cubit's distance from the rest; the weight hung (as was customary) upon the hinder part, was no less than one thousand

\* Potter.

† Isa. xxix. 3.

‡ Ezek. iv. 1.

and five hundred talents; when it was removed from one place to another, it was not taken in pieces; an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, or three hundred pair of horses and mules, laboured in drawing it; and no less than fifteen hundred men employed their utmost strength in forcing it against the walls. At other times, we find these rams driven upon wheels. Such was the formidable engine, of which the prophet warned the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and which in the hands of the Romans, levelled at last the walls of that proud metropolis with the ground.

To this may be added, various engines for casting arrows, darts, and stones of a larger size; of which the most remarkable was the balista, which hurled stones of a size not less than millstones, with so great violence as to dash whole houses in pieces at a blow. Such were the engines which Uzziah the king of Judah, planted on the walls and towers of Jerusalem, to defend it against the attacks of an invading force: "And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers, and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal."\* Some of these inventions, however, had been in use long before; for in the reign of David, the battering-ram was employed in the siege of Abel-Bethmaachah: "They cast up a bank against the city, and it stood in the trench; and all the people that were with Joab battered the wall to throw it down."† These powerful engines, invented by Jewish artists, and worked by the skill and vigour of Jewish soldiers, were undoubtedly the prototypes of those which the celebrated nations of Greece and Rome afterwards employed with so much success in their sieges.

The testudo, or tortoise, was a defensive invention, which received its name from covering and sheltering the soldiers from the weapons of their enemies, as a tortoise is covered by its shell. Ancient authors describe several kinds of it; but the one to which the sacred writer seems to allude, is the *testudo militaris*, used in the field of battle, but more frequently in sur-

\* 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

† 2 Sam. xx. 15.



prising cities, before the inhabitants were apprised of their danger, and prepared for their defence, which served to protect the besiegers in their approach to the walls. When the testudo was formed, the soldiers drew up close to one another, and the hindermost ranks bowing themselves, placed their targets above their heads; the first rank stood erect, the rest stooped lower and lower by degrees, till the last rank kneeled upon the ground; the men in the front and on the sides holding their targets before their bodies, the rest covering the heads of those who were placed before them; so that the whole body resembled a pent-house or roof, covered with tiles, down which the enemies' missile weapons easily glided, without prejudice to the soldiers beneath. Under a covert of this kind, the prophet foretels the armies of Babylon should advance to the attack of Tyre: "He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field; and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee;" advance to storm thy walls under the protection of the testudo; "and he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers."\* Under the protection of their bucklers, the soldiers mounted upon the shoulders of one another till they reached the top of the wall; or they endeavoured singly to climb it, wherever they could find a hold, or a place less vigilantly guarded.

The methods by which the besieged endeavoured to defend themselves and their families, were various. When the enemy approached, they gave notice to their confederates to hasten their assistance. In the day, this was done by raising a great smoke; in the night by fires or lighted torches. If the flaming torch was intended to announce the arrival of friends, it was held still; but on the approach of an enemy, it was waved backwards and forwards, an apt emblem of the destructive tumults of war. In allusion to this practice, the prophet Jeremiah calls to the people of Benjamin and Judah; "Gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusa-

\* Ezek. xvi. 8, 9.

lem, and blow the trumpet in Tekoah, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccerem; for evil approaches out of the north, and great destruction.”\* Sometimes, like the men of Gibeon and Jabesh-Gilead,† they sent messengers to inform their friends of their perilous condition, and entreat their assistance. They guarded the walls with soldiers, who, with stones and all sorts of missive weapons, annoyed the invaders, and repulsed their attacks. In some instances, the weaker sex vied with their fathers and husbands, in defending their walls; a memorable instance of which is recorded in the book of Judges, where the historian describes the fall of Abimelech by the hand of a woman. When Hezekiah was threatened with utter destruction by Sennacherib, “he took counsel with his princes and the mighty men, to stop the waters of the fountains, which were without the city - - Also he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David, and made darts and shields in abundance.”‡ Many other contrivances were used, as the posture of affairs required, or the genius of the besieged supplied them with methods of annoyance and defence; but as the sacred writers make few or no allusions to them, they do not come within the plan of this work.

When a city was taken, all that were found in arms were put to the sword; the walls and buildings were demolished, and the rest of the inhabitants were sold into slavery. If the defence had been long and vigorous, if the besiegers had suffered much, or if the general was of a cruel or ungenerous disposition, men, women, and children, were involved in one promiscuous destruction. But so cruel a fate was reserved only for some particular places; many cities taken by siege, were, after the tumult of battle, received into favour by the conqueror, who required only some tributary acknowledgment. The lot of populous No was very severe. This ancient and celebrated city, “that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was

\* Jer. vi. 1.    † Josh. x. 6. 1 Sam. xi. 4.    ‡ 2 Chron. xxxii. 3. 5.

the sea, and her wall was from the sea," had probably made a long and obstinate resistance: "Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men; and all her great men were bound in chains."\* No less complete was the predicted destruction of Tyre, which has long since been realised in every particular: "And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers. I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God; and it shall become a spoil to the nations. And her daughters which are in the field shall be slain by the sword; and they shall know that I am the Lord."† Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, has been in like manner swept away from the face of the earth, by the fierce anger of Jehovah: the prediction has been completely fulfilled; "Every one that is found shall be thrust through; and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished."‡ The prediction of Jerusalem's fall may finish this fearful picture of desolation: "For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."§

When the Greeks demolished a city, it was their custom to pronounce direful curses against those who should attempt to rebuild it. This custom seems to have been of great antiquity, and derived from the eastern nations; for Joshua, the renowned successor of Moses, pronounced a solemn malediction against the person who should rebuild Jericho; which received its accomplishment in Hiel the Bethelite, many ages after, in the reign of Ahab. "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build

\* Nah. iii. 10.

† Ezek. xxvi. 3.

‡ Isa. xiii. 15.

§ Luke xix. 43.



Jericho : he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun."\*

The captured city was, after being razed to the foundations, not unfrequently sowed with salt, and marked with the plough, in token of perpetual desolation. Experience had taught the ancients, that the soil which abounds with salt, is uniformly barren and desolate. The dreary solitudes, encrusted with salt, which in Syria so frequently meet the traveller's eye, and particularly that extensive desert which stretches between Aleppo and Bassorah near the Persian gulf, probably suggested to the oriental conqueror, the ancient custom of sowing with salt a vanquished city, which his ungenerous revenge had devoted to never ending desolation. A memorable instance of this practice occurs in the history of Abimelech, who took the city of Shechem, and after putting the wretched inhabitants to the sword, levelled it with the ground, and sowed it with salt.† And in modern times, the exasperated emperor Frederic Barbarossa, burnt, razed, sowed with salt, and ploughed the city of Milan. In allusion to the last of these customs, it was foretold by the prophet Micah : "Zion shall be ploughed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest."‡ The Jewish writers allow that this prophecy received its fulfilment in the utter destruction of the second temple by Titus, when Terentius, or, as some of the modern Jews call him, Turnus Rufus, razed the very foundations of the city and temple, so that according to the prediction of our Lord, "One stone was not left upon another." So frequent was the custom of breaking up the ground with the plough, where the dwellings of a brave and resolute people had stood, that Horace speaks of it in the most familiar terms :

——— "imprimeret que muris  
Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens."

It was the practice of ancient warriors, to strip the

\* 1 Kings xvi. 34. † Judg. ix. 45. ‡ Jer. xxvi. 18.



dead bodies of their enemies on the field of battle, after the victory was secured, and the pursuit had ceased; and not satisfied with this, they often treated them in the most brutal manner, basely revenging the injuries they had received from them while living. by disfiguring their remains, and exposing them to scorn and ignominy. When the Philistines came to strip the dead that fell in the battle on the mountains of Gilboa, they found Saul and his three sons among the slain. But instead of respecting his rank and valour, they "cut off his head, and stripped off his armour, which they put in the house of Ashtaroth; and they fastened his body, and the bodies of his sons, to the wall of Beth-shan." Capital offences were sometimes punished by throwing the criminal upon hooks, which were fixed in the wall below, where they frequently hung in the most exquisite tortures, thirty or forty hours before they expired. It is probable that the bodies of Saul and his sons were fixed to such hooks as were placed there for the execution of the vilest malefactors; but whatever be in this, it was certainly meant as one of the greatest indignities which they could offer to the remains of an enemy whom they both feared and detested.

The ancient Greeks treated the dead bodies of their enemies in a manner equally indecent and inhuman. They mangled, dismembered, dragged them about the field of battle, and suffered them to lie unburied for a long time, and even to become the prey of savage beasts and ravenous fowls. No instance of this kind is more remarkable than that of the brave, but unfortunate Hector, whose dead body suffered every indignity which the infuriate rage of Achilles, or the ferocious brutality of his myrmidons could invent. Nay the whole army joined in the brutish and barbarous insult; which shews that it was their constant practice, and regarded as quite consistent with virtue and honour. Tydeus is not treated with more respect in Statius; and in Virgil, the body of Mezentius is cruelly lacerated, for though he only received two wounds from Æneas, we find his breastplate afterwards pierced through in twelve places :

———“bis sex thoraca petium  
Perfossum que locis.”

These instances, to which many others might be added, prove that it was the common practice of ancient warriors. In the heroic ages too, the conquerors compelled their enemies to pay a large sum of money for permission to bury their dead. Hector's body was redeemed from Achilles; and that of Achilles was redeemed from the Trojans for the same price he had received for Hector.\* And Virgil introduces Nisus dissuading his friend Euryalus from accompanying him into danger, lest, if he were slain, there should be no person to recover by fight, or redeem his body :

“Sit que me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum  
Mandet humo solita.”

These statements prove, that it was a common practice in the primitive ages, to redeem the dead body of a warrior; and if this was neglected or refused, it was frequently suffered to remain unburied. But, in succeeding times, it was considered as the greatest impiety, as the indubitable mark of a savage or ungenerous temper, to deny the rites of burial to an enemy. The more civilized Grecians reckoned it a sacred duty to bury the slain, a debt which they owed to nature; and they seldom or never neglected it, or refused their permission to pay it, except on extraordinary and unusual provocations. It was a very aggravating circumstance in the desolations of Jerusalem, so feelingly described by the pen of Asaph, that the dead bodies of her inhabitants remained unburied; and the terms in which he mentions it, prove that the Hebrews had the same acute feelings, relative to this subject, as the most refined nations of antiquity. “O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them.”†

\* Il. b. 24.

† Psa. lxxix. 1, 2, 3.

The ancients, in every part of the world, were accustomed to inter their warriors in complete armour. We are informed by Chardin, that the Mingrelian soldier sleeps with his sword under his head, and his arms by his side : and he is buried in the same manner, his arms being placed in the same position. The allusion of Ezekiel to this ancient custom is extremely clear : “ They shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war : and they have laid their swords under their heads, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living.”\*

To mark the spot where the chiefs were buried, and to remain at the same time as a memorial of the battle in which they fell, their surviving friends raised over them a heap of stones. This practice may be traced to the primitive ages of the world ; for when Absalom was defeated and slain, “ they cast him into a great pit, in the wood, and laid a very great heap of stones upon him.” This monumental heap was not intended to indicate that Absalom deserved to be stoned as a rebellious son, but merely to mark, according to a very common and a very ancient custom, the grave of that ambitious and unnatural prince. It was usual in the east, indeed, to distinguish any remarkable place or event by a heap of stones. All the Mahomedans that go in pilgrimage to mount Sinai, visit a rock, on which the form of a camel’s foot is imprinted, which they foolishly suppose to be the animal that Mahomet rode ; and, therefore, in honour of their prophet, they bring every one a stone, till, by continual accumulation, a large heap has risen near the place. Jacob, and his family too, raised a heap of stones in commemoration of the covenant so happily concluded between him and Laban, on mount Gilead. That “ heap of witness” informed every passenger that it was raised in memory of some interesting event ; and every relation that brought a stone to the heap, made himself a witness to the agreement, as well as recommended it to the atten-

\* Ezek. xxxij. 27.

tion of others.\* The surviving warriors, too, might bring every man his stone, in token of their respect for the deceased, to raise a monumental heap over the body of the hero who had led them to battle and to victory, which should arrest the notice of the passing traveller, and bear witness to future times of their attachment and regret.

The booty of the victors consisted of prisoners and spoils. All the inhabitants of a town carried by storm, or surrendered at discretion, and of the adjacent country which depended upon it, became either the property of the conquering nation, or of that particular person who had taken them, according to the laws which regulated the acquisition and division of spoil in different states. At the taking of Troy all that remained alive were made slaves, not excepting Hecuba the wife of Priam, and the princesses her daughters. The histories of Greece and Rome furnish many such examples. The Romans ungenerously loaded with chains those princes who made a brave and obstinate resistance to their insatiable ambition, or put them to death after they had led them in triumph. They sold the common people by auction, and divided their lands among their own citizens, whom they sent to establish colonies in the desolated regions. The Babylonian monarch pursued the same barbarous policy; he “slew the sons of Zedekiah, in Riblah, before his eyes; also the king of Babylon slew all the nobles of Judah. Moreover he put out Zedekiah’s eyes, and bound him with chains, to carry him to Babylon: And the Chaldeans burned the king’s house, and the houses of the people, with fire, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem. Then Nebuzaraden, the captain of the guard, carried away captive into Babylon the remnant of the people that remained in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to him, with the rest of the people that remained.”† But the captive Jews were not treated with the severity which they experienced that were compelled to pass under the Roman yoke: Several of them, after they were carried to Babylon, rose to the highest offices in the state; while

\* Harmer, vol. 4. p. 399.

† Jer. xxxix. 6.



others lived in easy circumstances, building houses, and planting vineyards, and enjoying the fruit of their labours. We are, however, to remember that they lived under the special protection of God, who had promised to preserve them in the land of their captivity, and bring them again into their own inheritance. Those who enjoyed no such protection, frequently met with a very different fate. The oriental conqueror often addressed his unfortunate captives in the most insulting language, of which the prophet Isaiah has left us a specimen: "But I will put it (the cup of Jehovah's fury) into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, bow down that we may go over."\* And their actions were as harsh as their words were haughty; they made them bow down to the very ground, and put their feet upon their necks, and trampled them in the mire. This indignity the chosen people of God were obliged to suffer: "Thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street, to them that went over." The practice seems to have descended from a very remote antiquity, in the oriental regions; for when Joshua subdued Canaan, he caused the captains of his army to put their feet upon the necks of her captive kings, as a sign of their complete reduction, and his own confidence of future success. It still prevailed in the east in ages comparatively modern; for Sapor, the king of Persia, commanded the Roman emperor Valerian, whom he had taken prisoner by treachery, to attend him in the condition of a base and abject slave, and to bow down and offer him his back, on which he set his foot, in order to mount his chariot or his horse, as often as he chose to appear in public. Conquerors of a milder and more humane disposition put their hand upon the neck of their captives, as a mark of their superiority. This custom may be traced as high as the age in which Jacob flourished; for in his farewell blessing to Judah, he thus alludes to it: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies."† This benediction, which at once foretold the victorious career of that warlike tribe, and

\* Isa. li. 23.

† Gen. xlix. 8.

suggested the propriety of treating their prisoners with moderation and kindness, was fulfilled in the person of David, and acknowledged by him: "Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me."\* Traces of this custom may be discovered in the manners of other nations. Among the Franks it was usual to put the arm round the neck, as a mark of superiority on the part of him by whom it was done. When Chrodin, declining the office of mayor of the palace, chose a young nobleman named Gogan, to fill that place, he immediately took the arm of the young man, and put it round his own neck, as a mark of his dependence on him, and that he acknowledged him for his general and chief.

The eastern conqueror often stripped his unhappy captives naked, and made them travel in that condition, exposed to the burning heat of a vertical sun by day, and the chilling cold of the night. Such barbarous treatment was to modest women, the height of cruelty and indignity, especially to those who had been educated in softness and elegance, who had figured in all the superfluities of ornamental dress, and whose faces had hardly ever been exposed to the sight of man. The prophet Isaiah mentions this as the hardest part of the sufferings in which female captives are involved: "The Lord will expose their nakedness." The daughter of Zion had indulged in all the softness of oriental luxury; but the offended Jehovah should cause her unrelenting enemies to drag her forth from her secret chambers, into the view of an insolent soldiery; strip her of her ornaments, in which she so greatly delighted; take away her splendid and costly garments, discover her nakedness, and compel her to travel in that miserable plight to a far distant country, a hopeless captive, the property of a cruel lord.

Arrived in the land of their captivity, they are often purchased at a very low price. The prophet Joel, in a passage already quoted, complains of the contemptuous cheapness in which the people of Israel were held by those who made them captives. The custom of casting

\* Psal. xviii. 40.

lots for the captives taken in war, appears to have prevailed both among the Jews and the Greeks. Joel complains, that they cast lots for his people ; and we learn from Nahum, that, when populous No was taken, "They cast lots for her honourable men ;"\* the same allusion occurs in the prophecy of Obadiah : "Strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem."† With respect to the Greeks, we have an instance in Tryphiodorus :

"Shared out by lot, the female captives stand,  
The spoils divided with an equal hand ;  
Each to his ship conveys his rightful share,  
Price of their toil, and trophies of the war."‡

By an inhuman custom, which is still retained in the east, the eyes of captives taken in war are not seldom put out, sometimes literally scooped or dug out of their sockets. This dreadful calamity Samson had to endure, from the unrelenting vengeance of his enemies. In a posterior age, Zedekiah, the last king of Judah and Benjamin, after being compelled to behold the violent death of his sons and nobility, had his eyes put out, and was carried in chains to Babylon. This inhuman custom long survived the decline and fall of the Babylonian empire, for by the testimony of Mr. Maurice, in his history of Hindostan, the captive princes of that country were often treated in this manner, by their more fortunate rivals ; a red hot iron was passed over their eyes, which effectually deprived them of sight, and at the same time of their title and ability to reign. To the wretched state of such prisoners, the prophet Isaiah alludes in a noble prediction, where he describes in very glowing colours, the character and work of the promised Messiah : "He hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised," as captives too frequently are by the weight of their fetters. He restored the eye-ball to the empty socket, and poured on it the light of day, or purged the sight from the thick film which covered it ;

\* Nah. iii. 10.

† Obad. verse 11.

‡ Burd. No. 1148.

imparted at once the faculty of directing it to particular objects, and the degree of vigour necessary to clear and steady vision; and all this with a single word. "He spake, and it was done, he commanded, and it stood fast; for he is God over all, blessed for ever."

The inhuman conqueror sometimes ordered the noses and lips of his vanquished enemies, without distinction of age or sex, to be cut off and preserved, that he might ascertain the number of souls that were added to his subjects. An allusion to this horrid custom, perhaps occurs in that complaint of Job: "I am escaped with the skin of my teeth."\* The afflicted man had been in the hands of cruel enemies, but he had escaped without such mutilations, as miserable captives were often compelled to suffer.

Adonibezek certainly discovered a very savage disposition in cutting "off the thumbs and great toes" of his captives; "but much severer is the cruelty displayed in this narration of Indian war: - - The inhabitants of the town of *Lelith Pattan*, were disposed to surrender themselves, from the fear of having their noses cut off like those of *Cirtipur*, and also their *right hands*, a barbarity the *Gorchians* had threatened them with, unless they would surrender within five days!" Another resemblance to the history of the men of Jabesh; who desired seven days of melancholy respite from their threatened affliction by Nahash.†

It seems to have been the practice of eastern kings, to command their captives taken in war, especially those that had, by the atrociousness of their crimes, or the stoutness of their resistance, greatly provoked their indignation, to lie down on the ground, and then to put to death a certain part of them, which they measured with a line, or determined by lot. This custom was not perhaps commonly practised by the people of God, in their wars with the nations around them; one instance, however, is recorded in the life of David, who inflicted this punishment on the Moabites: "And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he

\* Job xix. 20.

† Taylor's Calmet, vol. 3.



to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive; and so the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts."\*

The same warlike prince inflicted a still more terrible punishment on the inhabitants of Rabbah, the capital city of Ammon, whose ill advised king had violated the law of nations, in offering one of the greatest possible indignities to his ambassadors. "He brought out the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick kiln; and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon."† Some of them he sawed asunder; others he tore in pieces with harrows armed with great iron teeth; or lacerated their bodies with sharp sickles or sharp stones; or rather, he dragged them through the place where bricks were made, and grated their flesh upon the ragged sherds. This dreadful punishment was meant to operate upon the fears of other princes, and prevent them from violating the right of nations in the persons of their ambassadors. These were usually persons of great worth or eminent station, who, by their quality and deportment, might command respect and attention from their very enemies. Ambassadors were accordingly held sacred among all people, even when at war; and what injuries and affronts soever had been committed, heaven and earth were thought to be concerned to prosecute the injuries done to them, with the utmost vengeance. So deep is this impression engraved on the human mind, that the Lacedæmonians, who had inhumanly murdered the Persian ambassadors, firmly believed their gods would accept none of their oblations and sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful omens, till two noblemen of Sparta were sent as an expiatory sacrifice to Xerxes, to atone for the death of his ambassadors by their own. That emperor indeed, gave them leave to return in safety, without any other ignominy than what they suffered by a severe reflection on the Spartan nation, whose barbarous cruelty he professed he would not imitate, though he had been so

\* 2 Sam. viii. 2. Burd. Ob. 103.

† 2 Sam. xii. 31.

greatly provoked. The Divine vengeance, however, suffered them not to go unpunished, but inflicted what those men had assumed to themselves, on their sons, who being sent on an embassy into Asia, were betrayed into the hands of the Athenians, who put them to death; which Herodotus, who relates the story, considered as a just revenge from heaven, for the cruelty of the Lacedæmonians. The character of ambassadors has been invested with such inviolable sanctity, by the mutual hopes and fears of nations; for, if persons of that character might be treated injuriously, the friendly relations between different states could not be maintained; and all hopes of peace and reconciliation amongst enemies, must be banished for ever out of the world.

But these considerations, although they might justify David in demanding satisfaction, and inflicting condign punishment on the king of Rabbah, cannot be reckoned a sufficient excuse for such severities. They may therefore be considered as a proof, that he was then in the state of his impenitence, in consequence of his illicit connexion with Bathsheba, when the mild, and gentle, and humane spirit of the gospel in his bosom, had suffered a mournful decline, and he was become cruel and furious, as well as lustful and incontinent. The captives taken by Amaziah, in his war with Edom, were also treated with uncommon severity, for “he took ten thousand of them alive, and brought them to the top of a rock, and cast them down, so that they were all broken in pieces.”\*

But the most shocking punishment which the ingenious cruelty of a haughty and unfeeling conqueror ever inflicted on the miserable captive, is described by Virgil in the eighth book of the *Æneid*; and which, even a Roman inured to blood, could not mention without horror.

“Quid memorem infandas cædes? quid facta tyranni!” &c.

“Why should I mention his unutterable barbarities? Or, why the tyrant’s horrid deeds? May the gods recompense them on his own head, and on his race. Nay, he even bound to the living the bodies of the dead, join-

\* 2 Chron. xxiv. 12.

ing together hands to hands, and face to face, a horrid kind of torture ; and them, pining away with gore and putrefaction in this loathed embrace, he thus destroyed with lingering death."

It is to this most deplorable condition that the apostle refers, in that pathetic exclamation: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"\* Who shall rescue me, miserable captive as I am, from this continual burden of sin which I carry about with me ; and which is cumbersome and odious, as a dead carcass bound to a living body, to be dragged along with it wherever it goes?

The vanquished foe, in testimony of his submission, hung his sword from his neck, when he came into the presence of his conqueror. When Bagdat was taken by the Turks, in the year 1638, the governor's lieutenant and principal officer was sent to the grand vizier, with a scarf about his neck, and his sword wreathed in it, which is accounted by them a mark of deep humiliation and perfect submission, to beg for mercy in his own and in his master's name. His request being granted, the governor came and was introduced to the grand signior, and obtained, not only a confirmation of the promise of life that had been made him, but also various presents of considerable value. These circumstances forcibly recall to our minds the message of Benhadad, after his signal defeat, to the king of Israel ; the passage runs in these terms: And his servants said unto him, "Behold, now, we have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings ; let us, I pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Israel, peradventure he will save thy life. So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and put ropes on their heads, and came to the king of Israel, and said, 'Thy servant Benhadad saith, I pray, thee, let me live. And he said, Is he yet alive? He is my brother.'"†

The servants of Benhadad succeeded in obtaining a verbal assurance that his life should be spared ; but a surer pledge of protection was to deliver a banner into

\* Rom. vii. 24.

† 1 Kings xx. 31.



the hand of the suppliant. In the year 1099, when Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders, about three hundred Saracens got upon the roof of a very lofty building, and earnestly begged for quarter, but could not be induced by any promise of safety to come down till they had received the banner of Tancred, one of the chiefs of the Crusaders, as a pledge of life. This they reckoned a more powerful protection than the most solemn promise; although in this instance their confidence was entirely misplaced; for the faithless zealots who pretended to fight for the cross, put every man of them to the sword.

The Psalmist perhaps considered the banner which God had given his people to be displayed because of the truth, in the same light. He celebrates in the sixtieth Psalm, a victory which he had gained over the Syrians and Edomites, by which the affairs of his people were retrieved, in these words; "Thou hast shewed thy people hard things - - thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee." According to this view, the sense is, Though for a time thou didst resign thy chosen Israel into the hands of their enemies, thou hast now given them a sure pledge of thy almighty protection. The word which we translate banner, Mr. Harmer thinks may perhaps be more properly rendered ensign or standard. The standard of an oriental prince was often a spear overlaid with silver, with sometimes a ball of gold on the top, although it is undeniable that banners were occasionally used in the eastern armies. If the Psalmist means an ensign or standard, then the word which we render displayed, must be translated *lifted up*; and the clause will run, "Thou hast given thy people an ensign or standard, to be lifted up because of the truth; that is, to be according to thy faithful promise, a sure pledge of the divine protection."\*

When the king of Syria had obtained security for his life, and assurance of being restored in peace to his throne, he promised in return for such great and unexpected favours, to restore the cities which his father had taken from Israel, and to permit Ahab to make

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. 1. p. 496.



streets in Damascus for himself, as his father had made in Samaria. This extraordinary privilege of making streets in Damascus, has exceedingly puzzled commentators. Some of them suppose the word *houtsoth* signifies market-places, where commodities were sold, the duties on which should belong to Ahab; others imagine, he meant courts of justice, where the king of Israel should have the prerogative of sitting in judgment, and exercising a jurisdiction over the Syrians; others think they were a sort of piazzas, of which he should receive the rents; one class of interpreters understand by the word fortifications or citadels; another class attempt to prove that palaces are meant, which Ahab should be permitted to build as a proof of his superiority.

The privileges, which we know from the faithful page of history were actually granted to the Venetians for their aid, by the states of the kingdom of Jerusalem, during the captivity of Baldwin II. may perhaps explain in a more satisfactory manner these words of Benhadad. The instrument by which these privileges were secured, is preserved in the history of William, bishop of Tyre, the historian of the croisades, from which it appears, they were accustomed to assign churches, and to give streets in their towns and cities, with very ample prerogatives in these streets, to the foreign nations who lent them the most effectual assistance. The Venetians had a street in Acre, with full jurisdiction in it; and in what this consisted, we learn from the deed of settlement just mentioned; they had a right to have in their street an oven, a mill, a bath, weights, and measures for wine, oil and honey; they had also a right to judge causes among themselves, together with as great a jurisdiction over all those who dwelt in their street, of what nation soever they might be, as the kings of Jerusalem had over others. The same historian informs us, that the Genoese also had a street in that city, with full jurisdiction in it, and a church as a reward for their services, together with a third part of the dues of the port. In the treaty of peace granted by Bajazet emperor of the Turks, to

Emanuel the Greek emperor, it was stipulated, that the latter should grant free liberty to the Turks to dwell together, in one street of Constantinople, with the free exercise of their own religion and laws, under a judge of their own nation. This humiliating condition the Greek emperor was obliged to accept; and a great number of Turks, with their families, were sent out of Bythinia to dwell in Constantinople, where a mosque was built for their accommodation. It is not improbable, that the same kind of privileges that were granted to the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Turks, had been granted to the father of Benhadad, by the king of Israel, and were now offered to Ahab in Damascus, in the distressed state of his affairs. The Syrian monarch promised to give his conqueror a number of streets in his capital city, for the use of his subjects, with peculiar rights and privileges, which enabled him to exercise the same jurisdiction there as in his own dominions.

But besides the captives taken in battle, the booty of the conquerors consisted of all the moveable property which belonged to the vanquished, whose right and title, by the law of arms, passed to the former. Homer's heroes no sooner gain a victory, than without delay they seize the armour of the vanquished foe; instances of this kind are as numerous as their combats. But this was rather the privilege of the principal commanders, than of the inferior soldiers, who were not permitted to gather the spoils of the dead till after the battle. "My friends," cried the prudent Nestor, "Grecian heroes, children of Mars, let no soldier at present, greedy of spoil, linger behind to carry his collected wealth to the ships; but let us put our enemies to the sword, and afterwards at your leisure you shall strip the dead over all the field."\*

These laws of war the primitive Greeks probably borrowed from the orientals, for in the civil war between the houses of Saul and David, when the troops of the former had suffered a complete defeat, Abner, the general of the Benjamites, advised Asahel, an officer of high rank in the victorious army, who had sing-

\* *Iliad*, b. 6. l. 70.

led him out for his prey, to give up the pursuit, and content himself with the spoils of a meaner foe: "Turn thee aside to thy right hand or to thy left, and lay thee hold on one of the young men, and take thee his armour;"\* engage him in single combat, and having killed your victim, strip him on the spot, as you are entitled to do, by your rank and achievements. But the victorious army did not return to rifle the slain till the day after the battle; "And it came to pass, on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his three sons fallen on mount Gilboa."†

In Greece, the whole booty was brought to the general, who had the first choice, divided the remainder among those who had signalised themselves, according to their rank and merits, and allotted to the rest equal portions; thus in the Trojan war, when the captive ladies were to be chosen, Agamemnon in the first place, took Astynome, the daughter of Chryses; next Achilles had Hippodamia, daughter to Brises; then Ajax chose Tecmessa, and so of the rest; Achilles therefore complains of Agamemnon, that he had always the best part of the booty, while himself, who sustained the burden of the war, was content with a small pittance. From the time of David, the Hebrew warriors, as well those who went to the field, as those who guarded the baggage, shared alike; the law is couched in these terms; "as his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff." But a more satisfactory account of the mode in which the spoils of vanquished nations were divided among the Hebrews, is recorded in the book of Numbers. The whole booty taken from the Midianites, was brought before Moses, and Eliezer the priest, and the princes of the tribes; they, by the divine command, divided it into two parts, between the army and the congregation; of the army's half they took "one soul of five hundred, both of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep, and gave it unto Eliezer the priest, for an heave-offering of the Lord;" and of the

\* 2 Sam. ii. 21.

† 1 Sam. xxxi. 8.



congregation's half they took "one portion of fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, of all manner of beasts, and gave them unto the Levites."\* This law probably continued in force till the captivity; and according to its provisions, were the spoils of succeeding wars distributed; for the regulation which David established, referred only to this question, whether the soldiers, who from weakness were obliged to remain with the baggage, should have an equal share of the booty, with their brethren in arms who had been engaged.

Before the spoils were distributed, the Greeks considered themselves obliged to dedicate a part of them to the gods, to whose assistance they reckoned themselves indebted for them all. This custom also, they borrowed from the orientals; for the Hebrews, in dividing the spoils of Midian, separated a portion for the service of the tabernacle; and the practice, so reasonable in itself, being imitated by the surrounding nations, at last found its way into Greece and other countries of Europe.

But besides the public offerings of the nation, the soldiers often of their own accord, consecrated a part of their spoils to the God of battles: they had several methods of doing this; at one time, they collected them into an heap, and consumed them with fire; at another, they suspended their offerings in the temples. Pausanias the Spartan, is reported to have consecrated out of the Persian spoils, a tripod to Delphian Apollo, and a statue of brass seven cubits long, to Olympian Jupiter. The origin of these customs is easily discernible in the manners of the Hebrews. After the rich and various spoils of Midian were divided, the officers of the army, penetrated with gratitude that they had not lost a man in the contest, "presented an oblation to the Lord, jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, ear-rings, and tablets, to make atonement," as they piously expressed it, "for their souls before the Lord."† But the city of Jericho and all its inhabitants, except Rahab and her family, were devoted to utter destruction,

\* Numb. xxxi. 26.

† Verses 49, 50.



as an offering to the justice and holiness of God, whom they had incensed by their crimes: "And the city," said Joshua, "shall be accursed, even it, and all that are therein, to the Lord; only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent. - - But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are consecrated unto the Lord; they shall come into the treasury of the Lord. - - And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein; only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the Lord."\*

When the demands of religion were satisfied, the Grecian soldiers commonly reserved articles of extraordinary value, which they had obtained, as a present to their general or the commander of their party. To this mark of respect, Deborah perhaps alludes in the words which she puts into the mouth of Sisera's mother and her attendants: "Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera, a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle work, of divers colours of needle work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."†

To the jewels of silver and gold, which the Hebrew soldier was accustomed to bring as a free-will offering into the treasury of his God, must be added the armour of some illustrious foe, which, in gratitude for his preservation, he suspended in the sanctuary. The sword of Goliath was wrapped up in a cloth, and deposited behind the ephod; and in a succeeding war, the Philistines proving victorious, took their revenge by depositing the armour of Saul in the temple of Ashtaroth. The custom of dedicating to the gods the spoils of a conquered enemy, and placing them in their temples as trophies of victory and testimonies of gratitude, is very ancient, and universally received in Asia and Greece. Hector promises to dedicate his enemy's armour in the temple of Apollo, if he would grant him the victory.

Εἰ δέ κ' ἰγὼ τον εἰω δῶη δέ μοι εὐχος Ἀπολλων, ὧς. *Il. b. 7. l. 80.*

\* Josh. vi. 17, 18, 19, 24.

† Judg. v. 30.

“But if I shall prove victorious, and Apollo vouchsafe me the glory to strip off his armour, and carry it to sacred Troy, then will I suspend it in the temple of the far darting Apollo.”

Virgil alludes to this custom in his description of the temple, where Latinus gave audience to the ambassadors of Æneas.

“Multa que præterea sacris in postibus arma, &c.”

*Æn. b. 7. l. 183.*

“Besides, on the sacred door posts, many arms, captive chariots, and crooked scymitars are suspended, helmets, crested plumes, and massy bars of gates, and darts, and shields, and beaks torn from ships.”

Nor was it the custom only to dedicate to heaven the weapons taken from an enemy; when the soldier retired from the tumults of war to the bosom of his family, he frequently hung up his own arms in the temple, as a grateful acknowledgement of the protection he had received, and the victories he had won. Horace more than once alludes to this custom :

“Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis annis,  
Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma Lares.”

“The battered soldier worn out with age and the toils of war, devotes the arms which he formerly bore, to his ancient household gods.”

In this custom, the Greeks and Romans imitated the Asiatic nations, and particularly the Hebrews; for when David resigned the command of his armies to his generals, he laid up his arms in the tabernacle, where they continued for several ages; and there is reason to believe his conduct in this respect, was followed by many of his companions in arms. When Joash, one of his descendants, was crowned, Jehoiada the high priest, under whose care he had been educated, “delivered to the captains of hundreds, spears, and bucklers, and shields, that had been king David’s, which were in the house of God.”\*

The Greeks, and other unenlightened nations of antiquity, as a further expression of their gratitude to the gods whom they worshipped, were accustomed to offer

\* 2 Chron. xxiii. 9.

solemn sacrifices, and return public thanks to them for their protection and support. The Hebrews, in like manner, under the direction of inspired prophets, celebrated their victories by triumphal processions, the women and children dancing, and playing upon musical instruments, and singing hymns and songs of triumph, to the living and the true God. The song of Moses at the Red sea, which was sung by Miriam and the women of Israel, to the dulcet notes of the timbrel, is a most beautiful example of the triumphal hymns of the ancient Hebrews. The song of Deborah and Barak, after the decisive battle in which Sisera lost his life, and Jabin his dominion over the tribes of Israel, is a production of the same sort, in which the spirit of genuine heroism and of true religion are admirably combined. But the song which the women of Israel chaunted when they went out to meet Saul and his victorious army, after the death of Goliath, and the discomfiture of the Philistines, possesses somewhat of a different character, turning chiefly on the valorous exploits of Saul and the youthful champion of Israel: "And it came to pass, as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing to meet king Saul with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music: and the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands."\* But the most remarkable festivity perhaps on the records of history, was celebrated by Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, in a succeeding age. When that religious prince led forth his army to battle against a powerful confederacy of his neighbours, he appointed a band of sacred music to march in front, praising the beauty of holiness as they went before the army, "and to say, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever." After the discomfiture of their enemies, he assembled his army in the valley of Beracha, near the scene of victory, where they resumed the anthem of religious praise: "Then they returned, every man of Judah and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat

\* 1 Sam. xviii. 6.



in the fore front of them, to go again to Jerusalem with joy ; for the Lord had made them to rejoice over their enemies. And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries, and harps, and trumpets, unto the house of the Lord.”\* Instead of celebrating his own heroism, or the valour of his troops, on this memorable occasion, that excellent prince sung with his whole army the praises of the Lord of hosts, who disposes of the victory according to his pleasure. This conduct was becoming the descendant and successor of David, the man according to God’s own heart, and a religious people, the peculiar inheritance of Jehovah.

On some occasions the victor cut off the head of his enemy, and carried it in triumph on the point of a spear, and presented it, if a person of inferior rank, to his prince or the commander-in-chief. Barbarossa, the dey of Algiers, returned in triumph from the conquest of the kingdom of Cucco, with the head of the king, who had lost his life in the contest, carried before him on a lance. Mr. Harmer thinks it probable that the Philistines cut off the head of Saul, whom they found among the slain, on Gilboa, to carry it in triumph on the point of a spear to their principal city, according to the custom of those times; and that David, in a preceding war, severed the head of Goliath from his body, for the purpose of presenting it to Saul, in the same manner, on the point of a lance. The words of the inspired historian do not determine the mode in which it was presented; we must therefore endeavour to form our opinion from the general custom of the east. The words of the record are: “And as David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand.” It is scarcely to be supposed that the youthful warrior was introduced with the sword in the one hand, and the head of his enemy in the other, like one of our executioners holding up the head of a traitor; it is more reasonable to imagine, says Mr. Harmer, that he appeared in a more graceful and warlike attitude, bearing on the point of a lance the head of his adversary.† But it must be

\* 2 Chron. xx. 21.

† Harmer’s Obs. vol. 3. p. 498.



confessed that the other idea, after all that respectable writer has said, is more naturally suggested by the words of the inspired historian.

It is a common practice in Turkey to cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, and lay them in heaps before the residence of their emperor, or his principal officers. This barbarous custom may be traced up to a very remote antiquity; and it was probably not seldom reduced to practice in the various governments of Asia. When Jehu conspired against Ahab, he commanded the heads of his master's children, seventy in number, to be cut off, and brought in baskets to Jezreel, and "laid in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the morning." The renowned Xenophon says, in his *Anabasis*, that the same custom was practised by the Chalybes; and Herodotus makes the same remark in relation to the Scythians.

The Roman conquerors used to carry branches of palm in their hands, when they went in triumph to the capitol; and sometimes wore the *toga palmata*, a garment with the figures of palm trees upon it, which were interwoven in the fabric. In the same triumphant attitude, the apostle John beheld in vision those who had overcome by the blood of the Lamb, standing "before the throne, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands."\*

When the Romans had, in their way of speaking, given peace to a nation, by extirpating the greatest part of the miserable inhabitants, they collected the arms of the vanquished, and setting them on fire, reduced them to ashes. A medal struck by Vespasian the Roman emperor, on finishing his wars in Italy, and other parts of the world, represents the goddess of peace holding an olive branch in one hand, and with a lighted torch in the other, setting fire to a heap of armour. The custom is thus alluded to by Virgil:

"O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos!  
Qualis eram cum primam aciem Præneste sub ipsa,  
Stravi, scutorum que incendi victor acervos.

"O that Jupiter would restore to me the years that are

\* Rev. vii. 9.

past! Such as I was when under Præneste itself, I routed the foremost rank of the enemy, and victorious set fire to heaps of armour."

The same practice, by the command of Jehovah, prevailed among the Jews: the first instance of it occurs in the book of Joshua; "And the Lord said unto Joshua, Be not afraid because of them; for to-morrow about this time, will I deliver them up all slain before Israel; thou shalt hough their horses and burn their chariots with fire."\* It is also celebrated in the songs of Zion, as the attendant of peace, and the proof of its continuance: "He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire."† In the description which Ezekiel gives of the divine judgments upon Gog, we find this passage; "They that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth, and shall set on fire, and burn the weapons, both the shields and the bucklers, the bows and the arrows, and the hand-staves, and the spears, and they shall burn them with fire seven years."

The sword, and the head of the spear, which, being of iron or brass, the action of fire could not reduce to ashes, they converted into the implements of industry; for the prediction of Isaiah certainly referred to a very general custom; "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more."‡ This beautiful image of well established peace has not escaped the taste and judgment of uninspired bards, if they were not indebted for it, either directly, or by means of others, to the sacred volume:

—— "falx ex ense

Pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus

Agricolæ nunc sim; militis ante fui." *Martial*, 14. 34.

"A scythe forged from the sword of a general, profound peace has bent me into placid uses; now I belong to a husbandman, formerly I was the property of a soldier."

\* Josh. xi. 6.

† Psal. xli. 9.

‡ Isa. ii. 4.

The highest military honour which could be obtained in the Roman state, was a triumph, or solemn procession, in which a victorious general and his army advanced through the city, to the capitol. He set out from the Campus Martius, and proceeded along the Via Triumphalis, and from thence through the most public places of the city. The streets were strewed with flowers, and the altars smoked with incense. First went a numerous band of music, singing and playing triumphal songs; next were led the oxen to be sacrificed, having their horns gilt, and their heads adorned with fillets and garlands; then in carriages were brought the spoils taken from the enemy; also golden crowns sent by the allied and tributary states. The titles of the vanquished nations were inscribed on wooden frames; and images or representations of the conquered countries and cities were exhibited. The captive leaders followed in chains, with their children and attendants; after the captives came the lictors, having their fasces wreathed with laurel, followed by a great company of musicians and dancers, dressed like satyrs, and wearing crowns of gold: in the midst of whom was a pantomime, clothed in a female garb, whose business it was, with his looks and gestures, to insult the vanquished; a long train of persons followed carrying perfumes; after them came the general dressed in purple, embroidered with gold, with a crown of laurel on his head, a branch of laurel in his right hand, and in his left an ivory sceptre, with an eagle on the top, his face painted with vermillion, and a golden ball hanging from his neck on his breast; he stood upright in a gilded chariot, adorned with ivory, and drawn by four white horses, attended by his relations, and a great crowd of citizens, all in white. His children rode in the chariot along with him, his lieutenants and military tribunes, commonly by his side. After the general, followed the consuls and senators on foot; the whole procession was closed by the victorious army drawn up in order, crowned with laurel, and decorated with the gifts which they had received for their valour, singing their own and their general's



praises.\* The triumphal procession was not confined to the Romans; the Greeks had a similar custom; for the conquerors used to make a procession through the middle of their city, crowned with garlands, repeating hymns and songs, and brandishing their spears; the captives followed in chains, and all their spoils were exposed to public view.

The great apostle of the Gentiles alludes to these splendid triumphal scenes, in his epistle to the Ephesians, where he mentions the glorious ascension of his Redeemer into heaven: "When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men."† These words are a quotation from the sixty-eighth Psalm, where David, in spirit, describes the ascension of Messiah, in very glowing colours: "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels; the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place. Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive," or an immense number of captives; "thou hast received gifts for men, yea, for the rebellious also; that the Lord God might dwell among them. Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with his benefits, even the God of our salvation; Selah."‡ Knowing the deep impression which such an allusion is calculated to make on the mind of a people familiarly acquainted with triumphal scenes, the apostle returns to it in his epistle to the Colossians, which was written about the same time; "Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it."§ After obtaining a complete victory over all his enemies, he ascended in splendor and triumph into his Father's presence, on the clouds of heaven, the chariots of the Most High, thousands of holy angels attending in his train; he led the devil and all his angels, together with sin, the world, and death, as his spoils of war, and captives in chains, and exposed them to open contempt and shame, in the view of all his angelic attendants, triumphing like a glorious conqueror over them, in virtue of his cross, upon which he made complete satisfaction for sin, and by his own strength, without

\* Adams' Rom. An. p. 389. † Eph. iv. 8. ‡ Psa. lxxviii. 17, 18. § Col. ii. 15.



the assistance of any creature, destroyed death, and him that has the power of death, that is the devil. And as mighty princes are accustomed to scatter largesses among the people, and reward their companions in arms with a liberal hand, when, laden with the spoils of vanquished nations, they returned in triumph to their capital; so the conqueror of death and hell, when he ascended far above all heavens, and sat down in the midst of the throne, shed forth in vast abundance the choicest blessings of the Spirit, upon people of every tongue and of every nation.

The officers and soldiers also, were rewarded according to their merit. Among the Romans, the noblest reward which a soldier could receive, was the civic crown, given to him who had saved the life of a citizen, made of oak leaves, and by order of the general, presented by the person who had been saved, to his preserver, whom he ever after respected as a parent. Alluding to this high distinction, the apostle says to his son Timothy; "I have fought a good fight - - henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge will give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."\* And lest any one should imagine, that the Christian's crown is perishable in its nature, and soon fades away, like a crown of oak leaves, the apostle Peter assures the faithful soldier of Christ, that his crown is infinitely more valuable and lasting: "Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."† And this account is confirmed by James; "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that fear him."‡

The military crowns were conferred by the general in presence of the army; and such as received them, after a public eulogium on their valour, were placed next his person. The Christian also receives his unmerited reward from the hand of the Captain of his salvation: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."§ And like the brave veteran of

\* 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

† 1 Pet. v. 4.

‡ James i. 12.

§ Rev. ii. 10.

ancient times, he is promoted to a place near his Lord : “ To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father on his throne.\* The saints must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, who will produce the proofs of their fidelity before assembled worlds, to justify the sentence he is about to pronounce. Holy angels will applaud the justice of the proceeding, and condemned spirits, and reprobate men will have nothing to object ; then, while he pronounces a sentence which at once eulogizes their conduct, and announces their honourable acquittal, “ Well done good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord ;” he will set upon their heads a crown of purest gold, put a palm of victory into their right hand, clothe them in robes of celestial brightness, and place them around his throne : “ And so shall they be for ever with the Lord.”†

\* Rev. iii. 21.

† 1 Thess. iv. 17.

THE END.

# INDEX.

## TEXTS MORE OR LESS ILLUSTRATED.

### GENESIS.

Chapter.	Versc.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Versc.	Volume.	Page.
i.	22	1	362	xxiv.	35	1	441
ii.	8	1	8		60	2	371
	19	1	41	xxv.	12	1	10
	18	2	363	xxvi.	31	2	172
iii.	24	1	25		12	2	170
iv.	20	2	125		15	2	144
	25	1	42		17, 33	2	142
v.	16	1	19		29	2	391
vi.	14	1	29	xxvii.	3	2	148
ix.	1	1	33		9	1	469
	3	1	455		19	2	338
	10	1	89	xxix.	24	2	376, 548
	20	2	125		26	2	363
	24	1	48	xxx.	41, 42	1	462
x.	5	1	49		43	1	441
	10	1	30	xxxi.	7	2	101
	11	1	88		34	1	399
	14	1	75		40	1	196
	17	2	399		40	2	139
	19	1	96		41	2	138
xi.	2	1	23		48	1	143
	4	1	37	xxxii.	24	2	507
	5	1	34	xxxiii.	4	2	417
	9	1	31		32, 33	2	315
	10, 16	1	33	xxxiv.	2	2	367
xii.	8	1	26		6	2	363
xiii.	10	1	162		21	2	168
xiv.	3	1	160		28	1	416
	22	2	394	xxxv.	4	2	300
	23	2	286	xxxvi.	24	1	416, 433
xv.	9	2	59	xxxviii.	14	2	289
xvi.	9	2	399		24	2	484
	12	1	564	xli.	6	2	97
xviii.	6, 7, 8	2	174		14	2	462
	7	1	452		40	2	436
xix.	24	1	160		42	2	422
xx.	12	2	361	xliii.	33	2	339, 341
	14	1	441	xlvi.	32	2	126
	16	2	290	xlvi.	6	2	130, 181
xxi.	28	2	393		15, 16	2	181
xxii.	22	1	93		17	1	417
xxiii.	2	2	445		29	2	396
	7	1	100	xlvi.	22	1	297
	11, 20	2	183		22	2	538
	15	2	415	xlix.	4	2	244
xxiv.	2, 3	2	396		8	2	587
	20	2	143		14	2	434
	31	1	573		22	2	222
	34	2	363		29, 30	2	450

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verses.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verses.	Volume.	Page.
l.	2, 3	2	445	l.	26	2	447

## EXODUS.

ii.	16	2	143	xxi.	15, 17	1	510
iii.	1	1	454		18	2	545
	5	2	286		19	1	573
iv.	4	1	371		23	2	496
vi.	8	2	394	xxii.	1	1	468
viii.	14	2	101		2	2	495
ix.	24	2	201		6	2	194
xi.	1	2	104		26	2	285
	5	2	308		31	1	488
	31	2	94	xxiii.	12	1	430
xii.	5	1	510		27	1	297
	13	2	279	xxv.	5	1	604
xiv.	9	1	410	xxvi.	7	1	467
	21	2	97	xxviii.	4	2	281
xvi.	2	2	105	xxx.	32	2	296
	12, 13	2	92	xxxiii.	5, 6	2	463
	14, 31	1	11	xxxv.	23	1	467
xvii.	16	2	395		26	1	467
xx.	4	2	17, 620				

## LEVITICUS.

ii.	5	2	312	xiv.	22	2	76
	11	1	218		40	2	236
iii.	9	1	455	xv.	13	2	76
v.	7	2	76	xvi.	21, 22	1	548
ix.	2	2	72	xix.	9	2	200
xi.	7	1	484		19	1	435
	13, 20	2	92	xxii.	27	1	471
	32	2	152	xxiii.	14	2	163
	35	2	324		40	1	378
xii.	6	2	76	xxv.	39	2	495
	29	1	511	xxvi.	22	1	520
xiv.	1, 53	2	117	xxvii.	32	2	146
	4, 6, 52	2	116				

## NUMBERS.

v.	14	2	483	xx.	19	2	144
vii.	3, 7, 8	1	450	xxi.	10, 17, 18	1	360
x.	14	2	526	xxii.	4	1	447
xi.	45	2	91		6	2	562
	20, 21	2	91	xxiii.	8, 22	1	588
xiii.	23	1	265		24	1	506
	29	1	106, 108	xxxi.	26, 49, 50	2	598
xiv.	22	1	462	xxxiv.	5	1	377
xvii.	6—8	1	286		7, 8	1	141
xix.	11, 12, 14	2	447		11	1	159
xx.	5	1	265	xxxv.	17	2	545

## DEUTERONOMY.

i.	7	1	106	ii.	23	1	109
	28	1	36	iii.	8, 9	1	141
	44	1	305		13	1	142
ii.	12	1	145	iv.	17	2	115



# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
iv.	47, 48	1	141	xxiv.	13	2	278
vii.	15	1	323		20	2	227
viii.	9	1	127	xxv.	4	2	204
	8	1	265		9	2	440
ix.	1	1	36	xxviii.	1—12	1	222
x.	7	1	351, 366		49	2	11
xi.	17	2	31		53	1	575
	30	1	208		53	2	576
xii. 13-16, 20-23		1	588	xxxii.	2	2	210
	15	1	575		8	1	46
xiv.	4	1	455, 575		11	2	16
	5	1	598		12	1	288
	11	2	115		14	1	216
	16	2	31		33	1	332
	19	2	92		33	2	72
xix.	14	2	184		49	1	144
xx.	19, 20	2	575	xxxiii.	17	1	590
xxii.	6	2	115		22	1	512, 517
	8	2	246		24	2	226
xxiii.	2	2	384		25	2	533
	23	1	161	xxxiv.	1	1	144

## JOSHUA.

i.	4	1	208	xi.	17	1	141
ii.	6	2	247	xii.	3	1	159
iii.	15	1	173	xiii.	5	1	142
v.	11	2	318	xiv.	12	1	218
vi. 17, 19, 24		2	599		15	1	100
vii.	2	1	369	xv.	28	1	549
ix.	4	2	155		62	1	101
	12	2	315	xvii.	11	2	58
	23	2	378		16	2	524
x.	6	2	580	xix.	1	1	63
	10	1	153		35	1	159
xi.	3	1	100, 106	xxiv.	2	1	95
	6	2	604		12	1	296
10, 11		2	173		26	1	249

## JUDGES.

i.	19	2	525	vi.	34	2	520
iii.	3	1	107		37	2	202
	18	2	407	vii.	5	1	490
	20	1	323		6	2	354
	20	2	254		9	2	550
	28	1	175		12	1	310, 396
iv.	18	2	377		13, 14	2	307
	19	2	166, 525	viii.	19	2	365
	21	2	152	ix.	45	2	582
	24	2	173		46, 51	2	268
v.	11	2	145		47, 48	1	153
	19, 20	1	172	x.	3, 4	1	418
	25	2	166	xi.	31	2	555
	30	2	298, 599	xii.	6	1	175
vi.	5	1	310	xiv.	1	2	376

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
xiv.	7, 10	2	370	xv.	6	2	476
	8	1	303	xvi.	21	2	310
	13, 14	1	418		26	2	255
	15	1	508	xviii.	7	1	97
	18	1	492	xx.	10	2	556
	23	2	363		16	2	546
xv.	4	1	371, 549				

## RUTH.

ii.	4	2	198	ii.	14	2	318
	5	2	197	iv.	11, 12	2	372

## FIRST SAMUEL.

ii.	8	2	320	xvii.	34	1	509
v. 2—8, 9, 10		1	111, 112		37	1	501
vi.	4, 5	1	604		38	2	529
	7	1	451		40	2	146, 148
vii.	9	1	492	xviii.	4	2	401, 425
ix.	23, 24	2	346		6	2	601
	25	2	247		11	2	540
x.	27	2	407	xix.	15	2	245
xi.	4	2	580	xxi.	7	2	130
xii.	16	1	183	xxii.	6	2	425
xiii.	5	2	520, 525	xxiv.	1, 2	1	171
	17	1	549		14	1	480
xiv.	14	2	184, 187	xxv.	2	1	147
	25	1	216		18	2	325
xv.	7	1	10		36	2	163
	33	2	491		40	2	366
xvi.	4	2	66	xxvi.	5—11	2	560
	7	2	528		20	2	88, 118
	20	1	470	xxviii.	24	1	452
	20	2	570	xxx.	8	2	569
xvii.	18	2	167		17	1	398
	20	2	129	xxxi.	8	2	597

## SECOND SAMUEL.

i.	10	2	431	ix.	11	2	347
	19	1	146	x.	4	2	439
	22	2	537		9, 10	2	566
	23	1	493	xi.	1	2	561
	23	2	11		2	2	247
ii.	18	1	583	xii.	3	1	576
	21	2	597		6	2	492
iii.	34	2	480		31	2	591
iv.	7	2	310	xiii.	29	1	438
	12	2	488	xiv.	26	2	294
v.	2	2	127	xvi.	1	1	424
	9	1	102		6	2	545
	23, 24	1	257		9	1	480
vi.	3, 6	1	451		13	2	476
	19	2	358	xvii.	7, 8	1	531
viii.	2	2	591		10	1	494
	13	1	37		28	2	319
ix.	8	1	480	xviii.	8	1	247

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
xviii.	11	2	283	xxi.	10	1	184
	24	2	254, 267		10	2	446
xix.	8	2	267	xxiii.	6	2	215
xx.	15	2	578		20	1	511

## FIRST KINGS.

i.	9	1	453	xvii.	1	1	200
	9	2	352		3	2	51
	33	1	438		4	2	49
iv.	23	1	587	xviii.	5, 6	1	439
	33	1	228		10	2	50
ix.	15	1	102		33	2	210
	26	1	366		45	1	202
x.	1	2	356	xix.	4	1	239
	4, 5	1	104		19	1	448
	22	1	55	xx.	31	1	593
	22	2	112		35, 36	1	508
	25	1	438	xxi.	1	2	222
	26	1	407		4	2	245
xi.	26	2	258		9	2	478
xiii.	24	1	508	xxii.	10	2	202
xiv.	3	2	405		11	2	439
xv.	18	2	410		17	1	465
	20	1	159		19	1	475
xvi.	34	2	582		34	2	530

## SECOND KINGS.

i.	2	2	247	xi.	14	2	433
	4, 16	2	244	xii.	9	2	209
ii.	23, 24	1	533		20	1	103
iii.	4	1	460	xiii.	7	2	206
	16, 17	1	202	xiv.	9	1	137
iv.	8, 24	1	419	xvii.	24	1	503
	10	2	254		25	1	533
	39	1	237	xviii.	8	1	343
	39	2	279		23	2	522
	42	2	405	xix.	9	1	71
vi.	25	1	431		23	1	147
	32	2	481		23	2	564
vii.	12	2	551		28	1	399
	15	2	573	xx.	2	2	244
ix.	1, 2, 3	2	255, 269	xxiii.	3	2	433
	30	2	299		11	1	414
x.	15	2	397		12	2	255
xi.	12	2	429	xxv.	28	2	346

## FIRST CHRONICLES.

v.	21	1	460	xiv.	14	1	257
xi.	4	1	101	xxvi.	16	1	104
	14	2	514	xxvii.	28	1	255
xii.	8	1	496		29	2	130
	15	1	173	xxix.	4	2	497
	40	1	453				

## SECOND CHRONICLES.

v.	12	2	347	vii.	13	1	215
----	----	---	-----	------	----	---	-----

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
vii.	14	2	51	xx.	21	2	602
ix.	11	1	104		20, 21	2	567
ix.	21	2	112		28	2	570
	24	2	406	xxiii.	9	2	600
	28	1	407	xxv.	12	2	487, 592
xi.	4	1	101	xxvi.	15	2	578
xiv.	8	1	218		23	2	474
	9	1	71	xxviii.	19, 22	1	437
xvi.	14	2	448		27	2	474
xviii.	2	1	453	xxxii.	3, 4	2	580
	9	2	202		5	1	104
	16	2	578	xxxv.	7	1	456
xx.	2	1	106				

## EZRA.

ix.	3	2	462	x.	9, 13	1	181
	8	2	260				

## NEHEMIAH.

iii.	15	2	269	ix.	15	2	394
vi.	5	2	440	xiii.	15	2	229
viii.	16	2	247		25	2	497
ix.	15	2	280				

## ESTHER.

i.	6	2	243	viii.	10	1	399, 439
ii.	11	2	377		15	2	423
	12	2	303	ix.	19	2	358
v.	1	2	255		22	2	359
vi.	7	2	466				

## JOB.

i.	3	1	423, 441	xxvii.	18	1	308
	8	1	356	xxix.	2, 19, 20	1	188
	14	1	448		4	2	258, 280
iv.	9, 10	1	501, 518		6	2	164
	19	1	307		7	2	419
viii.	14	1	301	xxx.	1	1	480
ix.	26	2	11		3—7	1	562
xi.	12	1	563		12	2	29
	17	1	349		29	1	356
xiii.	4	2	131	xxxi.	28	2	416
xvii.	3	2	393		36	2	437
xviii.	5, 6	2	258	xxxiii.	18, 24	2	490
	15	2	469	xxxvii.	4	1	498
xix.	3	1	462	xxxviii.	12	2	52
	20	2	590		39	1	504
xx.	14	2	340	xxxix.	1	1	571
	16	1	345		3	2	45
	17	2	165		5	1	556
xxi.	17	2	258		13, 18	2	23
	18	2	206		14	2	25
xxiv.	3	1	429		17	2	27
	5	1	566		19	1	406
	16	2	236		30	2	13
xxvii.	16	2	406	xl.	15	1	369



# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
xl.	18, 19	1	372	xli.	5	2	117
xli.	1	1	381		30	2	167
<i>PSALMS.</i>							
vii.	2	1	495	lxviii.	22, 23	1	476
viii.	6, 7, 8	2	116		31	1	443
x.	9	1	495	lxix.	8	2	365
	10	1	505		23	1	370
xvii.	12	1	505	lxxii.	10	1	73
xviii.	2	2	535		10	2	408
	33	1	567		16	1	140
	40	2	588	lxxiv.	4	1	498
xix.	4	1	40		13, 14	1	380
	4	2	369		19	2	82
xxii.	2, 3	1	499	lxxv.	8	2	333
	12	1	158, 443	lxxviii.	21	2	105
	16	1	476, 494		23	2	51
	21	1	500		26	2	95
xxiii.	1, 2, 3	2	127, 136		27	2	98
	4	2	146		30	1	491
xxv.	15	2	179		45	1	365
xxviii.	1	2	490		47	1	253
xxix.	4	1	138		70	2	127
	6	1	442	lxxix.	2, 3	2	482, 584
	9	1	572		11	2	494
xxxii.	4	1	182		12	2	279
	9	1	435	lxxx.	1	2	127
xxxiv.	11	2	46		13	1	490
xxxvii.	35	2	278, 198	lxxxi.	16	1	216
xxxix.	6	1	590	lxxxiv.	3	2	36, 83, 118
	10, 11	1	307		6	1	257
xl.	10	2	490		9, 11	2	534
xlii.	1	1	134	lxxxix.	12	1	142
xliv.	7	2	296	xc.	13	1	330
	11	2	378	xcii.	10	1	589
	12	2	374, 379		10	2	438
xlvi.	9	2	604		12	1	261
xlvii.	1	2	429	cii.	6	2	34
xlviii.	2, 3	1	157		7	2	119
lv.	7	2	67	civ.	2	2	242
	21	2	539		10, 11	1	560
lvi.	8	2	473		17	2	36
lviii.	5, 6	1	357		18	1	467
	8	1	326		20	1	504
	11	1	517		21	1	497
lix.	14, 15	1	478		21	2	46
	7	2	539		24, 25	1	392
lxv.	13	1	460		27	2	41, 121
lxviii.	4	1	517	cv.	34	1	310
	13	2	63, 70	cvi.	20	1	446
	14	1	153	cvii.	16	2	264
	15	1	149	cix.	23	1	317
	17, 18	2	606	cxix.	37	2	64

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
cxix.	83	2	154	cxxxii.	7	1	366
	176	1	465	cxxxiii.	3	1	142
cxxiii.	1, 2	2	390	cxxxv.	7	1	210
cxxv.	2	1	155	cxxxvii.	1	2	468
cxxvi.	5, 6	2	191	cxl.	4	1	331
cxxviii.	3	2	262	cxliv.	13	1	460
cxxix.	3	2	186	cxlvii.	9	2	45
	7	2	197		16, 17	1	188
cxxxii.	3	2	244	cxlviii.	10	2	116

## PROVERBS.

i.	26, 27	1	204	xxii.	13	1	503
iii.	10	2	202	xxiii.	29, 30	2	332
v.	18, 19	1	576		32	1	340
vi.	1	2	393	xxiv.	26	2	436
	5	1	586		30	2	215
vii.	11	2	380	xxv.	11	1	284
	13, 14	2	292		13	2	335
	16	2	228		14	1	202
	22	1	444		27	2	327
ix.	1	2	336	xxvi.	1	1	184
xi.	1	2	336		11	1	477
	21	2	397		13	1	503
	22	2	304		17	1	479
xii.	18	2	539	xxvii.	15	2	249
xiv.	1	2	380		22	2	307, 488
	4	1	449		23, 27	1	463
xv.	19	2	214		25	2	212
xvi.	14	1	516	xxviii.	1	1	494
	14	2	481		15	1	523
	15	1	198	xxx.	16	1	324
xvii.	12	1	531		17	2	42
	17	1	234		19	2	11
	19	2	240		25	1	299
xix.	11	2	210		26	1	599
	12	1	516		27	1	316
	13	2	249		28	1	302
xx.	1	1	342		29	1	492
	2	1	516		30	1	492
xxi.	1	2	219	xxxi.	15	2	351
	9	2	249		27	2	380
	13	1	338	xxxiv.	6	2	485

## ECCLESIASTES.

ii.	4, 5, 6	2	219	x.	7	2	425
iv.	17	2	256		8	2	215
ix.	4	1	480		20	2	69
	8	2	273	xi.	4	1	189
x.	1	1	338	xii.	5	1	287

## SONG.

i.	5	2	151, 157	i.	11	2	315
	6	2	365		12	1	235
	9	1	414		15	2	64

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
ii.	3	1	284	iv.	16	2	232
	7	1	577	v.	1	1	218
	8, 9,	17	583		1	2	232
	10	1	193		2	2	75
	11	2	81		4	2	265
	12	2	59, 81		5	2	288
	14	2	69, 75		7	2	215, 291
	16	1	231		10	2	558
	35	2	232		11	2	41, 296
iii.	5	1	577		12	2	64
	6	2	372	vi.	2	2	230
	8	1	503		4, 10	2	559
	9, 10	2	525		8	2	75
	11	2	370		11	2	222
iv.	1	1	467	vii.	2	1	231
	2	1	461		3	1	587
	2	2	162		4	1	137
	3	1	265		5	1	147
	5	1	461		5	2	370
	5	2	220		6, 7, 8	1	261
	8	1	132		8	1	284
	9	2	490, 291		11, 12	2	230
10, 11	2		303	viii.	2	1	137
	13	2	222		2	2	333
	15	1	134		14	1	569
	16	1	208				

## ISAIAH.

i.	3	1	431, 444	viii.	8	2	20
	8	2	216		19	1	500
	9	1	307	ix.	10	1	253
	30	2	218		10	2	235
ii.	2	1	140	x.	8	1	367
	4	2	186	xi.	2	1	49
	4	2	604		6, 9	1	332
	13	1	137		8	1	340
iii.	18	2	291, 297		11, 12	1	31
	24	2	304	xiii.	2	2	520
	26	2	468		14	1	586
v.	1	2	184		15	2	581
	8	1	308		18	2	542
	11	2	333		19	1	83
	28	1	408		21	2	28
	29	1	518	xiv.	4	1	82
vi.	6	1	150		29	1	343
vii.	4	1	371	xv.	7	1	378
		2	322	xvi.	10	2	224
	8	1	293	xvii.	6	2	227
	15	2	325		10, 11	2	201
	18	1	293, 312	xx.	3	2	282

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
xxi.	5	2	537	xli.	15	2	207
	7	1	398		18	2	141
	11	2	266		19	1	244
xxii.	13	1	453		25	2	239
	16	2	456	xliii.	2	2	491
	23	2	259		24	1	232
xxiii.	1	1	56		30	1	358
	7, 12	1	97	xliv.	14	1	249
	8	1	367	xlv.	2	2	264
xxiv.	9	1	518		12	2	51
	13	2	227		14	1	249
xxv.	10	2	204	xlvi.	1	2	310
xxvii.	1	1	380		5, 7	1	82
xxviii.	5	2	280		7, 8	1	83
	23, 24, 25	1	450	xlix. 9, 10, 11	2		137
	24	2	187		22	2	382
	26, 27, 28	2	203	i.	3	2	288
xxix.	3	2	577		9	1	307
	5	2	206	ii.	6, 7	1	307
	7	1	39		14	2	490
xxx.	6	1	327		17	2	333
	24	1	417		20	1	598
	24	2	206		23	2	587
xxxi.	4	1	494	lii.	15	2	357
xxxii.	2	1	182	liii.	6	1	465
	11	2	464	lv.	13	1	244
	13, 14	1	558	lvi.	10	1	475, 481
	20	1	427	lviii.	8	1	349
	20	2	190		11	2	220
xxxiii.	15	1	338	lix.	5	1	301, 344
xxxiv.	6	1	457		11	1	526
	7	1	443		11	2	65
	11	2	31, 42		17	2	530
	13	2	28	lx.	6	1	401
xxxv.	2	1	139		8	2	66
	7	1	232	lxi.	11	2	371
	7	2	141	lxiii.	1	2	277, 226
	9	1	518		2	1	277
xxxviii.	4	1	495		12	1	37
	13	1	506		13, 14	1	411
	14	2	65, 84		30	1	358
xl.	3, 4, 5	2	431	lxv.	3	2	213
	11, 12	2	135		4	1	484
	16	1	239		25	1	441
	22	2	142	lxvi.	17	1	485
	31	2	16				
JEREMIAH.							
i.	8	1	467, 286	i.	13	2	324
	9	1	152		19	1	152
	11, 12	2	205	ii.	6	1	223
	11, 12	1	286				



# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
ii.	15	1	497, 506	xxx.	12	1	432
	23	1	399		15	2	472
	24	1	567		19	2	468
	30	1	519		28	1	521
	37	2	466		29	1	273
iv.	3	2	185	xxxiii.	13	2	147
	7	1	506	xxxiv.	2	1	269
	7	2	217		18	2	400
	13	1	408	xxxvi.	22	1	194
	13	2	11		30	1	432
v.	6	1	502, 519		30	2	449
vi.	1	2	580	xxxvii.	21	2	316
viii.	7	2	37, 81	xxxviii.	6	2	493
	17	1	340, 345	xxxix.	6	2	586
ix.	17	2	452	xli.	5	2	462
x.	5	1	261		8	1	308
	13	1	219		8	2	208
xii.	8, 9	1	545	xljii.	12	2	146
xiii.	23	1	520	xlvi.	4	2	530
xiv.	3	2	47		16	2	60
	5	1	574		20	1	441
	6	1	561		23	1	310
xv.	3	1	476	xlvi.	4	1	75
xvi.	6	2	452	xlvi.	11	2	335
	7, 8	2	469		28	2	69
xvii.	6	1	169, 560		37	2	452
	8	2	219		40	2	11, 19
xviii.	14	1	134	xlix.	8, 30	2	173
xix.	9	2	576		16	2	12
xx.	9	2	514		19	1	174
xxii.	14	2	243		22	2	19
xxiii.	1	2	132	i.	8	1	467
xxiv.	17	2	469		16	2	60
xxv.	10	2	309		23	1	82
	15, 16	2	486	li.	20	1	82
	30	1	498		21	2	541
	38	2	60		27	1	51
xxvi.	10	2	359		34	1	356
	18	2	582				

## LAMENTATIONS.

ii.	10	2	468	iv.	19	2	11
iii.	10	1	528	v.	4	2	144
iv.	3	2	26		13	2	378
	5	2	320				

## EZEKIEL.

i.	10	1	515	iv.	1	2	577
	10, 11	2	18		9	2	87

# INDEX.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
iv.	12	2	321	xxvi.	3	1	99
v.	16, 17	2	544		3	2	581
vi.	13	1	248		8, 9	2	579
vii.	16	2	65, 70	xxvii.	3	2	9
ix.	2	2	282		6	1	151
xiii.	4	1	548		12	1	54
	8	2	244		13	1	59
	11	2	237		14	1	407
	11	1	184		15	1	577
	18	2	298		22	1	10
	19	2	316	xxix.	3	1	395
xv.	3	2	259		10	1	71
xvi.	3, 4, 5	2	381	xxxi.	18	1	437
	8, 14	1	606	xxxii.	26	1	60
xvii.	7	2	221		27	2	585
	8	2	18	xxxiii.	2	2	265
xix.	2	1	507		3	2	266
	3	1	512		4	1	308
	6, 7	1	498		30	1	191
	8	1	512	xxxiv.	2	2	133
	10	2	97		11	2	137
	12	2	97		12	1	464
xx.	6, 15	1	587		25	2	160
xxi.	21	2	568	xxxviii.	2	1	61
xxii.	25	1	497		6	1	52
	27	1	538		13	1	72
xxiii.	3, 4, 5	1	100		38	1	61
xxiv.	17	2	467	xxxix.	4	1	515
xxv.	4	2	191		18	1	152, 596

## DANIEL.

ii.	46	2	420	vii.	9	2	41, 297
iv.	29	2	249	viii.	2	1	41, 68
	30	1	38, 80		3, 4	1	458
v.	14	1	513	ix.	14	1	520
	21	1	558		25	2	167
vi.	18	2	463	x.	20	1	56
	24	1	506	xi.	2	1	56
vi.	27	1	501		43	1	309
vii.	5	1	534		30	1	56

## HOSEA.

ii.	6	2	214	x.	11	2	441, 205
	19	2	75	xi.	8	1	161
v.	14	1	505, 595		11	2	66, 75
vii.	11	2	74	xiii.	3	2	202, 207
viii.	1	2	19		7	1	520
x.	2	1	453, 460		8	1	506
	11	1	441, 448	xiv.	15	2	97

# INDEX.

## JOEL.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
i.	5	2	331	ii.	9	2	134
	6	1	501		28	1	198
	6—12	1	203	iii.	3	2	388
	13	2	288		10	2	185
ii. 2, 3, 9, 10		1	313		16	1	498

## AMOS.

i.	2	1	148	iv.	13	1	349
	2, 3	1	148	vi.	4	1	452
	5	1	129		4, 5, 6	2	244, 347
	7, 10, 14	2	236		10	2	453
ii.	9	1	151		11	2	238
iii.	4	1	497		12	1	449
	12	1	466	vii.	1	2	211
	12	2	419		14	1	250
	19	2	270	viii.	8	1	389
iv.	1	1	152	ix.	3	2	148
	7, 8	1	199		3	2	51
	11	2	322		13	2	193

## OBADIAH.

i.	11	2	589	v.	4	2	12
----	----	---	-----	----	---	---	----

## JONAH.

ii.	3	1	208	iii.	6, 7, 8	2	465
	10	2	51	iv.	11	1	91

## MICAH.

i.	6	2	15	iv.	13	2	205
	8	1	90	v.	6	1	89
ii.	2	1	309	vi.	15	1	279
	12	1	465		15	1	279, 226
iv.	4	1	254	vii.	14	1	148
	13	1	372		14	2	151, 146

## NAHUM.

i.	8	1	90	iii.	14	2	239
ii.	7	2	66, 438		15	1	310
	10	2	494		17	1	268, 313
	12	1	589	vi.	13	1	254
iii.	12	1	254				

## HABAKKUK.

i.	8	1	408	iii.	9	1	366
	8	2	563		9	2	542
	10	2	576		15	2	101
ii.	8	1	133		18	1	267
iii.	7	1	70		19	1	568

# INDEX.

## ZEPHANIAH

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page
ii.	9	1	170	iii.	3	1	539
	14	2	42				

## ZECHARIAH.

i.	18	1	244	xi.	1	1	140
iii.	2	2	322		2	1	140
	3	2	479		3	2	235
	10	1	254		7	2	402
	10	2	352		16	2	131
v.	9	2	39	xiii.	4	2	288
ix.	3	1	99		6	2	452
	3	2	167		7	1	465
	9	1	418	xiv.	18	1	201
x.	2	1	465		20	2	524
	4	2	260				

## MALACHI.

i.	8	2	409	iv.	3	2	239
iv.	2	1	443				

## MATTHEW.

ii.	11	2	405	xviii.	6	2	486
iii.	7	1	329		26, 29	2	412
	12	2	208		34	2	495
vi.	19, 20	1	309	xix.	4	2	364
	28, 30	2	323		15	2	370
vii.	3	1	404		24	1	402
	6	1	481	xx.	16	2	515
	15	1	538, 542	xxi.	5	1	426
viii.	20	1	546	xxii.	2	2	336
	28	1	107		2	2	376
ix.	1	1	159		4	1	452
	36	1	465		11	2	375
x.	9	2	282	xxiii.	6	2	341
	16	2	73		24	1	333, 403
	29	2	121		27, 29	2	459
	42	2	144		33	1	330
xi.	17	2	451		37	2	111
	21	2	466	xxiv.	17	2	245
xii.	42	2	478		18	2	189
xiii.	30	2	208		28	2	20
	31, 32	1	244		50, 51	2	486
xiv.	26	1	480	xxv.	6	2	374
xv.	2	2	342		32	2	138
	5	2	399	xxvi.	23	2	340
	11	1	480		34	2	107
	27	1	476	xxvii.	48	1	228
xvii.	2	2	347				

## MARK.

ii.	3, 4	2	250	xiii.	15	2	245
vi.	8	2	282		35	2	106
	21	2	305	xiv.	3	2	348
vii.	3, 4	2	342		3, 5	1	235
	11	2	144	xv.	36	1	228
	41	2	329	xvi.	5	2	347, 459



# INDEX.

## LUKE.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
i.	28	2	199	xiii.	8	2	185
ii.	4, 5	2	369		24	2	357
	17	2	257		32	1	554
v.	19	2	241, 245		34	2	111
vi.	38	2	279	xiv.	5	1	436
	48	1	497		7, 8	2	341
vii.	44	2	342		16	2	305, 426
ix.	29	1	149		16, 17	2	335, 336
	62	2	186	xv.	23	1	452
x.	9	1	325		23, 27, 30	2	325
	19	1	322		25	2	355
xi.	5, 6	2	314	xvii.	6	1	253
	11, 12	1	323		8	2	279
xii.	6	2	121		12	1	429
	27, 54	1	186, 187	xix.	43	2	576, 581
	55	1	207	xxii.	34	2	107
xiii.	5	1	430				

## JOHN

ii.	8, 9	2	350	xii.	3, 8	1	235
iv.	11	2	144		13, 14	1	264
viii.	59	2	545	xiii.	23	2	340
x.	1	2	134, 161		38	2	108
	5	2	150	xvi.	13	2	80
xi.	19	2	470		21	1	572
	44	2	459	xix.	39	1	228
xii.	2	2	305	xxi.	18	2	574

## ACTS.

v.	6	2	447	xxii.	23	2	477
x.	9	2	247		24	2	479
	15	1	485	xxiv.	23	2	492
	25, 28	2	413	xxv.	7	2	479
xii.	10	2	264	xxviii.	6	1	327
xvi.	24	2	495		30	2	492
xx.	29	1	588, 542				

## ROMANS.

iii.	13	1	530	xiv.	14	1	485
vii.	24	2	593	xvi.	19	2	73
viii.	26	2	80				

## FIRST CORINTHIANS.

iv.	9	2	498	ix.	27	2	502
v.	32	2	498	x.	25	1	486
vii.	2	2	364	xi.	4	2	467
viii.	5	2	131		14	2	293
	8	1	486	xvi.	9	2	511
ix.	26	2	504				

## SECOND CORINTHIANS.

vi.	14	1	428	x.	14	2	510
-----	----	---	-----	----	----	---	-----

## GALLATIANS

v.	22	2	80
----	----	---	----

## EPHESIANS.

iv.	8	2	606	vi.	15	2	533
vi.	12	2	503		16	2	535
	14	2	528, 532		17	2	529

# INDEX.

## PHILLIPPIANS.

Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.	Chapter.	Verse.	Volume.	Page.
iii.	2	1	481	iii.	14	2	481, 509

## COLOSSIANS.

ii.	14	2	402	ii.	16, 20	1	485
	15	2	606				

## FIRST THESSALONIANS.

iv.	17	2	608	v.	8	2	529
-----	----	---	-----	----	---	---	-----

## SECOND THESSALONIANS.

iii.	1	2	511
------	---	---	-----

## FIRST TIMOTHY.

ii.	9	2	293	v.	14	2	379
iv.	4	1	486				

## SECOND TIMOTHY.

ii.	5	2	502	iv.	17	1	500
iv.	7, 8	2	607				

## TITUS.

i.	5	1	486	ii.	4, 5	2	380
----	---	---	-----	-----	------	---	-----

## HEBREWS.

xi.	53	1	500	xii.	7, 8	2	383
xii.	1	2	504, 508	xiii.	20	2	131
	4	2	505				

## JAMES.

i.	12	2	607	iii.	7	1	563
----	----	---	-----	------	---	---	-----

## FIRST PETER.

i.	4	2	512	iii.	3	2	293
	4, 5	2	131	v.	4	2	512
ii.	23	1	461		8	1	518

## SECOND PETER.

ii.	22	1	488
-----	----	---	-----

## FIRST JOHN.

ii.	14	2	535	v.	4	2	535
-----	----	---	-----	----	---	---	-----

## REVELATION.

i.	14	2	41	ix.	8	1	501
	16	2	559	x.	3	1	499
ii.	10	2	607	xi.	3	2	288
	17	2	426, 480	xii.	14	2	12
iii.	4	2	547	xiii.	2	1	500, 536
	21	2	608		16	2	387
vi.	12	2	288	xiv.	10	2	533
vii.	9	1	264		18	2	227
	9	2	513, 603	xvi.	13, 14	1	367
	17	2	157	xviii.	22	2	509
ix.	3	1	322	xxi.	2	2	375
	1-10	1	319	xxii.	10	2	414
	3, 5, 6	1	323		15	1	481

FINIS.

# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

**Geography of the New Testament.**





AN  
INTRODUCTION

TO THE  
GEOGRAPHY

OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT;

COMPRISING A

GEOGRAPHICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE PLACES MENTIONED  
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT;

With a Brief Statement of the Connexion in which they respectively occur.

With several Maps.

---

---

BY LANT CARPENTER, LL. D.

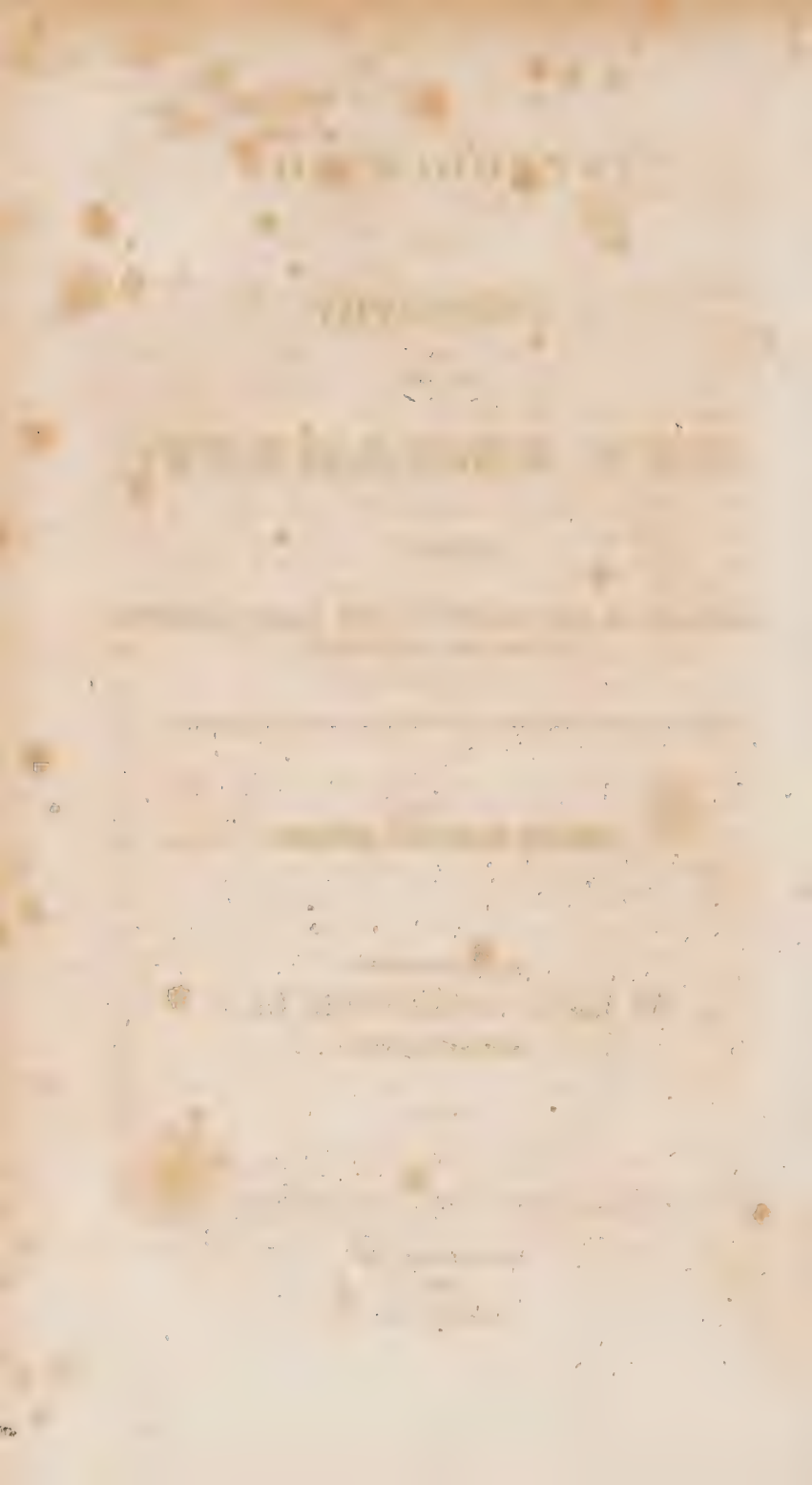
---

---

*[Printed to accompany Paxton's "Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures."]*

PHILADELPHIA, 1822.

—◆—  
J. Anderson, Printer.



## PREFACE.

---

THE Gospel of Jesus affords the clearest information respecting human duty, and is the only certain guide as to human expectations. Hence, whatever directs the attention and the interest of the mind, to the records of the Christian revelation, must be of high practical value. Whatever increases our acquaintance with the Scriptures, must tend to give such a direction; and it is hoped that the following sheets will, in this view, be beneficial among the young. In drawing them up, I proposed to myself no other end than the promotion of an acquaintance with the Scriptures; particularly among those in whose religious culture I am deeply interested by my situation.

“I do not think it necessary,” says Le Clerk,\* “to point out the utility and value of Sacred Geography; for every one who reads the Holy Bible with any attention, and with a disposition to understand it thoroughly, as far as possible, must acknowledge, that there are very many passages which cannot be understood, without at least a moderate acquaintance with Sacred Geography; and therefore no one but the careless reader of the Scriptures, will deny that this branch of sacred knowledge is peculiarly useful. This alone appears sufficient to excite all who are desirous of understanding the Scriptures, to endeavour to gain a competent acquaintance with Sacred Geography.”

---

In the compilation of this Geography, I have employed in any way that best answered my purpose, the works of the following authors:—Schleusner, Whitby, Wells, Reland, Lardner, Paley, Michaelis, Beausobre

\* Præf. in Geogr. Sacr. N. Sanson auct

and L'Enfant, Calmet, D'Anville, Cellarius, Lightfoot, Clarke's Fleury, Pretymán, and Newcome. In a few instances, perhaps, the very words of another may have been used without a reference.

The *names* printed in Roman capitals, and Roman small capitals, are employed in the New Testament; so also those names of towns and villages which are printed in Italics. The Roman capitals are used for the leading divisions; the Roman small capitals for the subdivisions and islands.

Those passages which are included in brackets, may be passed over by the *junior* pupil when first going through the work.—In the table at the end of the Appendix, (intended also for his use) the names are accented according to Walker and Lempriere—the *remarks* at the head are principally from the former.



# CONTENTS.



INTRODUCTORY Remarks . . . . .	9
CHAPTER I. Principal Countries and Islands . . . . .	10
CHAPTER II. Countries and Islands in Europe . . . . .	11
Sect. I. Spain . . . . .	11
Sect. II. Italy; with Sicily and Melita . . . . .	11
Sect. III. Illyricum . . . . .	12
Sect. IV. Macedonia; with Samothrace . . . . .	12
Sect. V. Achaia or Greece; with Crete and Claudia . . . . .	14
CHAPTER III. Countries and Islands in Asia . . . . .	15
Sect. I. Asia (Minor) and adjacent Islands . . . . .	16
Sect. II. Syria, comprehending Abilene . . . . .	22
Sect. III. Phœnice . . . . .	23
Sect. IV. Palæstine . . . . .	23
1. Galilee . . . . .	27
2. Samaria . . . . .	30
3. Judæa and Idumæa . . . . .	31
4. The Country beyond the Jordan . . . . .	37
Sect. V. The Countries East of the Euphrates . . . . .	39
Sect. VI. Arabia . . . . .	41
CHAPTER IV. Countries in Africa . . . . .	41
Sect. I. Ægypt . . . . .	41
Sect. II. Libya . . . . .	42
Sect. III. Æthiopia . . . . .	42
General Remarks . . . . .	42
APPENDIX. Notes . . . . .	45
Table of Distances of Places in Palæstine, &c. . . . .	46
—— Names of Places, &c. accented and divided . . . . .	47

THE MAPS TO BE PLACED AS FOLLOWS:

No. 1. The Countries spoken of in the New Testament . . .	9
No. 2. Greece, Asia Minor, &c. . . . .	11
No. 3. Palæstine . . . . .	23
No. 4. Jerusalem . . . . .	33

# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

## GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE ancients were totally unacquainted with the north-eastern parts of Europe, with the northern and north-eastern parts of Asia, with the central parts of Africa, and (except the coasts merely) with the southern parts. As they were unable to venture far from land, they had, of course, no acquaintance with those parts of the earth which lie somewhat remote from the eastern continent. Of the countries with which they were acquainted, their knowledge was very limited with respect to those which did not form a part of the Roman empire.

At the period of the New Testament history, the Romans had subjected to their power the central and southern parts of Europe, the central and western parts of Asia, and the northern parts of Africa; and in these parts of the world were comprehended most of those countries which are mentioned in the New Testament.

2. [The *World*, as the word is used in the New Testament, sometimes means the whole inhabited world; sometimes it means the Roman empire; sometimes, only a particular region. The original word, which signifies *inhabited* (land), is employed in a similar way by the heathen writers. The word *Earth*, as it is used in the New Testament, has the same meaning with *World*. Of course these remarks refer merely to the *geographical* employment of the words.]

3. The only seas which are spoken of in the New Testament are, the Mediterranean Sea, the RED SEA, and the SEA OF GALILEE.

The Mediterranean (the Great Sea of the Old Testament) is not mentioned by any general name; but the names of particular parts of it are mentioned. The Gulf of Venice was anciently called *Adria*, or the Adriatic Sea; the sea lying between Greece. and Italy and Sicily, was called the Ionian

Sea; and to both of these together, the name *Adria* or *Adriatic Sea* was applied. It is in this sense that **ADRIA** is used in the New Testament.—The sea between *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, was called the *Ægean Sea*, now the *Archipelago*. It is frequently spoken of in the *Acts*, but its name is not mentioned in the New Testament. That part of the *Mediterranean* which lay south of the east part of *Asia Minor*, is mentioned by the name of the **SEA OF CILICIA AND PAMPHYLIA**, from the adjoining countries.\*

The **RED SEA** is the same with the *Arabian Gulf*. Over the NW. branch the *Israelites* passed, when they were flying from *Egypt*.

The **SEA OF GALILEE** was a lake in *Galilee*, which will be particularly mentioned hereafter. The *Jews* were accustomed to give the appellation *sea* to every large collection of water.

When the *sea* is spoken of alone, it generally means in the *Gospels* the *Sea of Galilee*; in the *Acts*, &c. it either means the *Mediterranean*, or the *Red Sea*.

## CHAP. I.

### *Principal Countries and Islands.*

4. The principal countries spoken of in the New Testament are as follow:

In Europe, **SPAIN**, **ITALY**, **ILLYRICUM**, **MACE-  
DONIA**, and **ACHAIA** or **GREECE**;

In Asia, **ASIA** (or *Asia Minor*), **SYRIA**, **PHŒNICE**, *Palestine*, **MESOPOTAMIA**, **CHALDÆA**, *Assyria*, **ME-  
DIA**, **ELAM** (or *Persia*), **PARTHIA**, and **ARABIA**;

In Africa, **ÆGYPT**, **LYBIA**, and **ÆTHIOPIA**.

The Islands spoken of in the New Testament, are **SICILY**, **MELITA**, **SAMOTHRACE**, **CRETE**, and **CLAUDA**, in Europe; and **Lesbos**, **CHIOS**, **SAMOS**, **PATMOS**, **COS**, **RHODES** and **CYPRUS**, in Asia.

\* It admits of doubt, however, whether there were such an appellation. The expression in *Acts* xxvii. 5. allows at least of this translation, "And sailing through the sea which lies along Cilicia and Pamphylia."



## CHAP. II.

*Countries and Islands in Europe.*

## SECTION I.

## SPAIN.

5. Spain nearly corresponds to the country now called by that name. Paul, in his letter to the Romans, speaks of an intended journey thither; whether he accomplished his intention is uncertain.

## SECTION II.

## ITALY; with SICILY and MELITA.

6. Ancient ITALY corresponds to the country now so called. Near the centre of the west coast was *Rome*, the capital. At the period of the New Testament history, Rome was the chief city in the world. It was built 753 years before the Christian era. At first the power of the Romans was confined to within a few miles from their little town. By degrees they so much extended it, that, about 700 years after their state was founded, they had made themselves masters of the principal countries then known.—Paul went twice to Rome; first, in the year 61, in consequence of his appeal to Cæsar; and again probably in 64. In this year there was a severe persecution of the Christians in Rome, during which Paul was probably imprisoned, and soon after beheaded near the city, A. D. 65. \*During his first imprisonment, which lasted two years, A. D. 61—63, he wrote the letters to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon; and in his second imprisonment he most probably wrote his second letter to Timothy. Before he left Italy, after his first imprisonment, he is supposed to have written the letter to the Hebrews.—The apostle Peter probably went to Rome about A. D. 63 or 64, after Paul's first imprisonment, and thence wrote his two epistles. It is generally believed that he was crucified there, with his head downwards, about the same time that Paul was beheaded. Mark probably accompanied Peter to Rome, and there compiled his Gospel, A. D. 63 or 64.

\* See Appendix.

7. In the first voyage of Paul to Rome, the vessel was wrecked near a small island called *MELITA*, which lies between Sicily and Africa. Paul remained there three months; and then he and his fellow voyagers departed in another vessel, and landed at *Syracuse*, the principal city in Sicily, on the east side of the island. Syracuse was founded by a Corinthian colony; it was besieged and sacked by the Roman Marcellus; and it was the residence of Archimedes, a very celebrated mathematician.—Having remained there three days, the vessel sailed to *Rhegium*, a seaport in the south of Italy, situated on the strait of Messina. The next day they reached *Puteoli*, on the bay of Naples, about eight miles to the west of Naples. There Paul remained seven days; and went thence by land to Rome. On his road thither he was met by some Christians at *Apri Forum*, and by others at the *Three Taverns*.\*

### SECTION III.

## ILLYRICUM.

8. *ILLYRICUM* is the ancient name of that part of the Austrian and Turkish empires, which lies along the eastern coast of the Gulf of Venice, as far south as the Gulf of Drin. †It does not appear that Paul ever taught the Christian religion in this country;‡ but he travelled to its very confines when he taught in all the parts of Macedonia, A. D. 56—57. The southern part of Illyricum was called *DALMATIA*, whither Titus travelled.

### SECTION IV.

## MACEDONIA; with SAMOTHRACE.

9. [In the most extensive application of the name, Greece denoted all the south-eastern part of Europe which lay south of Illyricum, Moesia, and Thrace; nearly corresponding to Albania, the western part of Romelia, and the Morea, in European Turkey. In this application, the word Greece is not employed in the New Testament.]

Greece in its greatest extent, comprehended Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Greece proper, and the Peloponnesus.

\* Wells says that Apri Forum was 50 miles from Rome, and the Three Taverns 20 miles.

† See Appendix, ‡ See Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, p. 48.

The Romans divided the whole into two provinces: MACE-  
DONIA, comprehending Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly;  
ACHAIA, comprehending Greece proper, and the Pelopon-  
nesus.

When Macedonia is joined with Achaia, in the New Testa-  
ment, it means the Roman province; when used alone it  
means the country, or Macedonia proper.

10. [MACEDONIA lies adjoining to Illyricum on the  
NW., Mœsia on the N., and Thrace (to which the north-  
eastern part once belonged) on the E. Its other limits were  
the Ægean Sea, Thessaly, Epirus, and the Adria.]

To the south of Thrace is the small island called SAMO-  
THRACE, by which Paul passed in his way from Asia to Ma-  
cedonia, A. D. 51. Thence he sailed to *Neapolis*, a town on  
the coast of the most eastern part of Macedonia. He then  
went by land to *Philippi*, NW. of Neapolis, a Roman colony,  
and a chief town in that part of Macedonia.—[*Colonies* were  
those lands or towns which Roman citizens were sent to in-  
habit. *Municipal* or *free towns*, were those which had ob-  
tained the rights of Roman citizens. The municipal towns  
used their own laws; the colonies used the laws prescribed  
to them by the Romans. The magistrates of each were of  
nearly the same kind. The difference being so small, it shews  
the accuracy of Luke in calling Philippi a colony; for we  
learn, from a medal, that a colony was sent thither by Julius  
Cæsar.\*] At Philippi Paul converted several persons to  
Christianity, (among whom was Lydia, a seller of purple  
garments, from Thyatira,) and they seem to have felt great  
gratitude to the Apostle, and at different times they assisted  
him with money. After remaining there several days, he  
and his companion Silas were beaten, and thrown into pri-  
son; but they were soon set at liberty. They then left Phi-  
lippi, and passing through *Amphipolis*, (a town surrounded by  
the river Strymon,) and the city *Apollonia*, went to *Thessalo-  
nica*. This city was, in the time of Paul, the metropolis of  
Macedonia, and was a place of great resort. Among the in-  
habitants were a great number of Jews, who had a synagogue,  
in which Paul taught. He converted a few of the Jews, and  
a great number of those Gentiles who had learned to worship  
the true God; and some perhaps of the idolatrous Gentiles.  
But the unbelieving Jews raised a tumult, and the Christians  
sent Paul, by night, to *Beræa*, a considerable town lying  
about 39 miles westwards from Thessalonica. Here also he

\* See Marsh's translation of Michaelis; vol. iv. page 152.

converted many, who obtained the approbation of the Apostle by their diligence in searching the Scriptures. As soon, however, as the Jews of Thessalonica knew that Paul was at Berea, some of them came, and excited a tumult there also; and he was then conveyed to Athens.

11. [Besides these places in the Roman province of Macedonia, mention is made of one whose situation is doubtful.] *Nicopolis* [is by some supposed to have been the city of that name in Macedonia proper; by others, in Thrace: most probably, however, it] was in Epirus, near the promontory of Actium. \*Here it is probable that Paul passed his winter (A. D. 63—64), between his first and second imprisonments at Rome, and from some of the neighbouring parts of Macedonia, wrote his first letter to Timothy, and that to Titus.

#### SECTION V.

#### ACHAIA or GREECE; with CRETE and CLAUDA.

12. ACHAIA, or GREECE, is the name of that Roman division of Greece, which comprehended all the country south of Thessaly and Epirus. It contained two principal parts; Greece, properly so called, and the Peloponnesus, which is a peninsula connected with the east part of Greece proper, by the isthmus of Corinth.

In Greece proper, while it was independent, there were several small states. The south-eastern state was named Attica, and *Athens* was its chief city. This city had been the metropolis of a very powerful though small commonwealth. Its inhabitants were distinguished for their military talents; and still more for their learning, eloquence and politeness. Paul came hither when he was driven from Macedonia. He found the inhabitants very prone to idolatry,—very inquisitive, and, consequently, talkative,—and much occupied in philosophical and religious disputations. Near the middle of the city was a hill on which the supreme court of justice had its place of assembly. The hill was called *Areopagus*, or *Mars' Hill*, and the court had the same name. The judges were called *Areopagites*.

From Athens, towards the end of the year 51, Paul went to *Corinth*, which was the chief city of the proconsular province of Achaia. Corinth was peculiarly well situated for commerce. It was the resort of several philosophers and orators;

\* See Appendix.



and it was noted for the wealth, the pride, and the profligacy of its inhabitants. Near this city, were celebrated the Isthmian games, to which we have a beautiful allusion in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, (ix. 24, &c.) Paul resided in Corinth about a year and a half, teaching the Christian religion, and gaining his livelihood by his personal labour. Leaving Corinth in the beginning of the year 53, he went to *Cenchrea*, a seaport to the eastward, and there embarked for Asia. It appears highly probable that Paul revisited Corinth in the year 64, after his first imprisonment.

13. To the SE. of Greece lay CRETE, a fertile island very much celebrated in Grecian history. The inhabitants were rendered infamous by their vices; and so great was their inattention to truth, that, among the Greeks and Romans, to *cretize* was a proverbial expression for lying. In Paul's first voyage to Rome, A. D. 60, the vessel was obliged to pass under the east and south coasts of Crete. On the east was a promontory called *Salmon*; and on the south was a place called *Fair Havens*, and near it the town *Lasea*. The exact situation of both of these last mentioned places is unknown. On the west of the south coast was *Phoenix*, where the mariners hoped to winter; but the vessel was driven under a little island named *CLAUDA*, which lay southwards of the western part of Crete, if, as is probable, *Clauda* is the *Gaudos* of the ancients.—\*It is probable that Paul visited Crete soon after his first imprisonment at Rome. He then left Titus there; and afterwards wrote to him from the neighbourhood of *Nicopolis*.

---

### CHAP. III.

#### *Countries and Islands in Asia.*

14. [Among the ancient geographers, the appellation Asia, in its most extensive application, comprehended all those parts of the modern division of Asia with which they were acquainted. In a more limited application, it comprehended that part only which lies between the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas; and this was also called Asia minor. In a still more limited sense it was applied to the Roman proconsular province, which comprehended Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria, in-

\* See Appendix.

cluding the districts of Troas, Æolia, Ionia, and Doris. In its least extensive sense, Asia denoted the country round Ephesus.

In its most extensive application, the appellation Asia is not employed in the New Testament. ASIA there means, either Asia minor; or, the country round Ephesus; or, the proconsular province. It is sometimes doubtful in which of these three applications the word is used by the writers of the New Testament; but by Paul and Luke, it seems generally to be employed in the least extensive signification, denoting the country round Ephesus.]

#### SECTION I.

#### ASIA (*minor*); and the adjacent Islands.

15. ASIA (*minor*) comprehended the following countries: In the north, MYSIA (including the TROAS), BITHYNIA, Paphlagonia, and PONTUS;

In the middle, Lydia (including Æolia and Ionia), PHRYGIA (including LYCAONIA and Isauria), GALATIA, and CAPPADOCIA;

And, in the south, Caria (including Doris), LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA (with PISIDIA), and CILICIA.

#### MYSIA, including the TROAS, and Lesbos.

16. MYSIA is the most westerly country in the N. of Asia minor. The western part of this division was called the TROAS, from the celebrated town of Troy. In it was a seaport called *Troas*, and another called *Assos* lying southwards from Troas. Paul visited Troas several times; and twice sailed thence to Macedonia. When he was there on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem, A. D. 57 or 58, he raised Eutychus to life. Opposite to the island of Lesbos was the seaport *Adramyttium*; and to the S. of this town was *Pergamus*, once the regal city of Attalus, in which was one of the seven Christian communities mentioned in the Revelation.

About seven miles from the SW. coast of Mysia is the island Lesbos; on the east coast of which is *Mitylene*, the chief town of the island.

#### BITHYNIA.

17. BITHYNIA lay along the coast of the Euxine, to the NE. of Mysia. Paul once intended to go into Bithynia, but

was directed by the Spirit to take a different course. This is one of those countries in which the dispersed Jews dwelt, to whom Peter addressed his first letter.

*Paphlagonia.*

18. Paphlagonia joined Bithynia on the W., and Galatia on the S. It is not mentioned in the New Testament.

PONTUS.

19. PONTUS was the most easterly of those countries in Asia minor, which lie on the coast of the Euxine. It is twice mentioned in the New Testament; but it is not said that any of the Apostles travelled thither.

*Lydia, including Æolia and Ionia; with ASIA and the Islands CHIOS and SAMOS.*

20. Lydia is the central region of the W. of Asia minor, to the S. of Mysia. The sea coast was occupied by Grecians; the northern part of it was called Æolia; the middle and southern, Ionia.

About 43 miles eastward of Pergamus was *Thyatira*, the native town of Lydia. To the SW. of Thyatira is *Smyrna*, a celebrated seaport; and to the SE. is *Sardis*, once the regal city of the country. About 34 miles SE. of Sardis was *Philadelphia*. In this city was one of the seven churches of Asia to which letters are addressed in the Revelation. The others were, in the three preceding towns, and in Pergamus, Laodicea, and Ephesus. *Ephesus* is situated about five miles from the sea, on the river Cayster. It was the capital of the proconsular province of Asia. It was very much celebrated for a magnificent temple of Diana, which was built at the expense of all the provinces of Asia, and occupied 220 years in building. Some of the inhabitants enriched themselves by making small models of the temple for strangers. [The higher classes of the people seem to have been addicted to the study of magic, or that pretended science which professed to teach, how to produce wonderful effects by secret and generally inadequate causes.] Paul went to Ephesus from Corinth, in the year 53; but he remained there for a short time only. He returned at the close of the same year, and dwelt there almost three years, till the middle of 56, when, in consequence of a riot raised by one of those persons who made shrines or mo-

dels of the temple, he departed for Macedonia. About the beginning of the same year, he wrote at Ephesus his first letter to the Corinthians. He probably revisited this city after his first imprisonment at Rome, about the beginning of 64.—In Ephesus the apostle John resided, probably from about the time when the final Jewish war commenced (A. D. 66), till his death, which was at the end of the first century. Within a few years after he fixed at Ephesus, he probably wrote his Gospel; and within 20 years before his death, his three letters.—Timothy was appointed by Paul to superintend the Christian community at Ephesus, A. D. 64; and it is supposed that he suffered martyrdom there towards the end of the first century.

At the SW. limit of Ionia was *Trogyllium*, a town on a promontory of the same name. Here Paul remained a short time in his voyage from Macedonia to Jerusalem, A. D. 58.

21. The district round Ephesus was termed Asia by Strabo, a geographer who lived about A. D. 25. This geographical division is frequently termed ASIA in the New Testament; and it probably comprehended the adjacent parts of Ionia, Lydia, and Caria.

22. The islands of CHIOS and SAMOS lie near the coast of Ionia. Chios is opposite to Smyrna, about twelve miles from the coast. Samos lies SE. of Chios, about five miles from the promontory of Trogyllium. They are mentioned in the account of Paul's voyage from Macedonia to Jerusalem.

### PHRYGIA, including LYCAONIA and Isauria.

23. PHRYGIA lay to the E. of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria. Near the SE. part of Lydia, and very near each other, were *Hierapolis*, *Colossæ*, and *Laodicea*. Hierapolis was the chief town in the west part of Phrygia. Colossæ was at a small distance to the east; and to the south, at about six miles from Hierapolis, was Laodicea. These three towns were probably visited by Paul in the year 50; and many of their inhabitants were converted to Christianity.

24. To the E. of Phrygia proper was a district called LYCAONIA, sometimes comprehended under the general appellation of Phrygia. The inhabitants are supposed to have used a language compounded of Greek and Syriac, similar to that employed in Cappadocia.

[In the geographical arrangement adopted in the Acts. Lycaonia seems to have included Isauria, a district nearer to the Mediterranean; for two of the cities mentioned as being in Lycaonia were situated in Isauria. And here it may be



remarked once for all, that the means of geographical knowledge were so scanty in the period of which we are speaking, and the divisions, owing to almost continual wars, were so frequently varying, that we must not be surprised to find very different plans of arrangement, in different writers, even of the same age.\* Hence, too, a great diversity in our maps of ancient geography. The means of knowledge are so few, that complete agreement cannot be expected. In drawing up this Introduction to the Geography of the New Testament, it has been the endeavour to employ the best authorities, and to decide with tolerable accuracy among differing ones: and in the maps which accompany this Introduction, the plan of arrangement is similar to that adopted in it.]

The chief city of Lycaonia was *Iconium*. It was visited by Paul and Barnabas in the year 45; and they converted many of its inhabitants, both Jews and Gentiles. But being informed of a plot laid, by the unbelieving Jews and their rulers, to stone them, they went to *Lystra*, about 50 miles southwards from Iconium. There Paul healed a man who had been lame from his birth, and by this miracle so much excited the reverence of the people, that they were desirous to offer sacrifices to them, as gods. Soon after, however, being instigated by the unbelieving Jews from Iconium, they stoned Paul, and dragged him out of the city, supposing him to be dead. The next day Paul and Barnabas departed to *Derbe*, about 20 miles S.E. of Lystra; and having made many converts there, returned through Lystra and Iconium to Antioch, &c. Paul revisited these towns about the year 50. In this journey, probably at Derbe, the Apostle received Timothy as his companion and fellow-labourer.

#### GALATIA.

25. GALATIA lay to the N. of Phrygia and Lycaonia; and to the S. of Bithynia and Paphlagonia. This country was peopled, in part, by some Gauls, who having, with others from their countrymen, ranged over Italy and burnt Rome, came hither A. C. 270, to assist Nicomedes the king of Bithynia. We learn from an ancient Christian writer, that these strangers preserved their language for above 600 years.

\* For instance; Iconium is placed by Xenophon (A. C. 359) in Phrygia; by Strabo (A. D. 25), in Lycaonia; by Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 390), in Pisidia; and by Pliny (A. D. 79), in Cilicia. See Schleusner, who thinks that in the time of Paul Iconium belonged to Pisidia; but there appears to be nothing in the New Testament to determine the point; and Strabo's authority, which is the most to the purpose, is against Schleusner's opinion.

Galatia was noted for its fertility and commerce, and for the great mixture of its inhabitants, among whom were many Jews. Paul visited Galatia A. D. 50 or 51, and founded in it many Christian communities. In 52 he wrote a letter to these churches from Corinth; and revisited them in the year 53.

#### CAPPADOCIA.

26. CAPPADOCIA lay SE. of Galatia, and E. of Lycaonia. The inhabitants were of Syrian extraction. It does not appear that Paul travelled in this country; but it is twice mentioned in the New Testament.

CARIA, *with the islands* PATMOS, COS, *and* RHODES.

27. CARIA is the south-western district of Asia minor. The western part of it, called Doris, was occupied by Grecian colonies. In Doris was *Miletus*, a very celebrated maritime city. Hither Paul came, A. D. 58, when he was returning from Corinth to Jerusalem, by way of Macedonia and the coasts of Asia minor; and here he met the elders of the Ephesian Christians. \*[It is probable that Paul visited Miletus again, on his second journey to Rome; and then left Trophimus there. Some however suppose that the Miletus at which Paul left Trophimus was in Crete; and that it occurred at an earlier period.]

The SW. promontory of Caria was called *Cnidus*; and on it was a town of the same name.

28. About 45 miles to the west of Miletus is PATMOS, a small barren island, whither it is supposed that the apostle John was banished. About 10 miles W. of Cnidus is COS, a fertile and celebrated island; and about 7 miles from the southern promontory of Caria is RHODES, an island noted for its commerce and learning. These islands are mentioned in the account of Paul's voyage from Corinth.

#### LYCIA.

29. LYCIA lay SE. of Caria, S. of Phrygia, and SW. of Pamphylia. At *Patara*, a seaport of this province, Paul landed in his way to Jerusalem, A. D. 58; and there embarked for Phœnice. *Myra*, to the east, was a chief town of Lycia. In Paul's first voyage to Rome, A. D. 60, the vessel touched at Myra; and he was there put on board another vessel.

\* See Appendix.

## PAMPHYLIA and PISIDIA.

30. These countries lay between Phrygia and the Mediterranean. Their limits are not ascertained; but it is known that PAMPHYLIA bordered on the sea, and that PISIDIA occupied the interior country. In Paul's first apostolic journey, A. D. 45-47, he came from Paphos to *Perga*, the metropolis of Pamphylia, situated some miles inland on the river *Cestrus*; and there Mark left him. From Perga Paul and his companion Barnabas went to *Antioch*, which was the chief city of Pisidia. Paul preached in the Jewish synagogue there, and converted many Gentiles: but the Jews, displeased at his success, raised a persecution against him and Barnabas, and drove them from the city. Thence they went to *Iconium*, &c.; and on their return they sailed for Syria from *Atalia*, a seaport at a small distance to the west of the mouth of the Cestrus.

## CILICIA with CYPRUS.

31. CILICIA occupied all the south coast of Asia minor to the east of Pamphylia. One of its chief cities was *Tarsus*, a seaport on the river *Cydnus*. [It is supposed that Tarsus obtained, from Antony, the privileges of a municipal city, in consequence of its adherence to Julius Cæsar and to Antony.\*] It was a rich and populous city, and was noted for its schools of literature and of philosophy. Here Paul was born, of Jewish parents; and here probably, during the early part of his life, he was instructed in Grecian literature. He afterwards went to Jerusalem to study under Gamaliel. Sometime after his miraculous conversion to Christianity, (which is supposed to have occurred in the year 37, or at the end of 36) he returned to Tarsus from Syria, and most probably taught the truths of Christianity in different parts of Cilicia. In this country he probably spent A. D. 41 and 42. At the beginning of 43, Barnabas went to Tarsus and conducted Paul to Syria.

32. About 48 miles south of Cilicia, and 76 west of Syria, is CYPRUS, one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean. This was the native country of Barnabas, who accompanied Paul thither in his first apostolical journey. They landed at *Salamis*, a principal town on the SE. Having preached the

\* See Schleusner.

gospel there, they went through the island to *Paphos*, a noted place on the west coast, and the seat of the Roman proconsul. Here, immediately after the prophetic declaration of Paul, Elymas was struck blind for endeavouring to prevent the conversion of the proconsul. Barnabas afterwards revisited this island with Mark.

## SECTION II.

SYRIA, *comprehending ABILENE.*

33. In its most extensive application, Syria comprehended all that part of Asia, which lay between Asia minor on the NW. the Euphrates on the NE. Arabia on the SE. and S. and the Mediterranean on the W. The southern part of it was denominated Palastine; the central maritime part, Phœnice; and the rest appears to have occasionally received the general appellation Syria, or Syria proper.

In the New Testament the word SYRIA appears to have been sometimes employed in its most comprehensive sense, as in Matthew iv. 24. (compared with Mark i. 28.) and in Acts xviii. 18. xvi. 3.; but it seems more commonly employed for Syria proper; and thus it will be hereafter used in this Introduction.

34. On the river Orontes, about twelve miles from the coast of the Mediterranean, was *Antioch*, the chief city of Syria. It was greatly renowned for its wealth; and for its attention to literary pursuits. The disciples of Christ were first called Christians at Antioch; and it was, several times, the temporary residence of Paul. Westward of Antioch was the seaport *Seleucia*, whence Paul and Barnabus sailed for Cyprus, A. D. 45. In the most southern part of Syria proper, almost directly south from Antioch, was *Damascus*, a very ancient and noted city. A little before the period of the apostolical history, it appears to have been seized from the Romans by Aretas, a prince of Arabia Petraea, who is supposed to have embraced the Jewish religion. Owing to this circumstance, the Jews were permitted to exercise greater severity against the Christians, in Damascus, than in Judea. Paul was on his way thither to execute the purposes of his sanguinary zeal, when he was miraculously converted to that religion, the followers of which he had been persecuting.

A little to the NW. of Damascus was the city Abila. The neighbouring district was termed ABILENE, which was the tetrarchy of Lysanias.



## SECTION III.

## PHŒNICE.

35. The limits of PHŒNICE are stated very differently by different writers. When distinguished from Palæstine, it may be considered as extending along the coast of the Mediterranean, from Laodicea to below Tyre. In this sense, for the sake of distinction, it may be called Phœnice proper.—When distinguished from Galilee, the southern limit of Phœnice may be placed to the south of the promontory of Mount Carmel, below Ptolemais. It is thus limited by Josephus.\*

36. The two principal cities in Phœnice proper were Tyre and Sidon. *Sidon* lay westward of Damascus. It was a very ancient city, noted for its wealth, populousness, and strength. Here Paul landed on his return from his apostolical journey, A. D. 58; and, on his voyage to Rome, he was permitted, by the centurion who had the charge of him, to land here to see his friends. A few miles to the south was *Sarepta*, in the territory of Sidon; and farther to the south was *Tyre*, the chief city of Phœnice. It was built on an island. The more ancient city was on the continent, but was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Tyre was noted for its very extensive commerce. It sent colonies to various places on the Mediterranean, and constituted, with its dependencies, a very powerful state. Tyre and Sidon are several times mentioned in our Lord's discourses; and in the adjoining district, *the Coasts of Tyre and Sidon*, he miraculously cured the daughter of a woman of SYROPHŒNICIA, that is, that part of Phœnice which bordered on Syria. As the remnant of the ancient Canaanites dwelt in Phœnice, this woman is called by Matthew, a woman of Canaan.

## SECTION IV.

*Palæstine, with TRACHONITIS and ITURÆA.*

37. Palæstine lay south of Syria and Phœnice proper. A line drawn from Damascus to the coast a little below Tyre, will nearly give its northern boundary. On the south it was limited by Arabia Petræa; on the east by Arabia Deserta; and on the west by the Mediterranean.

This country, or at least the chief part of it, was originally

\* See Appendix.

inhabited by the descendants of Canaan, the grandson of Noah. It was thence called the *Land of Canaan*. The descendants of Jacob or Israel afterwards had possession of it; and thence it received the name of the *Land of Israel*. It was afterwards called *Palæstine*, by the Greeks and Romans, from the Philistines who inhabited the southern coasts; and *Judæa* from Judah the chief tribe of the Israelites; and it frequently received among the Jews the appellations of the *Land of Promise*, the *Land*, the *Holy Land*, &c. By this last appellation it is at present often denoted.

[The limits of the country, to which these names have been applied, have varied greatly at different periods: probably the names themselves cannot be considered as synonymous; but the respective differences do not seem to be exactly definable.]

38. In the mountains of Antilibanus, in the northern limits of Palæstine, rose the river *Jordan*. It issues from a small lake called Phiala; and, after passing under ground for about fifteen miles, rises again from a cavern at the foot of a mountain. It afterwards crosses the bogs of Lake Samochonitis, (or the waters of Merom,) and, after a course of fifteen miles further, enters a lake called the *Lake of Gennesareth*, the *Sea of Galilee*, or the *Sea of Tiberias*. This lake was about twelve miles and a half long, and five miles broad. Its waters were sweet and clear; and it abounded in fish. Issuing from this lake, the Jordan takes a winding course southwards, and waters an extensive plain, which, in summer, was excessively dry and hot, except on the banks of the river, which are covered with reeds, willows, tamarisks, &c. The Jordan overflows its banks in the time of barley harvest, which in Palæstine was in March or April; but during the summer months it is in most parts very shallow. After a course of about 130 miles it falls into a large lake, called the Lake Asphaltites, (or bituminous lake,) the Dead Sea, the Salt Sea, or the Sea of Sodom. This lake is about 72 miles long, and about 18 broad. The water is very clear; but is so exceedingly salt, that fish cannot live in it. It has been supposed that the exhalations from it are so noxious, as to destroy birds which attempt to fly over it; but this is not true. The soil around it is impregnated with salt so that it produces no plants; and on the southwest shore are mines of fossil salt. There is no passage for the water from this lake.—It is generally supposed, that the cities of *Sodom and Gomorrah*, which were miraculously destroyed for their excessive wickedness, stood in the situation which is now occupied by this lake.

39. [When the Israelites under Joshua took possession of the land of Canaan, he divided it into twelve portions, which were distributed by lot among the ten tribes and the two half tribes. The exact situation of their several territories is not known, and scarcely two original authorities agree respecting it. The following general account is therefore, in a considerable degree, conjectural; but will probably answer all the purposes in view. South of Jerusalem to the confines of Arabia, was the portion of JUDAH. Between Judah and the Mediterranean, the tribe of Simeon was situated; but the Philistines continued to inhabit the coast. Dan extending to the Mediterranean, and Benjamin to the Jordan, lay north, the one of Simeon, the other of Judah. North of these, extending from the Jordan to the Mediterranean lay the tribe of Ephraim; and north of Ephraim occupying the same length westward, but more confined to the north and south, was part of the portion of Manasseh. North of Manasseh was Issachar, extending from the S. of the Lake of Galilee and from the Jordan, to the NW. part of Manasseh and SW. part of Aser. Aser occupied the whole coast north of Manasseh, comprehending Tyre and Sidon, which however were never subjected to that tribe. ZABULON joined Aser on the NW.; Isaachar on the south; and extended to the Lake of Galilee on the east. NAPHTHALI lay to the north of Zabulon, between Aser and the Jordan; occupying the west banks of the Jordan, from the north of the lake, to the source of the river. On the east side of Jordan, was the remaining portion of Manasseh, extending from the source of the river, to the southern part of the lake. South of that was Gad, extending along the east of the Jordan, as far as the SE. corner of the west portion of Manasseh; and south of Gad lay Reuben, extending to the Arnon, which entered the Dead Sea on the NE. The tribe of Levi possessed no lands, but received regular contributions from the other tribes, and had the government of several cities which were interspersed among their territories.]

40. At the period of the Gospel history, there were four leading divisions, of Palæstine,—GALILEE, SAMARIA, JUDÆA proper, and Peræa, or the COUNTRY BEYOND THE JORDAN. With Galilee will be mentioned that part of Phœnice which is usually referred to Palæstine: IDUMÆA will be mentioned with Judæa; and TRACHONITIS and ITURÆA, with Peræa.—Exclusive of Trachonitis and Ituræa, which seem scarcely within its NE. limits, Palæstine cannot have been more extensive than Wales and Salop and Herefordshire together, if we leave out Anglesey, and the projecting part of Caernarvon; and it

somewhat resembled this tract in form. Galilee, including the adjacent part of Phœnice, may be compared in extent with Lancashire: Samaria had about the same extent as Cheshire: and Judæa had considerably less extent than Cambridgeshire and Norfolk and Suffolk together; more nearly approaching to South Wales, which it somewhat resembles in form.

41. [About 700 years before the time of our Saviour, ten of the tribes were carried away captive by the Assyrians; and, about 600 years before Christ, the other tribes were removed to Babylon by *their* conquerors. After 70 years' captivity, the Jews were permitted, by Cyrus, to return to their own land; but they continued for about 200 years in subjection to the Persians. About 323 years before Christ, the king of Ægypt took possession of the country; and carried many thousands of the inhabitants into Ægypt. After Judæa had been tributary to the Ægyptians for about a century, it became subject to the kings of Syria. The country then began to be called Palæstine; and it was divided into five provinces; the ancient divisions being entirely laid aside. At first the Jews were treated well; but in the continual wars between Ægypt and Syria, they were necessarily great sufferers; and about 170 years before Christ they underwent a severe persecution from the Syrians. They were then rescued from the Syrian yoke by Judas Maccabæus and his brothers, whose valour and bravery regained almost all the possessions of the twelve tribes. When the Jews were restored to their country by Cyrus, the Samaritans had opposed, as much as possible, their rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem: John Hyrcanus destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. About 107 years before Christ, the race of the Maccabees assumed the regal dignity and title; and on a contest between two of them relative to the succession, the Roman General Pompey, to whom they appealed, made Judæa tributary to the Romans. In the year 37 before Christ, Herod, supported by the Roman power, ascended the throne of Judæa, and considerably extended its dominions. Herod died three or four years before the commencement of the Christian era; and the distribution which he had made by will of his dominions, was (after much hesitation) ratified by Augustus, the Roman emperor. Archelaus had Judæa proper, Samaria, and Idumæa: Herod Antipas (who beheaded John), had Galilee and Peræa proper (which was a part of the country beyond the Jordan); and Philip had Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Ituræa. They had the title of Tetrarchs. Archelaus was banished for his cruelty A. D. 7; and his dominions were then made a Roman



province, under Procurators, who were subordinate to the Presidents of Syria. "The power of life and death was now taken out of the hands of the Jews, and taxes were, from this time, paid directly to the Roman Emperor. Justice was administered in the name, and by the laws of Rome; though, in what concerned their religion, their own laws, and the power of the High Priest and Sanhedrim, or great council, were continued to them: and they were allowed to examine witnesses, and exercise an inferior jurisdiction, in other causes, subject to the control of the Romans, to whom their Tetrarchs or Kings were also subject."\* Judæa and Samaria were under this kind of government during the ministry of Jesus; Pontius Pilate being the Procurator of those districts; while Herod Antipas was still Tetrarch of Galilee. After the removal of Pilate, A. D. 36, it is supposed that there was no longer a Procurator, but that Judæa was governed, for a few years, by the Syrian Presidents. Philip died in the year 37, and Herod Antipas was banished, A. D. 40, by the Emperor Caligula, who gave their tetrarchies, with the title of King, to Herod Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great. The Emperor Claudius gave him Judæa, Samaria, part of Idumæa, and Abilene; so that his dominions had nearly the same extent with those of his grandfather. It was this Herod who killed James, and imprisoned Peter. He died in the seventh year of his reign; and as Claudius thought his son Agrippa too young to rule his father's dominions, he instituted Governors of Judæa, of whom Felix and Festus, were the fourth and fifth. Claudius, however, afterwards gave Trachonitis and Abilene to Agrippa; and Nero added a part of Galilee and some cities. This Agrippa was also called King, and before him Paul pleaded at Cæsarea. Several of the Roman governors severely oppressed the Jews; and, at length, in the reign of Nero, under the government of the cruel Florus, the Jews openly revolted; and this commenced the fatal war which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the son of the then Emperor Vespasian, and afterwards himself Emperor. This event, which completely annihilated the Jewish state, occurred in the year 70.]

### 1. GALILEE.

42. GALILEE was limited by Phœnice on the west (§ 35); by Syria on the north; by the Jordan on the east; and by Sa-

\* See Pretyman's Introduction to the Study of the Bible, page 160. The greater part of the paragraph is abridged from Part I. Chap. iii. of that work

maria on the south. It is usually spoken of as extending to the Mediterranean; but it appears that, in the time of our Saviour, Phœnice occupied the coast. It was distinguished into two parts; the northern, mountainous, district, was called Galilee superior, or *Galilee of the Gentiles*, because it bordered upon Gentile nations, and its inhabitants were partly composed of them; the southern and more level district was called Galilee inferior, or *Galilee* simply. *Galilee*, in the New Testament, seems generally, perhaps uniformly, to mean Galilee inferior, which probably was little larger than Monmouthshire, and not more than 120 miles in circumference. In it were Capernaum, Bethsaida, Nazareth, Nain, and Tiberias, and some other towns not mentioned in the New Testament.

43. Galilee was a fruitful and populous district; and the inhabitants were brave and industrious; but the Jews regarded them with much contempt. The Jews were accustomed to regard the country about Jerusalem as the most holy part of the land: hence Galilee they deemed less holy. The Galileans were composed, partly of the remnant of the ten tribes, whom the Jews (of Judah and Benjamin) deemed inferior to themselves, and, what was still worse, partly of Gentiles. And farther, the dialect of Galilee was less pure than the language of Judæa; and the Jewish doctors taught, that the law was on this account confirmed to the inhabitants of the latter, to the exclusion of those of the former.

In Galilee our Saviour spent the greater part of his life; it was the scene of many of his miracles; and from among its inhabitants he chose most of his apostles.

44. *Cæsarea Philippi*, or Paneas, and *Ptolemais*, or Acco, are usually considered as belonging to Galilee. The former however lay to the east of the Jordan, near its source, and was not arranged with Galilee by Josephus;—it will therefore be mentioned in the fourth general division of Palæstine. The latter also was not Galilee, but in that part of Phœnice which is included in Palæstine, (§ 40); it may however be most conveniently introduced here. *Ptolemais* was about 28 miles S. of Tyre. It was situated on the north of a small inlet of the Mediterranean, on the south of which was Mount Carmel. Paul landed at Ptolemais, on his way to Jerusalem from his third apostolic journey.

45. Among the three towns mentioned by Josephus as the principal towns of Galilee, we find *Tiberias* only mentioned by the writers of the New Testament. Our Saviour confined his teaching to the smaller towns; probably as being inhabited by Jews only, to whom, during his lifetime, the glad tidings

which he brought were principally declared. Tiberias was the usual residence of Herod the tetrarch, when in Galilee; it was situated on the SW. side of the Lake of Galilee, and was the origin of one of the names of the lake.

46. Eastward from Ptolemais was *Cana*, where Jesus performed his first miracle; and afterwards exercised his miraculous powers, in curing a nobleman's son, who was then lying dangerously ill at Capernaum. About 17 miles SE. from Ptolemais was *Nazareth*, the residence of Jesus before the commencement of his public ministry. It was a small town, situated on a hill, from which the inhabitants endeavoured to throw Jesus down. It lay about 59 miles to the north of Jerusalem. At a little distance SE. from Nazareth was Mount Tabor, [supposed by some to be the mountain on which our Lord was transfigured; but it seems more probably that this occurred on a mountain in the more northern part of Galilee, near Cæsarea Philippi, (§ 67). Jesus had been in the neighbourhood of that place a little time before; and, had the mountain been one whose name was in familiar use, the name would most probably have been mentioned.] At a little distance to the south of Mount Tabor was *Nain*, where our Lord restored the widow's son to life.

47. Along the western side of the Lake of Galilee was a district called the *Land of Gennesaret*. It was very fertile, and in a high state of cultivation. On the NW. side of the lake, near the entrance of Jordan, was *Capernaum*; about 70 miles from Jerusalem. During the public ministry of Jesus, he seems to have fixed upon this place as his general residence; and we find that he worked several miracles there. It was then a flourishing town, but it is now so decayed as to contain only a few fishermen. [It seems decidedly probable that two Bethsaidas are mentioned in the gospels;—that near which our Lord miraculously fed the multitudes, (§ 68)—and that which is called] *Bethsaida of Galilee*, the birth-place of Peter, Andrew and Philip. [The latter must have been on the west side of the Jordan, because the whole of Galilee lay on that side; but its exact situation is not known.] It was on the coast of the lake, and probably southwards of Capernaum, and at no great distance from it. Here our Lord restored sight to a blind man, and worked many other miracles which are not specified by the Evangelists.—[*Chorazin* is generally supposed to have been in Galilee. Nothing is certainly known respecting it; but it appears most probable, that Chorazin was the common appellation of Julias, or Bethsaida east of the Jordan, § 68.]



48. Somewhere near the NW. shore of the Lake of Galilee, near Capernaum, was a hill on which Jesus delivered the admirable discourse, which is usually called the Sermon on the Mount.—About 15 miles to the south of the Lake of Galilee was Scythopolis, or Bethsan. Near this city, on the banks of the Jordan, was *Salim*, and near it was *Ænon*, where John was accustomed to baptize, because there was abundance of water.

## 2. SAMARIA.

49. This division of Palæstine was limited by Galilee, the Jordan, Judæa, and the Mediterranean.\* [Its exact limits north and south cannot be ascertained; but it extended on the north as far as Cæsarea, and on the south to below Sychem, which is about 40 miles from Jerusalem. It seems to have had nearly the same extent and situation with the territory of Manasseh and Ephraim.]

50. The capital city also was called Samaria. [It was once the metropolis of the ten tribes, who separated from those of Judah and Benjamin, and formed a distinct kingdom, about 975 years before the Christian era. When the ten tribes were carried away captive into Assyria, a number of Assyrians were introduced into their country, who mingled with those Israelites who were left, and with those who afterwards returned. These people brought with them their idolatry, and taught it to the conquered natives: but it seems that before our Saviour's ministry, the Samaritans had returned to the worship of God. They however materially differed from the Jews. They received the books of Moses only, as of divine authority; and they considered Mount Gerizim as the only place in which worship was acceptable to God.]

51. The greatest aversion existed between the Jews and the Samaritans. Both nations probably had some cause for their hostile feelings; and both certainly exaggerated the sources of their ill-will. The separation of the ten tribes,—the opposition of the Samaritans to the rebuilding of the Jewish temple after the Babylonish captivity,—the erection of a temple on Mount Gerizim,—and their ill-treatment of those who passed through their country to worship God at Jerusalem, are sufficient to account for the aversion of the Jews. No doubt there were equal causes for the aversion of the Samaritans; but we have only Jewish historians. It is certain that

\* See Appendix.



the Maccabees seized and destroyed the capital, and subjugated the country.—It is obvious that the Samaritans were in expectation of the Messiah; and that they were disposed to admit the claims of Jesus.

52. [It is not certain that the city of Samaria is spoken of in the New Testament; the words in Acts viii. 5. should be rendered “a city of Samaria,” as in John iv. 5. That city might be Samaria, but of this we can only conjecture.]—About eight miles southwards from Samaria was *Sychar*, or *Sychem*. This was anciently the royal city of Israel. It was situated in a valley formed by the two mountains Gerizim and Ebal; and at the foot of the former was the temple of the Samaritans. Near Sychar was a well called *Jacob’s well*, where our Lord had a very important conversation with a woman of the city.—On the sea coast, about 52 miles from Jerusalem, was *Cæsarea*, sometimes called *Cæsarea of Palæstine*, to distinguish it from *Cæsarea Philippi*. Its inhabitants were partly Jews, partly heathens. It was the metropolis of the Roman province of Palæstine, and the seat of the Roman Procurators. It was in this *Cæsarea* that Herod Agrippa, in the midst of his impious folly, was smitten with a fatal disease. Cornelius and Philip resided there; and Paul was confined there two years, before his appeal to the Roman Emperor, in consequence of which he was sent to Rome. [During this time, it is not improbable that his companion Luke was employed in collecting materials for his narratives; and his accuracy of research in most cases, places him on a level with an eye witness. Where he actually compiled them is uncertain.]—*Antipatris* was probably among the towns of Samaria. It lay about 23 miles from *Cæsarea*, on the road to Jerusalem. Through this place Paul passed on his way to *Cæsarea*, when the governor of the castle of Jerusalem sent him away by night lest the Jews should kill him.

### 3. JUDÆA with IDUMÆA.

53. JUDÆA (proper) was bounded by Samaria, the Jordan and the Dead Sea, Arabia, and the Mediterranean. [It comprehended the territories of Dan, Benjamin, Simeon, and Judah.]\* The length of Judæa, from the south of the Dead Sea, to the confines of Ephraim, was about 57 miles; and the breadth, in the south was 77 miles, and in the north 45 miles. (With respect to its comparative extent, see § 40.)

\* See Appendix

54. The capital of Judæa was *Jerusalem*. It was in a central situation, on the confines of Benjamin and Judah; so that part belonged to the territory of the one, part to that of the other. It was built on hills, but, being surrounded with higher hills, it could not be seen, in some directions, till the traveller came very near it. It was situated on a very stony soil; and the country round it for several miles, was dry and barren.—The extent of the city differed considerably at different times: it had acquired its greatest extent at the time of its final ruin. It then comprehended four hills, *Sion*, *Acra*, *Moriah*, and *Bezetha*. *Sion* was in the southern part of the city, and immediately to the north of it was *Acra*. *Sion* was considerably the higher, and that part of the city which was situated on it, was called the upper city; and on *Acra* was the lower city. On the south and west of *Sion* was a very deep valley, which rendered it inaccessible on those sides; on the north was a high wall which was built by David. *Moriah*, on which stood the Temple, lay to the east of *Acra*. Before the time of the Maccabees, *Acra* was higher than *Moriah*; and the Syrians built a fortress on it, from which they annoyed the Jews as they went to worship at the Temple: but Simon having taken the fortress, levelled the hill so much, as to make it lower than the Mount of the Temple, and nearly filled up the valley between them. *Moriah* was about three quarters of a mile in circumference. It was connected with *Sion* by a bridge and a terrace. To the north of it was another hill called *Bezetha*, which Agrippa joined to the city; and the whole was then about 33 furlongs in circumference.

55. The appellation *the Temple*, was applied not only to the place appropriated for divine worship, but to the courts and buildings connected with it. The outer enclosure was a square of 250 yards each way. All round it were galleries, supported by four rows of pillars; and the roofs were made of cedar, adorned with mouldings and gilding. These buildings formed a porch or piazza on each side; and that on the eastern side was called *Solomon's Porch*, (mentioned John x. 23. and Acts iii. 11.) One of the entrances to it is supposed to have been called the *Beautiful Gate*. The area within the first enclosure was paved with marble of different colours; and at a little distance from the piazzas was a separation, formed by a handsome balustrade of stone, with pillars at equal distances from each other. On these pillars were inscriptions, to warn Gentiles and unclean persons not to enter within on pain of death. Within this balustrade was the second enclosure, called the Court of Priests. It enclosed the Temple, properly so



A. The House of Annas. C. The Palace of Caiaphas. H. The Palace of Herod.



N<sup>o</sup> 4 JERUSALEM & C.



called, and the altar of burnt offerings. [It was surrounded by a wall, 60 feet high on the outside, but, from the greater elevation of the inner pavement, only 38 feet high within. This court was square, with galleries supported by pillars, except on the west side. At each angle there was a large room, in one of which the Sanhedrin assembled, till the frequent occurrence of crimes which were punishable with death, rendered it expedient for them to remove to a room in one corner of the outer enclosure, lest they should defile the Temple.] Women were permitted to approach no farther than the eastern part of this court; and that part was thence called the Court of the Women. [In the corners of it were rooms, of which one was appropriated for the purification of lepers, and two others for the use of the Nazarites.] And it is supposed by some that the *Treasury* was in this court.—Farther to the west was the altar of burnt offerings; then succeeded the Temple, raised considerably above the level of the court. The first part from the east was the Holy Place; the inner part was the Holy of Holies, in which was the ark. On the sides of the Temple were apartments in great numbers and of different dimensions.—This magnificent pile of buildings was composed of immense stones; and the whole was so constructed as to impress the spectators with admiration, and the worshippers with reverence. [The Jews gloried in their Temple, and in most cases, carefully preserved it from what they deemed defilement: yet such was their strange inconsistency, caused probably by their contempt for the Gentiles, that in that part of the exterior court, into which alone the Gentiles were permitted to enter, the sellers of doves and sheep and oxen, and the exchangers of money, were allowed to conduct their traffic.—Herod the Great began to build the Temple about 46 years before our Saviour's public ministry, and he completed it in nine years and a half; but additions and alterations were continually making in it, even till the period of its destruction. When Titus took Jerusalem, it was his wish to preserve the Temple; but the order of events as arranged by God was different from the intended conduct of Titus, and the prophecies of our Lord were fulfilled.]

56. Near the NE. corner of the exterior buildings of the Temple was the *Sheep-market*, where the sheep were sold for the Temple-service; and adjoining to it was a kind of bath called the *Pool of Bethesda*, in which the animals were washed before they were delivered to the priests. In the rock on the north side was a spring. from which the water fell into the pool

below.\* Here it was that Jesus healed the poor man who had lost the use of his limbs for 38 years.—Adjoining to the NW. corner of the Temple wall, was a strong fortress built by Herod the Great, and named Antonia. It was a large square building, sufficiently spacious for a palace. It had an immediate communication, by a flight of steps, with the Temple courts; and its height was so great that it overlooked them. The fortress was guarded by a Roman garrison; and it was from this place that the tribune, with his soldiers, ran to quell the tumult which the Jews raised, owing to their supposing, that Paul had taken Trophimus farther in the Temple than the separating pillars.—It is highly probable that Pilate, whose usual residence, as the Roman Procurator, was in Cæsarea, resided in Fort Antonia when he came to Jerusalem at the great feasts, or on other occasions. The fortress was then the *Prætorium*, or place where the supreme Judge resided and held his courts of justice. [The word *Prætorium* occurs six times in the Gospels. In Matt. xxvii. 27. it is translated the *common hall*; in John xviii. 28. 33. and in xix. 9. it is translated, the *hall of judgment*, or the *judgment hall*.] Before the *Prætorium* was a raised pavement called *Gabbatha*, and on it stood the tribunal, or *seat of judgment*. [This pavement was constructed to accommodate the Jews, who could there have their causes decided without entering the *Prætorium*, which rendered purification necessary.] When Pilate examined Jesus apart from the Jews he was within the court of the *Prætorium*; when in their presence, it was on the raised pavement. There Jesus was condemned by Pilate, and immediately afterwards he was scourged in the presence of the mad multitude. The soldiers then led him within the court, that is, within the *Prætorium* (Mark xv. 16.) and there derided him with cruel levity. Probably to produce compassion in the minds of the Jews, Pilate brought Jesus again on the raised pavement. When they still demanded his death, he sat down on the tribunal, and finally delivered him up to their sanguinary purposes. Jesus was then led from the *Prætorium*, and conducted through the Gate of Justice, which lay west from the Temple to *Mount Calvary*, which was just without the walls; and there, at a spot called *Golgotha*, they crucified him.

57. [It is somewhat uncertain whether, on the night in which Jesus was apprehended, the members of the Sanhedrim assembled at the residence of the High Priest, or in the hall of the Sanhedrim in the Temple; but the former, on the whole.

\* See the Fragments by the Editor of Calmet's Dictionary, number 66.

appears decidedly the more probable.] The residence of Caiaphas is supposed to have been at C, on the hill of Sion; at A, on the adjoining hill of Acra, was probably the residence of Annas. The Palace of Herod was situated on Bezetha, at H, a little to the north of Fort Antonia. It is supposed that Jesus supped at a house on Mount Sion. He then went across the brook *Kedron*, which ran on the east side of the city, to the *Mount of Olives*, which lay opposite to the Temple, and overlooked its buildings. At the foot of this hill was the *Garden of Gethsemane* where Jesus was apprehended. Thence he was led, probably without passing through much of the city, to the house of Annas; thence to the Palace of Caiaphas; thence to the Prætorium; thence to the Palace of Herod; thence again to Fort Antonia; and lastly to Mount Calvary. The elevation of the spot, and the circumstance that the roads from Bethlehem and Joppa met at the Gate of Justice, rendered the crucifixion of Jesus very easily observable at a distance, and very public. Near the place of crucifixion, probably to the SW. of it, was a garden, belonging to Joseph of Arimathæa, in which was a sepulchre, or cave, hewn out of the solid rock; and there they laid the body of Jesus.

58. It has been already mentioned that the *Mount of Olives* lay eastward of the Temple on the opposite side of the *Kedron*. The nearest part of the hill was about five furlongs from the city, (that is, apparently, from the middle of the city.) Farther up the ascent, at a Sabbath day's journey (or nearly a mile) from the city, is a craggy part of the hill, near the mark † in the plan of Jerusalem, &c. whence our Saviour ascended into heaven. Farther on, at the distance of fifteen furlongs from the city, was *Bethany*, where Jesus raised Lazarus from the dead, and where he frequently passed the night with his disciples. Somewhat nearer to Jerusalem, and southwards of Bethany, was *Bethphage*, whither Jesus sent his disciples for the ass on which he entered Jerusalem.

59. To the south of the Temple, and near the valley in which the *Kedron* runs, was a fountain called *Siloam*, and it is supposed that near it stood the *Tower of Siloam*.

60. Southwards of the city lay *Gehenna*, or the valley of Hinnom. [Here the Jews once worshipped the image of Moloch, and offered to it as sacrifices even their own children. When Josiah had recalled them to the worship of the true God, Gehenna was made the receptacle for the filth of the city, for the bones and carcases of animals, and even for the bodies of criminals who had been executed. To consume these impure substances, fires were kept continually burning.



and on the putrid matter worms were always feeding. Hence the place furnished to the Jews an emblem of the punishments of a future life; and our Saviour employs the word and its connected imagery for the same purpose.]—Probably the *Potter's Field*, which the Chief Priests and Elders purchased with the money which Judas returned, lay on the other side of the valley of Hinnom. From the circumstances of its purchase, it was afterwards called *Aceldama*, that is, the field of blood.

61. About six miles SW. from Jerusalem was *Bethlehem*, where Jesus was born. It is situated in the territory of Judah, and David was born and educated there.—Southwards of Bethlehem, as far as the extremity of Judah, lay a hilly tract which is referred to by the name of the *Hill Country of Judæa*.

62. *IDUMÆA*, mentioned by Mark, meant the southern part of Judæa. The Edomites were inhabitants of Arabia Petraea to the south of Palæstine. [During the Babylonish captivity they seized the southern part of Judæa; but they were subdued by the Maccabees, and afterwards mixed with their conquerors and embraced their religion.]

63. In the south-western part of Judæa was *Gaza*, about 46 miles from Jerusalem. On the desert road from Jerusalem to this city, Philip found the Æthiopian treasurer, who was returning from worshipping at Jerusalem. About 23 miles N. of Gaza was *Azotus*, where Philip afterwards preached. Both of these cities belonged to the native Philistines, as also all the south-western coast of Judæa.

64. Still farther north is *Joppa*, a sea port about 34 miles NW. from Jerusalem. Here Peter restored Dorcas to life; and here he saw the vision which was designed to diminish his Jewish prejudices against the Gentiles, preparatory to his call from Cornelius at Cæsarea.—Eastward from Joppa, about 22 miles from Jerusalem, was *Lydda*, where Peter cured Æneas a paralytic.—[The plain from Joppa to Cæsarea was called the plain of *Saron*, receiving its name from a town and a hill which were in it. The town lay northwards of Joppa and Lydda. Somewhat southwards from these two cities *Arimathea* is supposed to have been situated. Some however suppose this place to have been in the tribe of Benjamin, near Jerusalem.]

65. About six miles north of Jerusalem was *Ramah*, near which the Babylonish conqueror collected the Jews to lead them away to Babylon.]—About eight miles NW. from Jerusalem, was a village named *Emmaus*, afterwards made a Roman city with the name of Nicopolis.—About eight miles to



the NE. of Jerusalem lay *Ephraim*, whither Jesus retired after he had raised Lazarus to life.—*Jericho* lay nearly in the same direction, about 14 miles from Jerusalem, and nearly 5 miles from the Jordan. In the time of our Saviour it ranked next to Jerusalem among the cities of Judæa. Its site was considerably lower than that of Jerusalem, and the adjacent country was, in some directions, peculiarly fertile. Between Jerusalem and Jericho was a very rocky and desolate tract, which was so much infested with desperate robbers, that, on account of the frequent murders committed there, it was called *Adamim*, that is, blood. In the neighbourhood of Jericho, extending somewhat northwards along the Jordan, and along the west of the Dead Sea, was an extensive solitude or desert, which had the name of *the Desert*, or *the Wilderness of Judæa*. In this desert, and in the continuance of it which lay northwards beyond the Jordan, John preached and baptized. To the more solitary and mountainous part of this desert, probably southwards of Jericho, our Lord retired after his baptism. What kind of a country this was, we learn from Volney, who, speaking of the mountains of Syria, says, “as we advance toward Judæa, they lose their verdure, their valleys grow narrower, they become dry and stony, and terminate at the Dead Sea in a pile of desolate rocks, full of precipices and caverns.” From the top of these hills of desolation, however, Maundrell informs us that there is a delightful prospect of the mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the Plain of Jericho.

#### 4. *The COUNTRY BEYOND THE JORDAN, with TRACHONITIS and ITURÆA.*

66. *Peræa*, or the COUNTRY BEYOND THE JORDAN, [in the strict acceptation of the appellation, comprehended the territories of Gad and Reuben only. In a more extensive application, it] may comprehend all that part of Palæstine which lay east of the Jordan. In this sense it admits of the following divisions: *Peræa* proper, *Batanea*, *TRACHONITIS*, and *ITURÆA* or *Auranitis*, (§. 40.) *Peræa* proper extended from the Arnon to the southern part of the Lake of Galilee; *Batanea* lay opposite to Galilee; *ITURÆA*, which appears to have been the same with *Auranitis*, lay to the NE. of *Batanea*: and farther northwards was *TRACHONITIS*, [bordering upon *Cœlo-Syria*, or that part of Syria which lay between the ridges of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*.] *Batanea* included *Galaaditis*, *Gaulonitis*, and the *DECAPOLIS*. This last district was a com-

bination of ten cities, with the adjacent country. Most of these cities were principally near the Lake of Galilee, on the east side; but which they were is not fully ascertained.

67. The most northerly city in the country beyond the Jordan was *Paneas*, which before the ministry of our Saviour had been named *Cæsarea Philippi*, by Philip the Tetrarch, in honour of Tiberius Cæsar. It was situated near the place where the Jordan re-appears after having flowed under ground almost from its source. Jesus proclaimed his glad tidings, and exerted his miraculous powers, in the neighbourhood of this city, but it does not appear that he was ever in it.—It is highly probable that the hill on which our Lord was transfigured was near *Cæsarea Philippi*, though in Galilee, (§ 46).

68. Southwards of *Cæsarea Philippi* was *Julias*, more anciently *Bethsaida*. [From a comparison of the corresponding passages in the Gospels, it appears decidedly probable that] this city was that *Bethsaida*, near which our Saviour miraculously fed the multitude, with a very few loaves and fishes.—[The later name of this city was given to it by Philip the Tetrarch, in honour of the daughter of Augustus, most probably during the life of that Emperor, and consequently before the period of our Saviour's ministry,—still more before the composition of the Gospels.] The more ancient name is employed only by Luke.—[D'Anville says, "there is reason "to believe this *Julias* to be the *Chorazin* of a remote age." No trace, however, of any such name remains except in the Gospels: but in this uncertainty it is allowable to suppose, what is not inconsistent with any document, that] *Chorazin* is another name for *Julias*, or *Bethsaida*, east of the Jordan; —[that, probably, it was the colloquial pronunciation of the word *Julias*, combined with some epithet, to distinguish it from another *Julias* which was lower down the Jordan.] Our Lord performed many miracles in *Chorazin*, but what they were is not specified by the Evangelists. }

69. Farther south were *Gadara* and *Gergesa*. *Gadara* was the principal city of *Peræa*, and the country SE. of the Lake received its denomination from it. Near *Gadara* was *Gergesa*; and in the adjacent country our Lord restored the dæmoniacs to their right mind, and transferred their disorder into the herd of swine.—In the country of the *Gadarenes*, but farther south than *Gadara*, was a fortress named *Magdala*, [or *Magedan*, by a change easily made on the Hebrew name *Megedel*.] The country on the south-eastern corner of the lake received its name from it. It is not improbable that *Mary Magdalene* was born there.—*Dalmanutha* was probably

a village in the neighbourhood of Magdala. [The exact situation of these two places is not ascertained; some geographers suppose them to have been on the west shore of the lake; but surely without sufficient authority.—Ænon and Salim have been placed by some geographers on the east side of the Jordan; there appears to be nothing to determine their situation, except their vicinity to Scythopolis, (mentioned by Josephus,) and to the Jordan, mentioned by John.]—The only other town mentioned in the New Testament, which lay beyond the Jordan, was *Bethabara*, the name of which denotes that it was a passage of the Jordan. [This name, however, is more recent than the period of the New Testament narratives; and instead of it, in the best manuscripts and versions, *Bethany*, the more ancient name is found. It cannot be confounded with Bethany, near Jerusalem, because John says Bethany beyond the Jordan. This Bethany, or Bethabara, was probably in the tribe of Gad, but its exact situation is unknown. Some place it opposite to Jericho; others opposite to Scythopolis.] Here John was baptizing; and hither Jesus retired, after he had excited the rage of the Jews, by his discourses at the Feast of Dedication.

70. While John the Baptist was preaching on the east side of the Jordan, Herod Antipas, who was Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, engaged in a war with his father-in-law Aretas, a petty king in Arabia Petraea. The army of Herod, in their route to the confines of Arabia, must have passed through the country where John was preaching, and it appears probable, that the soldiers who came to John's baptism, were some of those then on their march against Aretas.—On the north-eastern side of the Dead Sea, near the limits of the two countries, was a fortress named Machærus. It was in this fortress that John was imprisoned and beheaded by the order of Herod, who made a thoughtless vow, and wickedly complied with the consequent demand.

#### SECTION V.

#### *The Countries East of the Euphrates.*

71. The countries east of the Euphrates which are mentioned in the New Testament, are MESOPOTAMIA, CHALDEA, Assyria, MEDIA, PARTHIA, and ELAM.

MESOPOTAMIA, or the country *between rivers*, lay to the east of Syria proper, from which it was separated by the river Euphrates. On the east it was bounded by the river Tigris.



which separated it from Assyria. On the south it extended as far as the place where the Euphrates and the Tigris nearly join, whence Babylonia began.

In the north-western part of this country was the city *Charran*. [It was called *Curæ* by the Romans, and was the place where Crassus was defeated and killed by the Parthians.]

72. **CHALDÆA**, or Babylonia, lay south of Mesopotamia, and extended to the Persian gulf. On the east it joined Persia; and on the west and south, Arabia Deserta.

This was the native country of Abraham, and he resided there till he dwelt in Charran. *Babylon* was the capital. In the time of its greatest extent, it was rather a walled province than a city. The walls inclosed a square sixteen miles each way; and their amazing height and thickness, added to the depth of the surrounding trench, (from the glutinous slimy earth of which the bricks for the walls were composed,) rendered the city impregnable; while the extent of the country inclosed would have enabled the inhabitants to raise a sufficient supply of provisions, when their twenty years' stock was consumed. The river Euphrates ran through it; and the army of Cyrus having turned the river from its channel, entered the city through the brazen gates which shut up its communication with the river, but which in a night of careless festivity were left open. The event was to all human appearance impossible, but it was foretold by the messengers of God, with minute exactness, a century and a half before Cyrus was born. The Jews had been carried thither by Nebuchadnezzar; but Cyrus released them, and most of them returned to their native land.

73. Assyria lay to the east of Mesopotamia. It is necessary to mention it, because its capital *Nineveh*, is mentioned in our Lord's discourses. Nineveh was, like Babylon, a walled province, being about sixty miles in circuit. It was situated on the Tigris.

74. **MEDIA** lay to the east of Assyria. It had the Caspian Sea on the north, and Persia on the south.

75. **PARTHIA** lay to the SE. of the Caspian Sea. [Parthia proper was a small and obscure region; but the Parthians had, about 140 years before Christ, extended their dominions so far as to comprehend Media, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and their dependencies.]

76. **ELAM** or Persia lay to the south of Media, and extended to the Persian Gulf. [It is not certain whether Elam is not to be considered as only a part of Persia; but it appears more probable that it is used in the Scriptures as a synonyme of Persia.]



## SECTION VI.

## ARABIA.

77. That part of Asia which lies between Palæstine, Syria, Chaldæa, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and Ægypt, was, and is now, called ARABIA.

Arabia was anciently considered under three divisions; Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix.

Arabia Petræa extended from the SE. and south of Palæstine, to the north of the Red Sea. The south-western part of Arabia was called Arabia Felix; and the rest was comprised in Arabia Deserta.

Arabia Petræa, in part at least, was under the dominion of Aretas, who in the time of John the Baptist seized upon Damascus. And it was probably to this part of Arabia that Paul retired after his conversion, during A. D. 37—39.

Between the two branches of the Red Sea was *Mount Sinai*, where the law was given to the Israelites: and to the south of the eastern branch lay the LAND OF MADIAN, whither Moses fled from Ægypt, and where he married the daughter of Jethro.

The chief city of Arabia Felix was Saba, or Sheba, situated near the south-western angle of Arabia. The people who inhabited the adjoining country were called Sabæans; and the *Queen of the South* mentioned by Matthew was from that country. She is called in the Old Testament the Queen of Sheba; and our Saviour says that she came from the *uttermost parts of the earth*, because the southern part of Arabia was the most remote country south of Judæa which was known by the Jews.

## CHAP. IV.

*Countries in Africa.*

78. The countries in Africa which are mentioned in the New Testament, are ÆGYPT, LIBYA, and ÆTHIOPIA.

## SECTION I.

## ÆGYPT.

This country joined Arabia on the NE. and was separated from it on the east by the Red Sea. It lies along the river

Nile. In the upper, or southern part, it was very narrow, being limited on the west by ranges of mountains; but towards the north, in Lower Egypt, it expands along the coast of the Mediterranean.

Ægypt was exceedingly celebrated for its fertility, which was principally caused by the annual inundations of the Nile; and for its early, and comparatively extensive acquirements in astronomy and other branches of science, and in learning.

*Alexandria* is the only place in Ægypt which is mentioned in the New Testament. It lay on the sea coast; and being very advantageously situated for commerce, it became the chief mart for exchange between the east and the west. Alexander the Great built it, and peopled it chiefly with Greeks; and, like most of the other principal cities in the Roman empire, it contained a great number of Jews. Apollos was born in Alexandria; and to a corn-vessel from that port Paul was transferred from the Adramyttium vessel, at Myra, in his first voyage to Rome.

#### SECTION II.

#### LIBYA.

79. LIBYA lay to the west of Ægypt. The name was extended by the Greeks to the whole of Africa then known; but more strictly it comprehended the Mediterranean coast, as far as the Great *Syrtis*.

In the NW. of Libya was *Cyrene*, a very noted city, which gave the name of Cyrenaica, or the COUNTRY ABOUT CYRENE, to the adjacent region. Here also were many Jews; and this was the country of that Simon who was compelled to carry our Saviour's cross.

#### SECTION III.

#### ÆTHIOPIA.

80. ÆTHIOPIA lay to the south of Ægypt, along the Nile, and to the west of the Red Sea. In this region was the kingdom of Candace, whence was the officer whom Philip baptized, and who is supposed to have been the treasurer of Candace.

---

81. [Different causes had contributed to the dispersion of the descendants of Israel over the Roman empire; and in the

time of our Saviour we find that they were in most of its eastern and southern provinces, and had, doubtless, made many converts to the institutions of Moses. Of these dispersed Jews and proselytes, some from various nations were residing at Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost; and owing to this circumstance, the grand truths of the gospel were, undoubtedly, more rapidly disseminated over the provinces which were distant from Jerusalem, than otherwise they would have been. We are told in the inestimable history of the Apostles, that when the Apostles, after receiving "the promise of the Father," preached the gospel in foreign languages, according as they were prompted by the Spirit, these Jews and proselytes, "from every nation under heaven, were perplexed, because every one heard them speaking in his own language" (or dialect). "And they were all amazed, and wondered, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these who speak Galileans? How then hear we every man in our own language, in which we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa\* and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia,† in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Ægypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers from Rome both Jews and proselytes, Cretans *also* and Arabians; we hear them speaking in our own tongues the wonderful works of God." They were indeed the wonderful works of God which the Apostles spake; and, if this narrative were not true, could it have been received as true, in those very countries from which these foreigners came? could it have been handed down to us as true? It is true, and the consequence inevitably follows,—“God raised up Jesus,”—the religion of Jesus is worthy of all acceptation, and his words are to be received as the words of the Father who sent him.]

\* Perhaps foreign Jews residing in Judæa, but speaking their own language.

† Proconsular Asia, says Archbishop Newcome, whose translation is here given,—more probably the Asia round Ephesus, see § 21.





## APPENDIX.

FOR the convenience of those who prefer the opinion of the great *Lardner* respecting the dates of the epistles to Timothy and Titus, the following sentences are added, to be substituted for those in the foregoing pages which are inconsistent with it.

Page 11. § 6. *During his first imprisonment, &c.* For this sentence use the following. While Paul was in Rome, A. D. 61—63, he is supposed to have written the letter to the Ephesians, the second to Timothy, and the letters to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon.

Page 12. § 8. *It does not appear that Paul, &c.* Lardner supposes that Paul travelled into Illyricum, and taught there the Christian religion, sometime in the year 57, or 56.

Page 14. § 11. *Here it is probable, &c.* Here Lardner supposes that Paul passed his winter, A. D. 56—57; after having written his first letter to Timothy and that to Titus, from some of the neighbouring parts of Macedonia.

Page 15. § 13. *It is probable, &c.* Lardner supposes that Paul visited Crete in the year 56. He then left Titus there; and before the close of the year, wrote to him from the neighbourhood of Nicopolis.

Page 20. § 27. *It is probable, &c.* Lardner supposes that Trophimus was left at Miletus, in Paul's first voyage to Rome.\*

Page 23. § 35. It is of considerable importance to the right understanding of the narratives of our Lord's ministry, that we gain accurate ideas as to the extent of Galilee; for this purpose we cannot have better authority than that of Josephus. Galilee is usually understood as extending to the Mediterranean. We might argue that this was not the case, from the mode in which the Evangelists speak of the little Lake of Galilee; but the testimony of Josephus is very express. He says,† that the "territories of Ptolemais bound the

\* Lardner, after Lightfoot, seems to found his opinion on what Luke says, Acts xxvii. 2. "meaning to sail to some places along the coast of Asia," (probably using the term Asia in the sense given, § 21.) But this argument is entirely obviated by the fact stated in the 6th verse. If Lardner's opinion on the very difficult question of the date of the second epistle to Timothy be correct, would it not be attended with less difficulty if we suppose that the Miletus mentioned 2 Tim. iv. 20. was the town of that name in Crete?

† De Bell. Jud. Lib. III. Cap. III. (Huds. Ed.)

“Galilees on the west, and also Carmel, a mountain formerly belonging to the Galileans, but now to the Tyrians.”

Pp. 30, 31. § 49. 53. Josephus, in the same chapter, uses an expression which leads to the inference, that in the time of our Saviour, Judæa occupied the coast of the Mediterranean, as far as the southern limits of Phœnice;—“Judæa is not destitute of the conveniences afforded by the sea, as it extends along the maritime parts as far as Ptolemais.” Were a change of any consequence in connexion with the New Testament history, it would be right to assign the limits of Judæa and Samaria according to this passage: but as this is not the case, it seems most expedient to employ the limits usually given.

*A Table of Distances, calculated from D'Anville's Map,  
(1794.)*

	Miles.
From Bethabara to Jerusalem	42
———— Cana	38
Cæsarea to Jerusalem	52
———— Antipatris	23
———— Joppa	33
Cæsarea Philippi to Damascus	45
———— Antioch	202
Capernaum to Jerusalem	70
———— Cana	23
———— Nain	22
———— Tyre	40
———— Sidon	53
Cæsarea Philippi	28
Gaza to Jerusalem	46
———— Azotus	23
Jerusalem to Joppa	34
———— Lydda	22
———— Jericho	14
Jericho to the Jordan	5
Machærus to Tiberias	52
———— Bethabara	34
Nazareth to Capernaum	20
———— Jerusalem	59
Ptolemais to Tyre	28
———— Nazareth	17
———— Cæsarea	25
Sychar to Cana	40
———— Jerusalem	29

*Table of the Names of Places, &c. mentioned in the preceding Work, accented and divided.*

[REMARKS.—1. Every vowel with the accent on it at the end of a syllable, is pronounced as in English with its first long open sound. Thus: *Ca'na*, *Me'dia*, *Chi'os*, *Ico'nium*, *Dalmanu'tha*, have the accented vowels sounded exactly as in the English words *pa'per*, *me'tre*, *spi'der*, *no'ble*, *tu'tor*.—2. Every accented vowel not ending a syllable, but followed by a consonant, has the short sound, in English. Thus: *Ath'ens*, *Les'bos*, *It'aly*, *Pon'tus*, have the short sound of the accented vowels in *man'ner*, *plen'ty*, *prin'ter*, *col'lar*.—3. The diphthongs *æ* and *œ*, are pronounced like *e* in the same situations.—4. Every final *i* forming a distinct syllable, has the long open sound; but every unaccented *i* ending a syllable not final, is pronounced like *e* short.—5. Before a vowel, *ch* is always to be pronounced like *k*.—6. The *c*, and *g*, where to be pronounced like *s* and *j*, are printed in italics.]

Ab-i-le'-ne	Cæs-a-re'a	Gab'-ba-tha
A-cel'-da-ma	Cal'-va-ry	Gad'-a-ra
A-cha'i-a	Ca'-na	Ga-la'-ti-a, <i>Gala-shea</i>
Ad-ra-myt'-ti-um	Ca'-na-an	Gal'-i-lee
A'-dri-a	Cap-ern'-a-um	Gau-lo-ni'-tis
Æ-ge'-an	Cap-pa-do'-ci-a	Ga'-za
Æ'-gypt	Ca'-ri-a	Ge-hen'-na
Æ'-non	Cen'-chre-a	Gen-nes'-sa-ret
Æth-i-o'-pi-a	Chal-dæ'-a	Ger'-ge-sa
Al-ex-an-dri'-a	Char'-ran	Ger'-i-zim
Am-phil'-o-lis	Chi'-os	Geth-sem'-a-ne
An'-ti-och	Cho-ra'-zin	Gol'-go-tha
An-tip'-a-tris	Ci-lic'-i-a	Go-mor'-rah
An-to'-ni-a	Clau'-da	
Ap'-pi-i Fo'-rum	Cni'-dus	
Ap-pol-lo'-ni-a	Co-los'-sæ	Hi-e-rap'-o-lis
A-ra'-bi-a	Cos	
Ar-e-op'-a-gus	Cor'-inth	I-co'-ni-um
Ar-i-ma-thæ'-a	Crete	I-du-mæ'-a
A'-si-a	Cy'-prus	Il-lyr'-i-cum
As'-sos	Cy-re'-ne	I-o'-ni-an
As-syr'-i-a		Is'-ra-el
Ath'-ens		It'-a-ly
At-ta-li'-a	Dal-ma-nu'-tha	It-tu-ræ'-a
A-zo'-tus	Dal-ma'-ti-a, <i>Dalmashea</i>	
	Da-mas'-cus	
Bab'-y-lon	De-cap'-o-lis	Jer'-i-cho
Bat-a-ne'-a	Der'-be	Je-ru'-sa-lem
Be-rœ'-a		Jop'-pa
Beth-ab'-a-ra		Jor'-dan
Beth'-a-ny	E'-lam	Ju-dæ'-a
Beth'-le-hem	Em'-ma-us	Ju'-dah
Beth'-pha-ge	E'-non or <i>Ænon</i>	
Beth-sa'-i-da	Eph'-e-sus	Ke'-dron
Bi-thyn'-i-a	E'-phra-im	
	E-pi'-rus	La-o-di-ce'-a

La-se'-a	Pal'-æs-tine	Sa-ma'-ri-a
Les'-bos	Pam-phyl'-i-a	Sa'-mos
Lib'-y-a	Pa'-phos	Sam-o-thra'-ce
Ly-ca-o'-ni-a	Paph-la-go'-ni-a	Sar'-dis
Lyc'-i-a	Par'-thi-a	Sa-rep'-ta
Lyd'-da	Pat'-a-ra	Sa'-ron
Lyd'-i-a	Pat'-mos	Scy-thop'-o-lis
Lys'-tra	Pe-ræ'-a	Se-leu'-ci-a
	Per'-ga	Sic'-i-ly
Mac-e-do'-ni-a	Per'-ga-mus	Si'-don
Ma-chæ'-rus	Per'-si-a	Sil'-o-am
Ma'-di-an	Phœ-ni'-ce	Si'-nai
Mag'-da-la	Phœ'-nix	Si'-on
Me'-di-a	Phil-a-del'-phi-a	Smyr'-na
Me-di-ter-ra'-ne-an	Phi-lip'-pi	Sod'-om
Mel'-i-ta	Phryg'-i-a	Sy-ra-cu'se
Mes-o-po-ta'-mi-a	Pis-id -i-a	Sy'-char
Mi-le'-tus	Pon'-tus	Syr'-i-a
Mit-y-le'-ne	Pool of Beth-es'-da	Sy-ro-phœ-nic'-i-a
My'-ra	Ptol-e-ma'-is, <i>Tolemais</i>	Syr'-tis
Mys'-i-a	Præ-to'-ri-um	
	Pu-te'-o-li	Ta'-bor
Na'-in	Ra'-mah	Tar'-sus
Neph'-tha-li	Rhe'-gi-um	Thes-sa-lo-ni'-ca
Ne-ap'-o-lis	Rhodes	Thy-a-ti'-ra
Ni-cop'-o-lis	Rome, <i>Room</i>	Ti-be'-ri-as
Nin'-e-veh		Tra-cho-ni'-tis
Naz'-a-reth	Sal'-a-mis	Tro'-as
	Sal-mo'-ne	Tro'-gyl-li-um
	Sa'-lem	
	Sa'-lim	Zab'-u-lon

FINIS.



# MOESIA THRACE





























